HIPPOLYTUS AND HIS AGE;

OR,

THE DOCTRINE AND PRACTICE OF THE CHURCH OF ROME

UNDER COMMODUS AND ALEXANDER SEVERUS:

AND

ANCIENT AND MODERN CHRISTIANITY AND DIVINITY COMPARED.

BY CHRISTIAN CHARLES JOSIAS BUNSEN,
D.C.L.

68178

IN FOUR VOLUMES.

VOL. IV.

The Apology of Hippolytus, and the Genuine Liturgies of the Ancient Church.

WITH BERNAYSII EPISTOLA CRITICA.

LONDON:
LONGMAN, BROWN, GREEN, AND LONGMANS.
1852.

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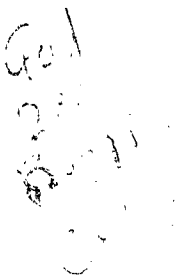

LONDON:
SPOTTISWOODES and SHAW,
New-street-Square.

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PREFACE.

I CONCLUDE this work about the anniversary of the day on which, last year, I wrote the first of my Letters to Archdeacon Hare. The first two Volumes, together with the Apology of Hippolytus, were written and printed in the last six months of 1851; the third and fourth in the first six months of 1852.

The Apology of Hippolytus is designed to complete the picture of a man and of an age representing the beginnings of Christianity, and throwing therefore a new light on its prospects, which are those of the human race.

The second part of this Volume presents a succinct account of the gradual formation of the Christian worship and rituals in the ancient Church, and gives the texts of the liturgies for the first time critically and historically arranged.

But I cannot take leave of my readers without adding a word on the Ignatian question, upon which the work of Hippolytus bears, directly or indirectly, in so many respects.

I believe I have done something in this book to-

wards bringing it nearer to a complete solution. have shown the prevalence of an early systematic corruption of the ancient texts in the East by the Byzantines, exactly as such a fraud was practised later by the Romanists in the West. I have in particular shown that the text of the first six books of the Apostolic Constitutions exhibits corruptions and interpolations perfectly similar to those which even in Eusebius' time had made a sad twaddler out of that most energetic and original martyr and Father, Ignatius, and a legend out of his true history. Curiously enough, the most striking instance is here also found in a Syriac text. That separation of the original contents of the first six books of the Constitutions from the later interpolations, which I had endeavoured to establish by the mere application of sound critical principles, is confirmed by a Syriac manuscript at Paris. Finally, I have restored the historical character of Ignatius of Antioch more completely than before, by showing in the Introduction to the Liturgies, and in the Reliquiæ Liturgicæ themselves, that the tradition about his influence upon the formation of the worship of the Church over which he presided is borne out by corresponding cotemporary facts and testimonies, and by the documents of the Antiochene liturgy.

These circumstances may perhaps induce some German critics to reconsider their doubts as to the genuineness of what we possess of Ignatius, and as

to the historical character of the accounts of that remarkable man.

It would be useless to expect so much regard for historical criticism from those who, after the Libyan discovery, have endeavoured to maintain the authenticity of that product of impudent forgery called the Seven Epistles of Ignatius. There are undoubtedly good scholars among these men; but they must forgive me if I say that it is, even in England, an anachronism to treat the question of Ignatius and his Epistles apart from collateral facts, and as if the world, since the days of Pearson, had not learned anything as to primitive church history and historical criticism. Their method of conducting controversies would not be tolerated for a moment in the field of classical literature, where men like Porson and Gaisford, Niebuhr and Hermann, Böckh and Ritschl rule, where nothing is at stake except that of which Pilate doubted the existence, and where it is considered as unbecoming to seek truth, not as a judge, in order to find it, but as an advocate, in order to betray it. Until they resolve to test the value of the Greek text by the facts which have come to light through the Libyan discovery, and by the principles of historical criticism, their reasonings must remain barren and fruitless; and, until they cease to make the defence of their opinions a matter of faith, it will be useless to dispute with them.

I have already observed in Vol. I. (p. 58. note) how unfortunate those among the English anti-critics have been, who quote against Cureton Professor Petermann's assumption that the Syriac text is an extract from an old Syriac version, of which the Armenian text is a translation. For this assumption there is no ground whatsoever. The Armenian translation represents throughout the text of the Greek Letters, including those which are acknowledged to be false; and its various readings show the deep corruption of our Greek text. There is not the shadow of a reason to assume that the Armenian translation was made from a Syriac text, and not, like all other Armenian translations of Greek fathers, from the Greek. But if it were so made, the argument for or against the Seven (or rather twelve) Letters would remain exactly where Professor Petermann found it. His argument, resting upon a gratuitous assumption, is so absolutely null, that it is scarcely possible to formulize it seriously. On the other hand, these same critics, who are so wonderfully struck by Armenian assumptions, find no difficulty in neglecting Cureton's clear and decisive arguments drawn from the character of the Syriac texts, from Syrian authorities, and from Syrian palæography. All these Syrian arguments are tangible points, based upon reality. We find a Syriac text of a Syrian Father, evidently in use in the early Syrian Church; whereas we know nothing of the Armenian translation of the

later Greek text, except through an avowedly careless and uncritical edition of the end of the last century. That this translation often concurs with readings exhibited by the Syriac text cannot in itself alone prove that it was made from a Syriac original, from which the Three Letters were afterwards extracted. We might as well say that the old Latin translation, as exhibited in the manuscript of Caius College, was made from the Syriac, because it often supposes, in the Greek original, the same reading which the Syrian translator had before him. But supposing the translation not to have been made from the interpolated Greek text, but from a Syrian translation of the same (which may have existed)*, why should not the genuine passages of that text be often nearer to the Syriac text than to that of the Medicean manuscript? Certainly there is no argument whatever in this circumstance, however you turn it. On the contrary, a historical critic will remember what Moses of Korene expressly says †, that in his youth, that is to say, in the earlier part of the fifth century, a considerable number of Syrian manuscripts were brought into Armenia from Syria. This is, on the whole, the earliest age in which the Armenian translation could have been made: an age of systematic ecclesiastical

* See Cureton, Corpus Ignat. p. 344, 345.

† Moses Chorenensis opp. intp. Levaill. ii. p. 165., as quoted by D. Pitra himself (Prolegg. p. viii.).

fraud, abounding in unscrupulous forgeries and impudent interpolations, whereas, the classical age for Syrian translations, the second and third centuries, is, comparatively speaking, pure. That the difference between the Armenian and Syrian texts is, on the whole, parallel to the difference of those two ages, is now proved by a fragment brought to light within the last few months by the indefatigable Benedictine Father, Dom Pitra, in his meritorious work, the Spicilegium Solesmense. In this collection of inedited patristic remains, a fragment of Irenæus is given, first from the Syriac text (communicated by Cureton to the editor), and secondly in Armenian, from an Armenian MS. copied for Dom Pitra by the Mechitarists at Venice. As this beautiful fragment is also intrinsically important for the theological inquiries of this work, I give the two texts in the note.* Will an

* Syrian Text.

Lex et prophetæ et evangelistæ proclamaverunt de Christo, quod natus est ex virgine; et quod passus est super lignum: et quod apparuit e sepulchro; et quod ascendit ad cœlos; et quod a Patre glorificatus est; et quod est rex in æternum; et quod hic est intellectus perfectus, Verbum Dei; qui ante lucem genitus est; qui cum eo est conditor universi, fictor homi-

Armenian Text.

Lex et prophetæ et evangelia declaraverunt Christum natum ex virgine et in cruce passum,

et suscitatum e mortuis, et in cœlum elevatum et glorificatum

et regnantem in sæcula. Ille ipse dicitur perfectus intellectus, Dei verbum, quod primitus pulchre nati hominis (fuit) conditor;

English critic seriously maintain that the Syriac text is mutilated, and the Armenian text genuine? I suppose he will leave that rather to the good

Syrian Text.

nis; qui est in omnibus omnia: in patriarchis patriarcha, in legibus lex, in sacerdotibus princeps sacerdotum, in regibus gubernator, in prophetis propheta, in angelis angelus, in hominibus homo, in patre filius, in Deo Deus, rex in æternum.

II. Hic enim est qui Noemo fuit nauta, et Abrahamum duxit; qui cum Isaaco ligatus est, et cum Jacobo fuit peregrinus;

Armenian Text.

in omnibus omnia, in patriarchis patriarcha, in lege lex, in sacerdotibus sacerdos, in regibus princeps ductor, in prophetis propheta, in angelis angelus, in hominibus homo, in patre filius, in Deo Deus, rex in æternum.

II. Ipsemet direxit Noemum in navi; [cum Josepho venumdatus est] et Abrahamum conduxit; cum Isaaco ligatus, cum Jacobo peregrinavit; [cum Moyse fuit dux et secundum populum legislator; in prophetis prædicavit; de virgine incarnatus, in Bethleem natus; ab Johanne susceptus et in Jordane baptizatus; in deserto tentatus ac dominus repertus. Ipse congregavit apostolos, et cœlorum regnum prædicavit; illuminavit cæcos et suscitavit mortuos, in templo visus, a populo nec fide dignus habitus; a sacerdotibus comprehensus et coram Herode perductus; in conspectu Pilati judicatus, in corpore se manifestans, in ligno suspensus et a mortuis suscitatus, apostolis monstratus, et ad cœlos evectus ad dexteram Patris sedet, et ab eo uti mortuorum resurrectio glorificatus; et salus perditorum, degentibus in tenebris lumen, et iis

Benedictine Father. I have given a still more striking instance respecting the purity of Syriac texts, and the systematic interpolation of the Byzantines, in my note on Dr. Zenker's discovery of the Syriac manuscript at Paris, which evidently contains the genuine text of that monster of Greek interpolation, called the first six books of the Constitutions.

But there are many other camels to be swallowed by those who have set their hearts upon proving, by Pearson's arguments, that a text which he never knew is not genuine. And waiving these arguments, is it not strange that they bring forward against one of the first Syriac scholars of Europe, their countryman, the name of an Armenian scholar in Ger-

Syrian Text.	Armenian Text.
pastor eorum qui salvi sunt, et sponsus ecclesiæ et dux cherubim, princeps exercitus angelorum; Deus ex Deo, filius ex patre, Jesus Christus rex in sæcula sæculorum. Amen.	qui nati sunt redemptio;] salvatorum pastor, et ecclesiæ sponsus, cherubim auriga et exercitus dux angelorum; Deus ex Deo, Jesus Christus salvator noster.

The two texts agree, literally, in the passages common to both, with the exception of the concluding words, which, therefore, according to the general principles of criticism, must be considered doubtful, especially as the Syriac text has here some words not found in the Armenian. But what can be more awkward than the insertion of Joseph between Noah and Abraham? or the whole interpolation as to Jesus himself, which dwells on points either not belonging at all to the argument of Irenæus, or already mentioned in the first part of this beautiful Christology, so spontaneously flowing out of St. John's prologue?

many, who has in his favour neither argument nor personal critical authority? The internal evidence of the case is so strong, that it is almost with a mixed feeling of pleasure and of regret that I announce a fact which appears destined to put an end to all dispute, as to the principal point.

It is neither accurate nor fair to speak of Cureton's text as being founded upon "a Syrian manuscript containing other extracts," since from the beginning Cureton had two manuscripts of "The Three Letters." The one contained all three, with the significant title alluded to: the other had (from evident want of space) only the first of them (that to Polycarp), but, exhibiting literally the same text, was necessarily a second testimony for the Three against the Seven. Later, in the Corpus Ignatianum (p. xxxi. sqq.), Cureton gave notice of a third manuscript, containing all "The Three Epistles of Ignatius," with a text absolutely identical, and presenting only some highly interesting various readings. Is it not difficult for unbiassed critics to suppose that all Epistles of Ignatius which we find in his native country and his Church are "Extracts" made by "a Monk"? How strange to endeavour to strengthen the critical weakness of this argument, or rather to justify this unwarranted assumption, by the gratuitous (I had almost said unjustifiable, because totally unsupported) conjecture, that the supposed "Monk" was a heretic, who wished to deprive "the Holy Catholic

Church" of one of its supports! The fictitious wicked man is not charged with any interpolation, a sin which seems to have been the monopoly of the "orthodox" Byzantines: but he is gravely suspected of having left out what a Monophysite (bishop, monk, or simple clergyman) could have no more interest to omit than a Byzantine.

But now to the fact. I am assured by unquestionable authority that Colonel Rawlinson has himself seen, at Bagdad, a manuscript of the New Testament in Syriac, which has "The Three Epistles of Ignatius" appended to the sacred records, exactly as the Codex Alexandrinus has "The Epistles of Clemens of Rome" appended to the same holy writ. I hope those who take an interest in the truth will soon be enabled to gratify their curiosity by a sight of this treasure in the British Museum.

Alas for the worshippers of the Pearsonian arguments, and for the fiction of the garbling Monk, and for the revival of the whole controversy of the seventeenth century!

As soon as that remarkable text shall have been collated, and the result laid before the public, the time will be come definitively to reconstruct the genuine Greek text according to the Syriac manuscripts, with the help, here and there, of the Armenian translation. The real difficulty under which I laboured in my attempt to restore it, was simply, that

we had then (with the exception of the Epistle to Polycarp) only one imperfect Syriac manuscript; whereas now we have two, and shall soon have three complete and independent manuscripts for all the three Epistles. I ought to have adhered more strictly still to the Syriac text. I refrained from doing so, not so much out of deference to the Greek, thoroughly corrupted and patched up as it is, but because we had only one Syriac manuscript. A difficult reading might be nothing but a blunder of the copyist. Finally, we had not then the Armenian version, which evidently is to be considered as an independent witness for the original readings of the Greek text, so unfavourably represented hitherto by one Greek MS. Imperfect, therefore, as my attempt necessarily was to restore the true reading, and to prove the completeness and show the connexion of the original text, I may be satisfied with the support which the third Syriac MS. has since given to many of my assertions. Thus, in the celebrated concluding passage of the Epistle to the Ephesians about the three mysteries, the Syriac MS. discovered after my edition has the very words "and the death" (of our Lord), which I had inserted in the restored text, although they were wanting in the only Syriac MS. then known.*

In a similar way, I may congratulate myself on the

* According to that principle, and upon the critical authorities which are now before us, the most ancient recorded reading

support which the Armenian translation (miserably garbled as it has been by the unknown Constantinopolitan editor, who has not even disdained the correspondence between Ignatius and the Virgin Mary) gives to my view of the nature of our text. For it is a new proof that our present Greek text has

of the whole concluding passage may be restored in the following manner:

Ἔλαθεν τὸν ἄρχοντα τοῦ αἰῶνος τούτου ἡ παρθενία Μαρίας, καὶ ὁ τοκετὸς καὶ ὁ θάνατος τοῦ κυρίου· καὶ τρία μυστήρια κραυγῆς ἐν ἡσυχίᾳ Θεοῦ ἐπράχθη. Ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀστέρος καὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ ἐνταῦθα φανερουμένου ἠφανίζετο πᾶσα μαγεία, καὶ πᾶς δεσμὸς ἐλύετο, καὶ παλαιὰ βασιλεία καὶ κακίας ἄγνοια διεφθείρετο. Ἔνθεν τὰ πάντα συνεκινεῖτο διὰ τοῦ μελετᾶσθαι θανάτου κατάλυσιν, ἀρχὴν δὲ ἐλάμβανεν τὸ παρὰ Θεῷ ἀπηρτισμένον. The mention of the star begins a new sentence, and opens the peroration of the whole epistle. The sense is: "From the moment that the star appeared, and thus the Son was manifested on that spot, the reign of darkness, of magic, of death ceased, and the earthly development of God's own eternal kingdom began." Dr. A. Ritschl (in his Altkatholische Kirche, p. 578. note) thinks the insertion of the words, "and the death" would form an argument against the Syrian text, the authenticity of which that learned critic defends with me. I confess I do not see this. The devil was deceived, because he did not discern three divine mysteries, which appeared to him contradictions: the Virgin and Mother; Birth in a manger and Divine Majesty; Death upon the cross and Eternal life: Virgo Mater, Caro Verbum, Homo Deus, as the old magic pentagram has it. The manifestation of Jesus as the Son of God (the Theophania) began, according to the idea of the earliest Church, with the appearance of the miraculous star; for it was this star which, even before the birth of Christ, had heralded his glory, and had been the signal that the powers of darkness and of death were overcome, and destroyed for ever upon earth.

gradually been more and more corrupted by the interpolators in the difficult passages; and it confirms the readings of the Syriac version in most cases where they are at variance with the text of the Medicean or Colbertine MS. Indeed, the only critical importance of the Armenian version consists in this, that it is in so many instances an independent, although an unwilling, testimony in favour of the Syriac text.*

* On this principle, in the preceding difficult passage, which is intimately connected with the words just examined, instead of

Περίψημα τὸ ἐμὸν πνεῦμα τοῦ σταυροῦ,

we must read

Προσκύνημα τὸ ἐμὸν πνεῦμα τοῦ σταυροῦ.

which, in the very peculiar style of the Antiochene Father, is equivalent to

Προσκυνεῖ τὸ ἐμὸν πνεῦμα τὸν σταυρόν.

Thus the Syrian translates it,

Adorat (incurvat se) Spiritus meus;

and the Armenian equally literally,

Adorat (terram osculatur) Sp. m.

In the same manner both the Syrian and Armenian translations of the difficult passage in the first chapter of the letter,

Gaudeo in vobis et supplico propter vos (pro vobis),

suppose the reading: Περίσσευμα ὑμῶν καὶ ἀγώνισμα ὑμῶν (ἀγώνισμα in the same sense as συναγωνίσασθαι ἐν ταῖς προσευχαῖς, Rom. xv. 30.).

The translation is entirely analogous to that of the former passage; but, in this case certainly, the Greek text,

Περίψημα ὑμῶν καὶ ἀγνίζομαι (ἁγνίζωμαι) ὑμῶν,

although as it stands it gives no sense, and cannot even be construed, has preserved the substance of the words better than

I cannot show this better to the learned reader than by giving the whole genuine Ignatian Epistle to the Ephesians, the most interpolated and undoubtedly the most difficult of the three, as much as possible in accordance with the present Syriac text.

This restoration is checked by the Armenian, and here and there by the literal Latin translation, which is independent of the only Greek MS. in which the

the Syrian and Armenian. The Syrian and Armenian translators have read, in their Greek texts, the abstract nouns slightly corrupted; but they show us the parallelism of the two. Combining all the facts before us, we are led to the restoration

Περίψημα ὑμῶν καὶ ἅγνισμα ὑμῶν.

Καὶ is maintained by all the texts, although it might have been inserted after the passage had become unintelligible. The whole then, I believe, must be translated:

"Your offscouring is also your cleansing (or purification)."

That is to say: the desire of external things (ἐπιθυμία) which claims dominion over you in your body becomes to you a purification; for by conquering it you become stronger and purer.

And now what can be clearer than the sense of that whole passage which immediately precedes the peroration already restored, and with it forms the doctrinal part of the genuine letter? (ch. ii.)

These instances will show how highly I estimate Professor Petermann's merits respecting the Armenian text. It is to be hoped that the Prussian government will give him the means of going to Constantinople and to Etchmiadin, in order to collect among the national Armenians, to whom we owe the edition reproduced by him, the best manuscripts of that translation, and thus to prepare a trustworthy critical edition. Much of Hippolytus (perhaps even his great work) would also be found among the unpublished Armenian translations, as I have proved, page 230.

letter has come down to us.* The Epistle to the Ephesians is allowed to be in each text the most difficult one, a circumstance which is most unfairly passed

* Ἰγνατίου δευτέρα ἐπιστολή, ἡ πρὸς Ἐφεσίους.

Ἰγνάτιος [ὁ καὶ Θεοφόρος] τῇ εὐλογημένῃ ἐν μεγέθει Θεοῦ πατρὸς καὶ πληρώματι, τῇ προωρισμένῃ πρὸ αἰώνων εἶναι διὰ παντὸς εἰς δόξαν παράμονον ἄτρεπτον, ἡνωσμένῃ καὶ ἐκλελεγμένῃ ἐν προθέσει ἀληθινῷ, ἐν θελήματι τοῦ πατρὸς Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ τοῦ Θεοῦ ἡμῶν· τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ τῇ ἀξιομακαρίστῳ τῇ οὔσῃ ἐν Ἐφέσῳ πλεῖστα ἐν Ἰησοῦ Χριστῷ ἐν ἀμώμῳ χαρᾷ χαίρειν.

I. Ἀποδεξάμενος ἐν Θεῷ τὸ πολυαγάπητον ὄνομα ὃ κέκτησθε γνώμῃ δικαίᾳ κατὰ πίστιν καὶ ἀγάπην ἐν Ἰησοῦ Χριστῷ τῷ σωτῆρι ἡμῶν, ὅτι μιμηταὶ ὄντες Θεοῦ, ἀναζωπυρηθέντες ἐν αἵματι Θεοῦ τὸ συγγενικὸν ἔργον τελείως ἀπηρτίσατε· ἀκούσαντες γάρ με δεδεμένον ἐντεύξεως ὑπὲρ τοῦ κοινοῦ ὀνόματος καὶ ἐλπίδος, ἐλπίζοντα τῇ προσευχῇ ὑμῶν [ἐπιτυχεῖν] ἐν Ῥώμῃ θηριομαχῆσαι, ἵνα διὰ τοῦ ἐπιτυχεῖν δυνηθῶ μαθητὴς εἶναι Θεοῦ, ἰδεῖν ἐσπουδάσατε· ἐπεὶ οὖν τὴν πολυπληθίαν ὑμῶν ἐν ὀνόματι Θεοῦ ἀπείληφα ἐν Ὀνησίμῳ, τῷ ἐν ἀγάπῃ ἀδιηγήτῳ ὑμῶν ἐπισκόπῳ, ὃν εὔχομαι κατὰ Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν ὑμᾶς ἀγαπᾶν καὶ πάντας ὑμᾶς αὐτῷ ἐν ὁμοιότητι εἶναι, εὐλογητὸς γὰρ ὁ χαρισάμενος ὑμῖν ἀξίοις οὖσι τοιοῦτον ἐπίσκοπον κεκτῆσθαι· ἀλλ' ἐπεὶ ἡ ἀγάπη οὐκ ἐᾷ με σιωπᾶν περὶ ὑμῶν, διὰ τοῦτο προέλαβον παρακαλεῖν ὑμᾶς, ὅπως συντρέχητε τῇ γνώμῃ τοῦ Θεοῦ. Ὅταν γὰρ μηδεμία ἐπιθυμία ἐνεργῆται ἐν ὑμῖν δυναμένη ὑμᾶς βασανίσαι, ἄρα κατὰ Θεὸν ζῆτε. Περίψημα ὑμῶν καὶ ἅγνισμα ὑμῶν Ἐφεσίων, (τῆς) ἐκκλησίας τῆς διαβοήτου τοῖς αἰῶσιν. Οἱ γὰρ σαρκικοὶ τὰ πνευματικὰ πράσσειν οὐ δύνανται, οὐδὲ οἱ πνευματικοὶ τὰ σαρκικά· ὥσπερ οὐδὲ ἡ πίστις τὰ τῆς ἀπιστίας, οὐδὲ ἡ ἀπιστία τὰ τῆς πίστεως. Ἃ δὲ καὶ κατὰ σάρκα πράσσετε, ταῦτα πνευματικά ἐστιν, ἐν Ἰησοῦ γὰρ Χριστῷ πάντα πράσσετε, ἡτοιμασμένοι εἰς οἰκοδομὴν Θεοῦ πατρὸς, ἀναφερόμενοι εἰς τὰ ὕψη διὰ τῆς μηχανῆς Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, ὅς ἐστι σταυρὸς, σχοινίῳ χρώμενοι τῷ πνεύματι τῷ ἁγίῳ· ἡ δὲ πίστις ὑμῶν ἀναγωγεὺς ὑμῶν, ἡ δὲ ἀγάπη ὁδὸς ἡ ἀναφέρουσα εἰς Θεόν.

II. Ὑπὲρ τῶν ἄλλων [δὲ] ἀνθρώπων προσεύχεσθε—ἔστιν γὰρ ἐν αὐτοῖς ἐλπὶς μετανοίας—ἵνα Θεοῦ τύχωσιν. Ἐπιτρέψατε οὖν αὐτοῖς κἂν ἐκ τῶν ἔργων ὑμῶν μαθητευθῆναι. Πρὸς τὰς μεγαλορρημοσύνας αὐτῶν ὑμεῖς ταπεινόφρονες, καὶ πρὸς τὰς βλασφημίας αὐτῶν ὑμεῖς προσεῖς τὰς προσευχάς, πρὸς τὴν πλάνην αὐτῶν ὑμεῖς ἑδραῖοι τῇ πίστει, πρὸς

over in silence by those who charge the Syriac text with obscurity: it is besides by far the most interpolated of the three genuine epistles. Let any un-

τὸ ἄγριον αὐτῶν ὑμεῖς ἥμεροι, μὴ σπουδάζοντες ἀντιμιμήσασθαι αὐτούς. Τῇ ἐπιεικείᾳ δὲ μιμηταὶ τοῦ κυρίου σπουδάζωμεν εἶναι· οὗ τίς πλέον ἀδικηθῇ: τίς ἀποστερηθῇ; τίς ἀθετηθῇ; Οὐ γὰρ ἐπαγγελίας τὸ ἔργον, ἀλλ' ἐν δυνάμει πίστεως ἐάν τις εὑρεθῇ καὶ εἰς τέλος. Ἀμεινόν ἐστιν σιωπᾶν καὶ εἶναι ἢ λαλοῦντα μὴ εἶναι· ἵνα δι' ὧν λαλεῖ πράσσῃ καὶ δι' ὧν σιγᾷ γινώσκηται. Προσκύνημα τὸ ἐμὸν πνεῦμα τοῦ σταυροῦ, ὅ ἐστιν σκάνδαλον τοῖς ἀπιστοῦσιν, ἡμῖν δὲ σωτηρία καὶ ζωὴ αἰώνιος.

III. Ἔλαθεν τὸν ἄρχοντα τοῦ αἰῶνος τούτου ἡ παρθενία Μαρίας, καὶ ὁ τοκετὸς καὶ ὁ θάνατος τοῦ κυρίου· καὶ τρία μυστήρια κραυγῆς ἐν ἡσυχίᾳ Θεοῦ ἐπράχθη. Ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀστέρος καὶ τοῦ νἱοῦ ἐνταῦθα φανερουμένου ἠφανίζετο πᾶσα μαγεία, καὶ πᾶς δεσμὸς ἐλύετο, καὶ παλαιὰ βασιλεία καὶ κακίας ἄγνοια διεφθείρετο. Ἔνθεν τὰ πάντα συνεκινεῖτο διὰ τοῦ μελετᾶσθαι θανάτου κατάλυσιν, ἀρχὴν δὲ ἐλάμβανεν τὸ παρὰ Θεῷ ἀπηρτισμένον.

The Second Epistle of Ignatius, that to the Ephesians.

Ignatius [who also is the Theophorus], to the Church which is blessed in the greatness and fulness of the Father, to her preordained before the world, to be for ever unto lasting and unchangeable glory, perfected and elected in a true purpose, in the will of the Father of Jesus Christ our God: to the most blissworthy Church which is in Ephesus, all hail in Jesus Christ, in pure joy.

I. Since I have received in God that much loved manifestation which you have right-mindedly made, according to the faith and love in Jesus Christ our Saviour, because as those who imitate God, you have been excited in your blood fully to accomplish the work kindred to God: for when you had heard that I was bound (and prevented) from visiting (you) on account of our common name and hope, trusting in your prayer (to obtain) to be thrown among the beasts at Rome, in order that by achieving this I might be enabled to be a disciple of God, you have made haste to see me: since, therefore, I have in the name of God received the visit of all of you in the person of

prejudiced reader go through the English version which I add to the provisionally restored text, and which is as literal as possible, and let him then

Onesimus (who is) in unspeakable love your Bishop—and I pray in Jesus Christ that you may love him, and that you may all be like him, for blessed is he who has vouchsafed you to be worthy of having such a bishop: since then love does not allow me to be silent towards you, on this account I have chosen to exhort you to conform to the will of God. For when no lust worketh in you with power to torment you, ye live according to God. Your offscouring is also your sanctification, O Ephesians, ye of that Church which is renowned in the world! Carnal men cannot do spiritual things, nor spiritual men carnal things; just as faith cannot do the things of unbelief, nor unbelief those of faith. But even the works you do according to the flesh are spiritual works: for you do all in Jesus Christ, prepared (as you are) for the building of God the Father, carried up to the height through the engine of Jesus Christ which is the cross, using the Holy Spirit as the rope: while Faith is the pulley, and Love is the way carrying up to God.

II. As to other men pray for them,—for there is a hope of their repenting,—that they may be partakers of God. Give them opportunity of becoming your disciples even by your works. Against their lofty words put humility, and against their blasphemies meekness in constant prayers, against their seduction firmness in the faith, against their violence mildness; not striving to imitate them. But by meekness let us strive to be imitators of the Lord, than whom who was ever more wronged? or deprived? or despised? For it is not a question of promise, but whether one be found in the strength of faith even unto the end. Rather than to speak and to be nothing, it is better to be silent and to be (something), in order that one may work by what one speaks, and may be known by what one is silent about.

III. My spirit boweth down before the cross, which is a scandal to the unbelieving, but to us salvation and life eternal. There were hidden to the prince of this world the virginity of Mary, and the birth and death of the Lord: three shouting mys-

judge whether it is an unconnected cento of sentences extracted from the Greek text. However involved the sentence of the laboured introduction may appear, it is on the one hand perfectly intelligible, and, without ceasing to be original, reminds us, in this respect also, of the scarcely less involved (and much longer) first two sentences of the Pauline Epistle to the Ephesians (i. 5—14. i. 15—ii. 10.). But it is one which a bishop of that time, the disciple of St. John, might naturally write on his way to the amphitheatre, in answer to the mark of Christian kindness shown him by the Ephesians in sending their bishop, Onesimus, to express their Christian sympathy on his arrival from Antioch at Smyrna. Nay, it is one of the most precious gems of Apostolic Christianity, transparent in spite of its peculiarities, and worthy of the man who left so indelible a memory behind him.

I shall conclude this Preface by saying a few words respecting the uncalled-for aggressive spirit in which the editor of a reprint of Pearson's "Vindiciæ," Archdeacon Churton, has attempted to handle this question. Mr. Churton displays in his Introduction a classical latin style, which in

teries were operated in God's quietness. From (the time of the appearance of) the star and the manifestation thereby of the Son every magic power disappeared, and every bond was dissolved, and the old kingdom and the ignorance of wickedness perished. From that time every thing was put in commotion, because the dissolution of death was meditated, and what was ordained with God took its beginning.

other times, perhaps, would have stood in place of critical argument; and he employs a facetious manner, well suiting a retreat from a lost cause. As a specimen, I shall only allude to the advantage he takes of a manifest misprint, in order to throw ridicule on an argument which he does not even attempt to refute. Pearson had not disdained to supply the want of any solid testimony for the Greek text of Ignatius before Eusebius by some conjectures, which, as he says, pleased him very much. One of these is, that Theophilus, who was a successor of Ignatius towards the end of the second century, had alluded to the celebrated passage in the Epistle to the Ephesians, c. xix. The testimony would be very important, if it had any existence; but it rests upon the incredible assumption of the genuineness of a Commentary upon St. Matthew, bearing the name of Theophilus, under whose name there existed indeed, according to Jerome, a commentary on the Gospel. Now I had said that no honest critic could doubt (nor is there any one who maintains a contrary opinion) that the commentary preserved to us is a later imposture, not even worthy of the younger Theophilus of the end of the fourth century. Bishop Fell and the Hamburg editor of Theophilus (1724) have indeed made it quite impossible to entertain such an opinion: but the point was already established in Pearson's time. How, then, could Pearson indulge in such a conjecture? This (and nothing else) I had said in a note (p. 239.), with the remark that I merely mentioned the cir-

cumstance in order to justify my not having named that Father among the testimonies of the second century. By an oversight, the page (printed on the other side of the German Ocean) exhibits, instead of "Theophilus the Elder," the words "Hippolytus the Elder." Now what does Mr. Churton do? He calls upon me emphatically to show him where Pearson quotes Hippolytus as an evidence!* He might have known that Theophilus was meant; my referring to Jerome's words allowed no doubt that I alluded to Pearson's argument respecting Theophilus. But he thought it good fun to amuse his readers by so cheap a joke. I do not blame him for that; it is a matter of taste: only I wonder how the author of an edition of the "Vindiciæ," with a Preface and Notes, which are to be "ad modernum controversiæ statum accommodatæ," could have omitted commenting upon Pearson's conjecture, and in particular upon the note which proves that he knew very well that the whole conjecture had no foundation whatever. In that note Pearson mentions the doubts of Tillemont and other learned critics respecting the commentary which impudently bears the name of

* P. xi. "Venerandus noster Antistes, si Illustrem Equitem audias, S. Hippolytum inter testes Ignatianos acciri voluit: quo uno exemplo actum esse jam ait de fide et existimatione Pearsoni. Fortasse: sed interim id unum deest, ut indicet nobis Illustris Eques, quo tandem loco Pearsonus Hippolytum, velut alter Æsculapius, mutum et mortuum inter vivos et valentes ad testimonium dicendum resuscitaverit Qui enim Pearsoni Vindicias perlegerint, negant sibi novum hunc Virbium inter testes usquam obviam fuisse."

Theophilus; and he adds: "Non tamen negandum est, scriptorem, quisquis fuerit, longe Theophilo et Hieronymo juniorem, scripta priorum patrum excerpsisse, et Theophili fortasse inter alios." Thus Pearson himself, whose quotation is to make Theophilus an evidence, admitted that the author of a commentary quoted by him as evidence of the second century, was not Theophilus, and was later even than Jerome. As such reasoning seems incredible, I will give the very words of Jerome. He says: "Martyr Ignatius etiam quartam addidit causam, cur a desponsata conceptus sit (Jesus), ut partus, inquiens, ejus celaretur diabolo, dum eum putat non de virgine, sed de uxore generatum." These words prove nothing but that Jerome knew that celebrated passage of Ignatius' Epistle to the Ephesians which the Syriac text acknowledges, and which Origen quotes. Jerome, I am afraid, had himself never read the epistles of Ignatius; indeed Cureton has made this more than probable in his Corpus Ignatianum (p. lxvii. sq.). It is, therefore, a felicitous assumption that he had transcribed this observation from an earlier commentator: but this probably was Origen, whose commentaries on the Gospel he had translated. At least this commentary we know, and it contains the passage: whereas of Theophilus' commentary we know nothing. Cotelerius' opinion, therefore, that Jerome copied that remark out of Origen, is the only reasonable one; to refer it to Theophilus the Elder, because the remark is found

in the commentary of an author whom Pearson himself allows to have been later than even Jerome, merely because that late writer might have read Theophilus, and Theophilus might have said such a thing, is unworthy of a serious critic. If Mr. Churton thinks differently, I am ready to give him the whole benefit of the argument; only, if he attacks my remark upon Pearson's proceeding, he must not elude the discussion by availing himself of a misprint.

Still, this is not what made me say that Pearson had acted in that controversy more as an advocate, than as an impartial critic. Pearson relates that Jerome mentions having read those commentaries on the Gospel: so Jerome, indeed, does; but (what Pearson omits to say) he did not believe them to be genuine. Here are his words*: "I have read under his (Theophilus') name commentaries on the Gospels and on the Proverbs of Solomon: they appear to me not to agree with the elegance and the style of the works named above (the lost book against Marcion, and the Treatise against Autolycus)." I did not wish to enlarge more on this painful subject, and therefore simply referred the reader to what is said on it in the Hamburg edition. Now that I am obliged to return to that note in self-defence, I cannot avoid

* Hieronymus De Viris illustr: "Theophilus .... Legi sub nomine ejus in Evangelium et in Proverbia Salomonis commentarios, qui mihi cum superiorum voluminum elegantia et phrasi non videntur congruere."

stating the case as it is: and I may refer English readers to Dr. Fell's preface to Theophilus, reprinted by J. C. Wolf. The alternative is simply this. The Latin commentaries which bear the name of Theophilus are either later than Jerome, passages of whom and of Ambrose occur in them, or they are not. The first was Pearson's own opinion, as it is, indeed, that of all critics since Tillemont: Grabe's incidental treatment of this question is very unsatisfactory, comes to no conclusion, and is justly criticised both by Wolf and the Benedictine editor. In the second supposition, those commentaries are the translation of the same text which Jerome read, but did not believe to be genuine. In either case they cannot honestly be brought forward in support of the conjecture that Theophilus had read the Epistles of Ignatius; much less are they an argument for the Greek text against the Syriac.

Nor can I allow the learned editor to misrepresent to English readers the state of critical opinion in Germany respecting the relation which the Syriac text bears to the Greek. Mr. Churton is welcome to the obtuse argument of a reviewer who triumphantly observes that Baur has not been convinced by my arguments, but thinks the Syriac text as little authentic as the Greek. It is, indeed, very natural that he should; for he believes the Gospel of St. John, alluded to evidently in our Epistles, to have been written about seventy years after

the death of Ignatius. But when Mr. Churton says that Neander, in the latter part of his life, gave up the Syriac text, it is first necessary to state that this great historian (whom Mr. Churton calls "vir in antiquitate ecclesiastica satis spectatus") never admitted the Pearsonian text, and doubted in particular all that relates in the Seven Letters to the history of Ignatius' death and journey, on which the whole structure of these letters is built. Now his last published words on the subject are in a note to his new edition of the History of the Christian Church (vol. i. p. 1140.) of the year 1843, and therefore anterior to Cureton's discovery. But it appears from his own and from other correspondence, which lies before me, that Neander could not quite make up his mind as to the genuineness of the Syriac epistles, although he did not think them by any means so objectionable as the Greek text. Mr. Churton has, therefore, no right to quote him on the question at issue, which is this: Whether the Syriac manuscript be an extract from a genuine text, or an earlier one? As to the other German critics, not one believes the Pearsonian text to be authentic, with the exception of some Romanist writers (of whom only the Rev. Dr. Hefele merits even a mention), and perhaps of Prof. Petermann, the Armenian scholar and meritorious editor of the text and all its various readings. But the difference in the opinions of the German critics who have treated that subject, from Baur to Thiersch, is simply, that some

believe with me that the Syriac text has preserved the genuine writings of Ignatius, whereas others think that even in this briefer form we have not the writings of Ignatius, but a work of fiction. It must not be forgotten, however, that the philological proofs of the authenticity of the Syriac text, most imperfectly known to those who entertained doubts on this subject, have been very much strengthened subsequently by the manuscripts recently discovered, all exhibiting the same text, and proving it to have been, at all events, not the product of an obscure extracting Monk, but the acknowledged text of the early Syrian Church. Now this Church, which is that of Antioch and of Ignatius, has in other cases preserved the purer text, in opposition to Byzantine and Armenian corruptions and interpolations.

When, therefore, the editor of Pearson asserts that the present state of critical opinion in Germany is best represented by what Mone, a Romanist writer on medieval antiquities, whom Mr. Churton quotes as the author of "a distinguished Treatise on Liturgies," has asserted, I beg first to refer the reader to the fourth chapter of the Reliquiæ Liturgicæ, which treats on the Gallican Liturgy, that he may judge himself of the authority of this ultramontane antiquarian. As to the assertion that the result of modern criticism has been an entire confirmation of the authority of the Seven Epistles; it is difficult to decide which is more astonishing, that Mr. Mone

should pronounce a statement so notoriously contradicted by the facts, or that the English editor of the "Vindiciæ" should bring before the public this insignificant, and in every respect unwarranted, ridiculous assertion, as representing the opinion of the critics of Germany.

To conclude with a more agreeable subject, I will mention here that, during the last months, Professor Jacobi has published a learned and ingenious commentary on the fragments of Basilides "contained in the work of Hippolytus." Besides, I am able to refer my readers to a new and excellent work by Prof. Höffling of Erlangen, on the doctrine of the ancient Church respecting the sacrifice and worship, which unites all the special researches of the learned author on this important subject. Finally, I wish to call the attention of my English and German readers to the History of the Christian Church (Mercersburg, 1851), by the Rev. Philip Schaff, Professor of Divinity at Mercersburg College, Pennsylvania. This is the first learned theological work in German composed in the United States, and undoubtedly the best published on the subject in that country. I hail this work in both respects as the harbinger of a great and glorious future. It is worthy of a German scholar, of a disciple of Neander (to whom the work is dedicated), of a citizen of the United States, and of a believing and free Christian and Protestant: it stands on German ground, but is not the less original for that.

Carlton Terrace, August 7. 1852.

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PART I.

THE

APOLOGY OF HIPPOLYTUS,

ADDRESSED TO THE

PEOPLE OF ENGLAND.

CHRISTIANO AUGUSTO BRANDISIO

VIRO SOCRATICO

PHILOSOPHO CHRISTIANO

AMICO CARISSIMO

IN TUSCULANARUM DISPUTATIONUM MEMORIAM

D. D. D.

Γλυκὺ τὸ *συμφιλολογεῖν* καὶ *συμφιλοσοφεῖν*.

APPENDIX.

JACOBI BERNAYSII EPISTOLA CRITICA.

CAROLO BUNSENIO S. P. D. JACOBUS BERNAYSIUS.

Hospitalia tecta Tua relicturus circumspicere cœpi, quonam modo et Tibi gratum animum meum probarem et consuetudinis nostræ quasi monumentum aliquod, quantumvis exiguum et caducum, erigerem. Opportune statim sese obtulit menti meæ liber ille Philosophumenôn secundum codicem e Græcia Parisios allatum nuperrime Oxonii editus. Isto in codice cum incognita quædam Heracliti Ephesii fragmenta contineri ante aliquot annos Parisiis versatus comperirem: per varias, quas Tibi coram narravi, causas reliquias illas philosophi inter eos, qui ante Platonis ætatem floruerunt, facile principis in meum usum convertere non licuit. Oxoniensis igitur editionis rumor simul atque in Germaniam allatus est, omni, quo potui, modo efficere studui, ut libri istius exemplum citò nanciscerer. Neque vero tarda bibliopolarum vehicula ardenti desiderio meo respondebant, jamque ardorem philosophico aliquo ἐπιφωνήματι restinguere cœperam: cum ecce Tu, qua es erga me benignitate atque benevolentia, et Græcum librum mihi transmittis, et opus Tuum addis de illo libro conscriptum. Id cum, aliis in quibus versarer studiis relictis omnibus, diligenter perlegerem: primum funditus a Te falsam istam opinionem everti videbam, ex qua Origenem Philosophumenôn scriptorem esse Francogallus editor et in indice et in præfatione libri asseverare haud dubitavit. Deinde ab Hippo-

lyto Portus Romani sæculo III. episcopo conditos esse Philosophumenôn libros tam simplicibus validisque argumentis evincis, ut omnes Tibi adstipulaturos esse confidendum sit, quicumque veritatis et capaces sint et tenaces, illamque, ubi semel eam cognoverint, candide atque animose sine meticulosa dubitandi significatione profiteri didicerint. Denique nubem quæstionum difficultatumque, quæ ex libro Hippolyteo tanquam ex Pandoræ pyxide provolant, lumine eruditionis atque sagacitatis Tuæ collustras, plurimaque, quæ prorsus nova atque inaudita nunc primum in hominum notitiam perveniunt, cum vetustis diuque cognitis ita conjungis, ut alternis nova vetustis et novis vetusta lucem afferant. Neque in enucleandis digerendisque rebus opera tua constitit ; verum etiam ad verba scriptoris singula multifariam corrupta haud raro accessisti, eaque vel feliciter divinando correxisti vel ex arte tractando viam, qua futurus corrector insisteret, monstrasti atque complanasti. Hoc igitur præclaro exemplo Tuo excitatus Tuisque laboribus adjutus equidem aliqua eorum, quæ ad emendanda verba Hippolytea pertinere videntur, in has pagellas conjeci. Quo in negotio ita versatus sum, ut memor præcepti Salomoniani: *μὴ μεταθῇς ὅρια αἰώνια* intra criticæ philologiæ fines me continerem neque in theologiæ vel hæresiologiæ campum evagarer, nisi ubi id propter naturam verborum, de quibus agendum esset, non possem non facere.

Ac primum quidem ut de conditione vel mala vel bona unici illius codicis Parisini, quem Oxoniensis editio expressit, certa quadam via judicium fieri posset, optimum visum est, eo uti adjumento, quod auspicatissime ipsa Hippolytei operis conformatio suppeditat, quamquam Millerus cum magno editionis suæ detrimento fere nihil inde profecit. Cernitur autem illud in ea ratione, qua decimus liber cum novem reliquis continetur. Etenim in ultimo illo libro id agit scriptor ut, antequam suam

ipsius doctrinam lectoribus proponat, breviter in eorum memoriam et philosophorum et hæreticorum placita revocet, quæ per novem priores libros uberius exposita sint. Quod consilium suum ipse initio libri decimi his verbis profitetur p. 312. 24.: *Συμπεριλαβόντες τοίνυν τὰ πάντων τῶν παρ' Ἕλλησι σοφῶν δόγματα ἐν τέσσαρσι βιβλίοις, τὰ δὲ τοῖς αἱρεσιάρχαις* [*δεδοκημένα*]* *ἐν πέντε, νῦν τὸν περὶ ἀληθείας λόγον ἐν ἑνὶ*† *ἐπιδείξομεν, ἀνακεφαλαιούμενοι*

* Recte supplevit Millerus.

† *ἐν ἑνί*] cod. *ἕνα*, quod non cum Millero in *ἑνὶ* mutandum sed disjunctim sic scribendum est: *ἐν α'*, vel plenis litteris: *ἐν ἑνί*. Etiam alibi ex numerorum siglis menda orta sunt velut, quod perspexit Millerus, p. 318. 24.: *καθάπερ οἱ πολλοὶ ἁπλᾶ λέγοντες εἶναι τὰ δὲ τέσσαρα στοιχεῖα καὶ τὸ πῦρ ἁπλοῦν εἶναι νενομίκασιν*, ubi importunum istud *δὲ* irrepsit ex siglo quaterni numeri δ', a quo ne in heroico quidem versu abstinuit codicis nostri librarius, p. 313. 71.: *δ' τῶν πάντων ῥιζώματα πρῶτον ἄκουε*. Alio vero in loco non minus ineptum *δὲ* non ex siglo numeri quaterni sed ex vocabulo denarii numeri mutilato, *δέ κα*, originem duxit. Exstat is quidem locus in libro decimo capite de Monoimo Arabe, p. 326. 30.: *Ὅταν οὖν, φησί, ῥάδδον λέγῃ Μωϋσῆς, στρεφομένην εἰς Αἴγυπτον, τὰ πάθη καταλέγει τὸν κόσμον τοῦ ἰῶτα ἀλληγορουμένως, οὐδὲ πλειόνων δὲ παθῶν ἐσχημάτισεν.* Ibi id quidem recte egit Millerus, quod huic enuntiato emendando locum *παράλληλον* e libro octavo adhibuit hunc, p. 271. 83.: *Ὅταν οὖν, φησί, ῥάδδον λέγῃ Μωϋσῆς στρεφομένην ποικίλως εἰς τὰ πάθη τὰ κατὰ τὴν Αἴγυπτον, ἄτινα, φησίν, ἐστὶ τῆς κτίσεως ἀλληγόρου σύμβολα, οὐκ εἰς πλείονα πάθη τῶν δώδεκα σχηματίζει τὴν ῥάδδον κ.τ.λ.* Unde id sane apparet, in loco libri decimi pro *τὸν κόσμον* scribendum esse cum Millero *τοῦ κόσμου* atque *πλειόνων* mutandum in *πλείονα τῶν*. Idem vero Millerus cum etiam pro *δὲ παθῶν* ex libro octavo substituit *δώδεκα παθῶν*, pœnarum quibus Ægyptii afflicti sunt aut nullum aut falsum calculum sese iniisse prodit. Neque enim Tu, qui habitas in Bibliis, ignoras *decem* pœnas Ægyptiorum in Exodo enumerari, non duodecim, idque optime convenit cum Monoimi doctrina, quæ fere tota denario numero nititur. Quapropter in libro decimo pro *δὲ παθῶν* scribendum

πρῶτον τὰ πᾶσι δεδοκημένα. Omnino autem diversa excerpendi ratione in prioribus quattuor et quinque poste-

est δέκα παθῶν, octavi vero libri δώδεκα corrigendum in δέκα. Atque hæc quidem breviter dicta sunto de mendis, quæ ex numerorum siglis manarunt. Non minus breviter simile corruptelarum genus attingam, quod posteriorem capitis de Justino partem, p. 154—168., obscuram reddidit. Ibi enim quater $\overline{ουνος}$, quod est compendium scripturæ vocabuli οὐρανός usitatissimum, cum $\overline{ανος}$, non magis raro vocabuli ἄνθρωπος compendio, permutatur: p. 154. 78. τὸ πνεῦμα γάρ μου ἐνδέδεται εἰς τοὺς οὐρανούς, scribendum ἀνθρώπους; p. 155. 21. ἀρχὴν κακῶν ἐποίησε τῷ πνεύματι τοῦ πατρὸς τοῦ ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς, scribendum τῷ ἐν τοῖς ἀνθρώποις; p. 155. 32. ἵνα διὰ τῶν προφητῶν ἀκούσῃ τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς, scribendum ἀνθρώποις; p. 158. 1. οὐκ ἂν ἐκόλαζε τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς, scribendum ἀνθρώποις. Etenim in quattuor illis locis agitur de spiritu, quem *homini* inspiravit Elohim secundum Justini sententiam. Quod cum ex universa ejus doctrina colligitur, tum in primis per eum locum demonstratur, quem infra scripsi: p. 152. 20. τὸν ἄνθρωπον οὖν ἐποίησαν [cod. ἐποίησε] σύμβολον τῆς ἐνότητος αὐτῶν καὶ εὐνοίας καὶ κατατίθενται τὰς ἑαυτῶν δυνάμεις εἰς αὐτὸν [cod. ἑαυτὸν, correxit Millerus], Ἐδὲμ μὲν τὴν ψυχὴν, Ἐλωεὶμ δὲ τὸ πνεῦμα. Hujus rei aliquid in eo solo loco, quem secundum posui, p. 155. 21., intellexit editor. Consulto autem dixi, aliquid tantum eum intellexisse. Nam ibi, admisso ἀνθρώποις, necessario τοῦ mutandum esse in τῷ, id quidem prætervidit. Aliorsum vero detorquetur idem vocabuli οὐρανός compendium in particula capitis de Docetis libri quinti, quam loco libri decimi παραλλήλῳ usus persanabo:

V. p. 264. 1.	X. p. 324. 92.
Ὁ δὲ αἰὼν οὗτος ὁ τρίτος τοὺς χαρακτῆρας βλέπων πάντας ἀθρόως τοὺς ἑαυτοῦ εἰς τὸ ὑποκείμενον κάτω σκότος κατειλημμένους, τήν τε δύναμιν τοῦ σκότους οὐκ ἀγνοῶν καὶ τὸ ἀσφαλὲς τοῦ φωτὸς ὁμοῦ καὶ ἄφθονον, οὐκ εἴασεν	Ὁ γὰρ [scr. δὲ] τρίτος αἰὼν, ὁ ἑαυτὸν τριπλασιάσας, ὁρῶν τοὺς χαρακτῆρας αὐτοῦ πάντας καταστρωμένους εἰς τὸ κάτω σκότος, οὐκ ἀγνοῶν τήν τε τοῦ σκότους δεινότητα καὶ τὴν τοῦ φωτὸς ἀφελότητα, ἐποίησεν οὐρανὸν καὶ

rioribus libris utitur Hippolytus. Nam quod ad quattuor istos priores* attinet, quorum ad nos nil pervenit nisi primus liber, qui Origenianorum operum corpori per errorem insertus erat, et particula quarti, a qua noster codex incipit: horum in libro decimo nulla exstat, quæ quidem jure sic appellari possit, *ἀνακεφαλαίωσις*. Neque enim tali nomine digna est jejuna ista philosophorum, quorum placita in libro primo copiose exposita erant, enumeratio, præsertim cum neque ipsius Hippolyti neque eorum scriptorum verbis comprehensa sit, a quibus singula primi libri capita repetita videntur, sed pæne tota ex aliquo Sexti Empirici loco descripta. Itaque si quis verbis initio libri decimi positis, quæ modo ascripsi, inductus speraverit, posse per *ἀνακεφαλαίωσιν*, quæ ibi promittatur, argumenta certe deperditorum secundi et tertii librorum recuperari: is pagellis 311—314. vel semel perlustratis vanam spem suam fuisse perspiciet. Nullus igitur fructus, qui ad quattuor priores libros pertineat, cum ex decimo percipiatur: tam varium et multiplicem usum habet decimus ille

ἐπὶ πολὺ τοὺς φωτεινοὺς χαρακτῆρας ἄνωθεν ὑπὸ τοῦ σκότους κάτω κατασπασθῆναι· ἀλλὰ γὰρ ὑπέταξε τοῖς αἰῶσι. Στερεώσας οὖν κάτωθεν "καὶ διεχώρισεν ἀνὰ μέσον τοῦ σκότους καὶ ἀνὰ μέσον τοῦ φωτός."

μέσον πήξας διεχώρισεν ἀναμέσον τοῦ σκότους καὶ ἀναμέσον τοῦ φωτός.

Quæ si inter se conferas, vel me non monente, videbis, in libro v. 6. sic scribendum esse: *τήν τε δύναμιν τοῦ σκότους οὐκ ἀγνοῶν καὶ τὸ ἁφελὲς (simplicitatem) τοῦ φωτός*, versu autem 10. sic: *ἀλλὰ γὰρ ὑπέταξε τοῖς αἰῶσι στερέωμα οὐρανοῦ κάτωθεν*, '*sed æonibus inferne substruxit firmamentum cœli.*'

* Quos ipse Hippolytus Philosophumenôn nomine designare et a reliquis quinque secernere videtur, lib. ix. p. 280. 52: *ἀλλ' εἰ καὶ πρότερον ἔκκειται ὑφ' ἡμῶν ἐν τοῖς Φιλοσοφουμένοις ἡ δόξα Ἡρακλείτου*, quod respicit ad lib. i. p. 10.

liber cum ad emendandos tum ad supplendos quinque posteriores, in quibus ἔλεγχος τῶν αἱρέσεων continetur, libros, ut minime verear pronuntiare, illum, si diligenter atque ex arte pertractetur, vice alterius codicis, ejusque et plenioris et castigatioris, haud uno in loco fungi posse. Id vero ne cupidius dixisse videar, age aliqua libri decimi capita cum capitibus quinque posteriorum librorum componamus et per singula eundo utraque persequamur. Unde id spero effectum iri, ut cum mendosa codicis nostri natura luculentis ipsius Hippolyti testimoniis patefiat, tum vero etiam ubi Hippolyti auxilium nos destituat libertas quædam sapienter audendi benigne ab omnibus concedatur, quicunque et harum rerum periti sint neque aciem mentis suæ obtuserint ignavia judicandi.

Initium autem facimus a capitibus de Ophitis sive Naassenis qui utrobique, et in quinto et in decimo libro, agmen hæreticorum ducunt. Ea capita primum siglis A et B notata ascribam sicut edita sunt a Millero, singulis eorum verbis sic e regione positis ut quæ ex quinto in decimum librum abierint in oculos incurrat. Quod ut etiam apertius reddatur ea verba, quæ utrique capiti communia sunt, in libro quinto distinctis litteris exprimenda curabo. Deinde quæ utroque in loco mutanda sint brevissime in marginibus significabo, atque harum denique mutationum causas e re nata vel uberius vel brevius exponam.

A. (Lib. V. p. 95. 42.)	B. (Lib. X. p. 314. 99.)
Οὗτοι τῶν ἄλλων ἁπάντων [1]παρὰ τὸν αὐτῶν λόγον τιμῶσιν ἄνθρωπον καὶ υἱὸν ἀνθρώπου. Ἔστι δὲ ἄνθρωπος οὗτος ἀρσενόθηλυς, καλεῖται δὲ Α-	Ναασσηνοὶ ἄνθρωπον καλοῦσι τὴν πρώτην τῶν ὅλων ἀρχὴν τὸν αὐτὸν καὶ υἱὸν ἀνθρώπου· τοῦτον δὲ

1 παρὰ τὸν αὐτῶν λόγον] πατέρα τῷ αὐτῷ λόγῳ.

δάμας παρ' αὐτοῖς· ὕμνοι δὲ εἰς αὐτὸν γεγόνασι πολλοὶ καὶ ποικίλοι.

p. 95. 50.: Διαιροῦσι δὲ αὐτὸν, ὡς Γηρυόνην, τριχῆ· Ἔστι γὰρ τούτου, φασὶ, τὸ μὲν νοερὸν, τὸ δὲ ψυχικὸν, τὸ δὲ χοϊκόν· καὶ νομίζουσιν εἶναι τὴν γνῶσιν αὐτοῦ ἀρχὴν τοῦ δύνασθαι γνῶναι τὸν Θεόν. Ταῦτα δὲ πάντα, φησὶ, τὰ νοερὰ καὶ ψυχικὰ καὶ χοϊκὰ, [1]κατεχώρησε καὶ κατ[ῆλθεν εἰς] ἕνα ἄνθρωπον ὁμοῦ Ἰησοῦν τὸν ἐκ τῆς Μαρίας γεγενημένον· καὶ ἐλάλουν, φησὶν, ὁμοῦ κατὰ τὸ αὐτὸ οἱ τρεῖς οὗτοι ἄνθρωποι ἀπὸ τῶν ἰδίων οὐσιῶν τοῖς ἰδίοις ἕκαστος. Ἔστι γὰρ τῶν ὅλων τρία γένη κατ' αὐτοὺς, ἀγγελικὸν, ψυχικὸν, χοϊκόν· καὶ τρεῖς ἐκκλησίαι, ἀγγελικὴ, ψυχικὴ, χοϊκή· ὀνόματα δὲ αὐταῖς, ἐκλεκτὴ, [2]κλητικὴ, αἰχμάλωτος. Ταῦτα ἐστὶν ἀπὸ πολλῶν πάνυ λόγων τὰ κεφάλαια, ἃ φησι παραδε-

τριχῆ διαιροῦσιν. Ἔστι μὲν γὰρ αὐτοῦ, φασὶ, τὸ μὲν νοερὸν, τὸ δὲ ψυχικὸν, τὸ δὲ χοϊκόν. Καλοῦσι δὲ αὐτὸν Ἀδάμαν, καὶ νομίζουσι τὴν [3]εἰς αὐτὸν εἶναι γνῶσιν ἀρχὴν τοῦ δύνασθαι γνῶναι Θεόν. Καὶ ταῦτα πάντα τὰ νοερὰ καὶ τὰ ψυχικὰ καὶ τὰ χοϊκὰ κεχωρηκέναι εἰς τὸν Ἰησοῦν καὶ ὁμοῦ δι' αὐτοῦ λελαληκέναι τὰς τρεῖς οὐσίας τοῖς τρισὶ γένεσι τοῦ [4]παντὸς, οὕτω φάσκουσι τριγενῆ, ἀγγελικὸν, ψυχικὸν, χοϊκόν· καὶ τρεῖς εἶναι ἐκκλησίας, ἀγγελικὴν, ψυχικὴν, χοϊκήν· ὀνόματα δὲ αὐταῖς ἐκλεκτὴ, κλητὴ, αἰχμάλωτος. Ταῦτα ἐστὶ τὰ κατ' αὐτοὺς κεφάλαια ὡς ἐν ὀλίγῳ ἐστὶ καταλαβεῖν. Ταῦτά φασι παραδεδωκέναι τὸν Ἰάκωβον τὸν ἀδελφὸν τοῦ Κυρίου τῇ Μαριάμνῃ καταψευδόμενοι ἀμφοτέρων.

[1] κατεχώρησε] Cod. καὶ ἐχώρησε. Scrib.: κεχώρηκε.
[2] κλητικὴ] κλητή. [3] εἰς αὐτόν] Sententia postulat αὐτοῦ.
[4] παντός. Τούτου φάσκουσι τρία γένη.

δωκέναι Μαριάμμῃ τὸν Ἰάκωβον τοῦ Κυρίου τὸν ἀδελφόν. Ἵν' οὖν μήτε Μαριάμμης ἔτι καταψεύδωνται οἱ ἀσεβεῖς μήτε Ἰακώβου κ.τ.λ.

Jam primum videamus quid in A corrigi potuerit adhibito B. Statim ab initio A 1—4. sicut scripta sunt in codice: Οὗτοι τῶν ἄλλων ἁπάντων παρὰ τὸν αὐτῶν λόγον τιμῶσι ἄνθρωπον καὶ υἱὸν ἀνθρώπου sententiam efficiunt nullam. Millerus autem cum hæc annotaret: 'Lege vel οὗτοι πρὸ τῶν ἄλλων vel infra προτιμῶσιν,' decimum librum, qui est mos ipsius, neglexit. Nos vero collato B 1. ἄνθρωπον καλοῦσι τὴν πρώτην τῶν ὅλων ἀρχὴν τὸν αὐτὸν καὶ υἱὸν ἀνθρώπου id agi videmus, ut Ophitæ nullum discrimen inter Hominem et Filium hominis fecisse dicantur. Quod e codicis scriptura nescio an non commodius eruatur quam sic: Οὗτοι τῶν ἄλλων ἁπάντων πατέρα τῷ αὐτῷ λόγῳ τιμῶσι ἄνθρωπον καὶ υἱὸν ἀνθρώπου. *'Hi tanquam reliquarum omnium rerum patrem eodem in loco honoris habent Hominem et Filium hominis.'* Si cui vero locutio τῷ αὐτῷ λόγῳ τιμᾶν elegantior videbitur quam quæ in Hippolyteum genus dicendi quadret: is adeat p. 281. 94.: Οὕτως Ἡράκλειτος ἐν ἴσῃ μοίρᾳ τίθεται καὶ τιμᾷ τὰ ἐμφανῆ τοῖς ἀφανέσιν. — Levioris momenti ea est mutatio quæ ut in A 20. fiat suasimus. Nam cum B 14. exstet κεχωρηκέναι, in A 20. scriptum fuisse κεχώχηκε idque in codicis scripturam καὶ ἐχώρησε (κἠχώρησε) abiisse, veri est similius, quam quod posuit Millerus κατεχώρησε. Denique κλητική quod A 34. legitur cum activam significationem habeat, ineptum esse apparet. Verum est κλητή, quod B 22. integrum reperitur. Neque est quod ad confirmandam hanc mutationem Te ego recordari jubeam verborum Matth. xx. 16.: πολλοὶ γάρ εἰσι κλητοὶ ὀλίγοι δὲ ἐκλεκτοί.

Hæc igitur sunt in quibus A per B emendatur, non contemnenda quidem sed tamen pauciora, quam quæ in reliquis capitibus inventuri sumus. Pergimus ad B per A emendandum. Quod eo confidentius persequi licet, quo certius ex comparatione duorum capitum cum universorum tum imprimis clausularum (A 35—43., B 23—29.) Tibi mecum jam constare existimo, non aliunde quam ex ipso A excerptum esse B. Atque hoc excerpendi negotio satis festinanter defunctus esse Hippolytus videtur. Neque enim excogitare possum, quanam alia via absurdum istud εἰς αὐτόν in B 9. καὶ νομίζουσι τὴν εἰς ἀὐτὸν εἶναι γνῶσιν ἀρχὴν τοῦ δύνασθαι γνῶναι Θεόν, loco ejus quod et sententia flagitat et exstat A 15. εἶναι τὴν γνῶσιν αὐτοῦ irrepserit, nisi per παρόραμα quoddam ipsius Hippolyti, cujus oculi in A 8. ὕμνοι δὲ εἰς αὐτὸν γεγόνασι aberraverint. In hanc autem regionem ideo delatus est, quod verba hæc: καλοῦσι δὲ αὐτὸν Ἀδάμαν (B 8.) post tripertitam Hominis divisionem (B 5.) posuit, cum in A alium eumque simpliciorem ordinem sequutus esset, a nomine (A 6.) ad divisionem (A 10.) transeundo. Alter vero error, qui B 17. inconcinna hæc: οὕτω φάσκουσι τριγενῆ peperit, non ipsi Hippolyto sed librario imputandus est. Ea enim ex A 27. Ἔστι γὰρ τῶν ὅλων τρία γένη apparet leniter mutando sic esse corrigenda: Τούτου φάσκουσι τρία γένη . . . . καὶ τρεῖς εἶναι ἐκκλησίας. '*Hujus* (i. e. τοῦ παντός) *tria dicunt esse genera.*'

Jam absolutis quæ de Ophitis agunt capitibus, eodem modo pertractemus capita, quæ et in quinto et in decimo libro continuo sequuntur. Sunt autem de Peratis.

A. (Lib. V. p. 123.)	B. (Lib. X. p. 315.)
Ἔστι γοῦν καὶ ἑτέρα τις Περατική, [1]ὧν πολλοῖς ἕτεσιν	Οἱ δὲ Περᾶται, Ἀδέμης ὁ Καρύστιος καὶ Εὐφράτης ὁ

[1] Inter Περατική et ὧν aliqua interciderunt.

ἔλαθεν ἡ κατὰ Χριστὸν δυσφημία· ὧν νῦν εἰς φανερὸν ἄγειν ἔδοξε τὰ ἀπόρρητα μυστήρια. Οὗτοι φάσκουσι τὸν κόσμον εἶναι ἕνα τριχῇ διῃρημένον. Ἔστι δὲ τῆς τριχῇ διαιρέσεως παρ' αὐτοῖς τὸ μὲν ἓν μέρος οἷον μία τις ἀρχὴ καθάπερ πηγὴ μεγάλη εἰς ἀπείρους τῷ λόγῳ τμηθῆναι τομὰς δυναμένη. Ἡ δὲ πρώτη τομὴ καὶ προσεχεστέρα κατ' αὐτοὺς ἐστὶ Τριὰς καὶ καλεῖται ἀγαθὸν τέλειον, μέγεθος πατρικόν· τὸ δὲ δεύτερον τῆς Τριάδος αὐτῶν μέρος οἱονεὶ δυνάμεων ἄπειρόν τι πλῆθος ἐξ [1]αὐτῶν γεγενημένον· τὸ τρίτον ἰδικόν. Καὶ ἔστι τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἀγέννητον, ὅπερ ἐστὶν ἀγαθόν· τὸ δὲ δεύτερον ἀγαθὸν αὐτογενές· τὸ τρίτον γεννητόν· ὅθεν διαρρήδην λέγουσι τρεῖς Θεοὺς, τρεῖς λόγους, τρεῖς νοῦς, τρεῖς ἀνθρώπους καὶ τὰ λοιπά. Ἐκάστῳ γὰρ μέρει τοῦ κόσμου, τῆς διαιρέσεως διακεκριμένης, διδόασι καὶ Θεοὺς καὶ λόγους καὶ ἀνθρώπους καὶ τὰ λοιπά. Ἄνωθεν δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς ἀγεννησίας καὶ τῆς τοῦ κόσμου πρώτης τομῆς, ἐπὶ συντελείᾳ λοιπὸν τοῦ κόσμου καθεστηκότος, κατεληλυθέναι ἐπὶ τοῖς Ἡρώδου χρόνοις τριφυῆ τινα ἀν-

Περατικὸς, λέγουσιν ἕνα εἶναι κόσμον τινὰ, οὕτως καλοῦντες τοῦτον, τριχῇ διῃρημένον. Ἔστι δὲ [2]τριχῆς διαιρέσεως παρ' αὐτοῖς τὸ μὲν ἓν μέρος, οἷον ἡ μία ἀρχὴ καθάπερ πηγὴ μεγάλη εἰς ἀπείρους τομὰς τῷ λόγῳ τμηθῆναι δυναμένη. Ἡ δὲ πρώτη τομὴ καὶ προσεχεστέρα κατ' αὐτούς ἐστιν ἡ τριὰς καὶ καλεῖται ἀγαθὸν τέλειον, μέγεθος πατρικόν. Τὸ δὲ δεύτερον μέρος τῆς τριάδος οἱονεὶ δυνάμεων [3]ἀπείρων τι πλῆθος· τρίτον ἰδικόν· καὶ ἔστι τὸ μὲν πρῶτον [4]ἀγέννητον, ὅθεν διαρρήδην λέγουσι τρεῖς Θεοὺς, τρεῖς λόγους, τρεῖς νοῦς, τρεῖς ἀνθρώπους καὶ τὰ λοιπά. Ἐκάστῳ γὰρ μέρει τοῦ κόσμου, τῆς διαιρέσεως διακεκριμένης, διδόασι καὶ Θεοὺς καὶ λόγους καὶ ἀνθρώπους καὶ τὰ λοιπά. Ἄνωθεν δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς ἀγεννησίας καὶ τῆς τοῦ κόσμου πρώτης τομῆς, ἐπὶ συντελείᾳ λοιπὸν τοῦ κόσμου καθεστηκότος, κατεληλυθέναι ἐπὶ τοῖς Ἡρώδου χρόνοις τριφυῆ τινα ἀν-

[1] *αὐτῶν γεγενημένων.*
[2] *δὲ τῆς τριχῆ* Millerus.
[3] *ἄπειρον.*
[4] *ἀγέννητον*] adde: *ὅπερ ἐστὶ ἀγαθόν· τὸ δὲ δεύτερον ἀγαθὸν αὐτογενές· τὸ τρίτον γεννητόν.*

πους. Ἑκάστῳ γὰρ μέρει τοῦ κόσμου, τῆς διαιρέσεως διακεκριμένης, διδόασι καὶ Θεοὺς καὶ λόγους, καὶ νοῦς, καὶ ἀνθρώπους, καὶ τὰ λοιπά. Ἄνωθεν δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς ἀγεννησίας καὶ [1]πρὸ τῆς τοῦ κόσμου τομῆς, καθεστηκότος λοιπὸν τοῦ κόσμου ἐπὶ συντελείᾳ, κατεληλυθέναι δι' αἰτίας ἃς ὕστερον ἐροῦμεν ἐν τοῖς Ἡρώδου χρόνοις τριφυῆ τινα καὶ τρίσωμον καὶ τριδύναμον ἄνθρωπον, καλούμενον Χριστὸν, ἀπὸ τῶν τριῶν ἔχοντα τοῦ κόσμου μερῶν ἐν ἑαυτῷ πάντα τὰ συγκρίματα καὶ τὰς δυνάμεις. Καὶ τοῦτο εἶναι, φησὶ, τὸ λεγόμενον. "Πᾶν τὸ πλήρωμα εὐδόκησε κατοικῆσαι ἐν αὐτῷ σωματικῶς, καὶ πᾶσά ἐστιν ἐν αὐτῷ ἡ Θεότης," τῆς οὕτω διῃρημένης Τριάδος. Κατενηνέχθαι [2]γάρ φησιν ἀπὸ τῶν ὑπερκειμένων κόσμων δύο, τοῦ τε ἀγεννήτου καὶ τοῦ αὐτογενοῦς, εἰς τοῦτον τὸν θρωπον καὶ τρισώματον καὶ τριδύναμον, καλούμενον Χριστὸν, ἀπὸ τῶν τριῶν ἔχοντα τοῦ κόσμου μερῶν ἐν αὐτῷ πάντα τὰ [3]τοῦ κόσμου συγκρίματα καὶ τὰς δυνάμεις. Καὶ τοῦτο εἶναι θέλουσι τὸ εἰρημένον· "Ἐν ᾧ κατοικεῖ πᾶν τὸ πλήρωμα τῆς Θεότητος [4]σώματι." Κατενεχῆθναι δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν ὑπερκειμένων κόσμων δύο, τοῦ τε ἀγεννήτου καὶ τοῦ αὐτογεννήτου, εἰς τοῦτον τὸν κόσμον, ἐν ᾧ ἐσμὲν ἡμεῖς, [5]παντοῖα δυνάμεων σπέρματα. Κατεληλυθῆναι δὲ τὸν Χριστὸν ἄνωθεν ἀπὸ ἀγεννησίας, ἵνα διὰ τῆς καταβάσεως αὐτοῦ πάντα σωθῇ τὰ τριχῇ διῃρημένα. Ἃ μὲν γὰρ, φησὶν, ἔστιν ἄνωθεν κατενηνεγμένα, ἀνελεύσεται δ' αὐτοῦ, τὰ δὲ ἐπιβουλεύσαντα τοῖς κατενηνεγμένοις [6]ἀφιεῖ εἰκῇ καὶ κολασθέντα ἀποπέμπεται. Δύο δὲ εἶναι μέρη τὰ σωζόμενα λέγει, τὰ ὑπερκείμενα, ἀπαλλαγέντα τῆς φθορᾶς· τὸ δὲ τρίτον ἀπόλλυσθαι, ὃν κόσμον [7]ἴδιον καλεῖ. Ταῦτα καὶ οἱ Περᾶται.

[1] πρὸ τῆς] πρώτης.
[2] γὰρ] δὲ.
[3] τοῦ κόσμου delenda.
[4] σωματικῶς.
[5] παντοίων.
[6] ἀφιεῖ εἰκῇ καὶ] ὀφιοειδῆ.
[7] ἰδικόν.

κόσμον, ἐν ᾧ ἐσμὲν ἡμεῖς, παντοίων δυνάμεων σπέρματα. Τίς δέ ἐστιν ὁ τρόπος τῆς καταβάσεως αὐτῶν ὕστερον ἐροῦμεν. Κατεληλυθέναι οὖν φησὶ τὸν Χριστὸν ἄνωθεν ἀπὸ τῆς ἀγεννησίας, ἵνα διὰ τῆς καταβάσεως αὐτοῦ πάντα σωθῇ τὰ τριχῇ διῃρημένα. Τὰ μὲν γὰρ, φησὶν, ἄνωθεν κατενηνεγμένα κάτω ἀνελεύσεται δι' αὐτοῦ, τὰ δὲ ἐπιβουλεύσαντα τοῖς κατενηνεγμένοις ἄνωθεν [1]ἀφίει, καὶ κολασθέντα ἀπολέγεται. Τοῦτο ἔστι, φησὶ, τὸ εἰρημένον "Οὐ γὰρ ἦλθεν ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου εἰς τὸν κόσμον, ἀπολέσαι τὸν κόσμον, ἀλλ' ἵνα σωθῇ ὁ κόσμος δι' αὐτοῦ." Κόσμον, φησὶ, καλεῖ τὰς δύο μοίρας τὰς ὑπερκειμένας, τήν τε ἀγέννητον καὶ τὴν αὐτογέννητον. "Οταν δὲ λέγῃ, φησὶν, "ἵνα μὴ σὺν τῷ κόσμῳ κατακριθῶμεν" ἡ Γραφὴ, τὴν τρίτην μοῖραν λέγει [2]τοῦ κόσμου τοῦ ἰδικοῦ. Τὴν μὲν γὰρ τρίτην δεῖ φθαρῆναι, ἣν καλεῖ κόσμον, τὰς δὲ δύο τῆς φθορᾶς ἀπαλλαγῆναι τὰς ὑπερκειμένας.

[1] ἀφίει καὶ] ὀφιοειδῆ. [2] τὸν κόσμον τὸν ἰδικόν.

Lacunosa esse verba A 1. Ἔστι γοῦν καὶ ἑτέρα τις Περατικὴ ὧν neminem fugere potest, cum pronomen ὧν quo referatur nihil habeat. Neque id non intellexit Millerus, qui hæc annotavit: 'Post Περατική *fortasse* desunt quædam.' Nos vero decimo libro nixi non solum aliqua ibi intercidisse sine dubitandi modestia pronuntiavimus, sed etiam qualia ea fuerint intelligimus. Nimirum ipsi illi antesignani Peraticorum, quorum mentio fit B 1. Ἀδέμης (sive, ut p. 34. 18. appellatur, Ἀκεμβῆς *) ὁ Καρύστιος καὶ Εὐφράτης ὁ Περατικός etiam A 1. post Περατική fortasse talibus verbis commemorati erant: ἧς ἀρχηγοὶ γεγόνασι Ἀδέμης κ.τ.λ.; certe hi sunt ad quos pronomen ὧν respicit.

Quod ad reliquas mutationes attinet, quas in A faciendas esse in margine significavimus, tres proximæ tam simplices et manifestæ sunt, vix ut defensione egeant. Nam A 22. scribendum esse δυνάμεων ἄπειρόν τι πλῆθος ἐξ αὐτῶν γεγενημένων, '*infinita multitudo potentiarum ex se ipsis genitarum*,' probatur per A 28., ubi secunda Trinitatis pars appellatur ἀγαθὸν αὐτογενές. Porro A 39. ἀπὸ τῆς ἀγεννησίας καὶ πρὸ τῆς τοῦ κόσμου τομῆς corruptum esse e πρώτης ostenditur per B 27. ἀπὸ τῆς ἀγεννησίας καὶ τῆς τοῦ κόσμου πρώτης τομῆς. Denique A 60. κατεννηνέχθαι γάρ a sententiarum connexu respuitur. Nulla enim exponitur causa eorum, quæ ante dicta erant, sed afferuntur nova. Corrigendum esse γάρ in δέ qui per se non perspexerit, per B 42. docebitur, ubi exstat κατενεχθῆναι δέ.

Proximam vero ab his mutationem, quæ quidem ad A 80. et B 57. pertinet, eo uberiore disputatione probandam esse arbitror, quo magis codicis scriptura primo aspectu ab omni offensione vacua videri potest. Etenim quæ in codice leguntur, quæque nil mutans neque monens ex-

* Ex p. 127. 11. Εὐφράτης ὁ Περατικὸς καὶ Κέλβης ὁ Καρύστιος nova hujus nominis forma prodire non videtur. Nam cum in minuscula scriptura λ et μ vix dignoscantur, Κέλβης et Ἀκεμβής eodem spectant.

hibuit Millerus A 75. τὰ μὲν γὰρ, φησὶν, ἄνωθεν κατενηνεγμένα κάτω ἀνελεύσεται δι' αὐτοῦ, τὰ δὲ ἐπιβουλεύσαντα τοῖς κατενηνεγμένοις ἄνωθεν ἀφίει, καὶ κολασθέντα ἀπολέγεται, hæc igitur verba et singula Græca sunt et ita inter se connectuntur, ut lectorem vel editorem, qui aliud agat, specie quadam periodi decipere possint. Qui vero hoc egerit, ut probabilem aliquam sententiam in eis deprehendat, is, opinor, primum id mirabitur, quo tandem pacto Christus '*dimittere* (ἀφίει)' dici possit eadem τὰ ἐπιβουλεύσαντα, quæ statim post '*pœnis affecta ablegantur* (κολασθέντα ἀπολέγεται)'; deinde haud patienter feret, τὰ ἐπιβουλεύσαντα cum ἀφίει conjuncta loco accusativi fungi, nominativi autem vicem præstare, ubi ad ἀπολέγεται referantur; denique quæ tandem sint τὰ ἐπιβουλεύσαντα illa, de quibus neque post quicquam profertur neque antea, jure suo mirabundus quæret. Jam si exitum ex his difficultatibus quærentes ad B 52. confugimus, vel in majores incidere videmur, cum hæc ibi reperiantur: Ἃ μὲν γὰρ, φησὶν, ἔστιν ἄνωθεν κατενηνεγμένα ἀνελεύσεται δι' αὐτοῦ, τὰ δὲ ἐπιβουλεύσαντα τοῖς κατενηνεγμένοις ἀφιεῖ εἰκῇ καὶ κολασθέντα ἀποπέμπεται. Ubi nil discrepat ab A, nisi quod pro elegantiori vocabulo ἀπολέγεται usitatius ponitur ἀποπέμπεται, et post ἀφίει additur εἰκῇ, quo additamento efficitur ut Christus non solum 'dimittere' dicatur τὰ κολασθέντα sed adeo '*temere* dimittere.' Verum enim vero in ipso illo εἰκῇ, quod dici nequit quam sit absonum, satis aperta latent vestigia veri. Nam si continua scriptura exaraveris ΑΦΙΕΙΕΙΚΗ, facile videbis quomodo in istas litteras abire potuerit id quod ab Hippolyto et in quinto et in decimo libro scriptum esse mihi persuasi: ΟΦΙΟΕΙΔΗ ὀφιοειδῇ. Hoc restituto, καί quod B 57. post εἰκῇ exstat delebitur, quippe quod ex κῇ ortum sit. Totum vero enuntiatum sicut A 75. conformatur τὰ μὲν γὰρ... ἄνωθεν κατενηνεγμένα κάτω ἀνελεύσεται δι' αὐτοῦ, τὰ δὲ ἐπιβουλεύσαντα τοῖς κατενηνεγμένοις ἄνωθεν ὀφιοειδῇ

κολασθέντα ἀπολέγεται jam est vertendum sic: '*Ea enim quæ superne delata sunt ascendent per illum* (*Christum*), *serpentina autem, quæ superne delatis insidiata sunt, pœnis affecta ablegantur.*' Neque profecto in obscuro positum est, quem locum et ὁ ὄφις et τὰ ὀφιοειδῆ in Peraticorum obtineant doctrina, quæ artissime cum Ophitarum hæresi conjungitur. Etenim ὁ ὄφις secundum Peratas est, quod discimus ex Hippolyto p. 133. 80. ὁ ἀληθινὸς ὄφις ὁ τέλειος sive, ut p. 133. 93. dicitur, ὁ καθολικὸς ὄφις, ὁ σοφὸς τῆς Εὔας λόγος, atque adeo (p. 135. 61.) ὁ υἱὸς, ὁ λόγος, ὁ ὄφις. Hujus genuini ὄφεως sunt ἀντίμιμοι πολλοὶ, ὅσοι ὤφθησαν ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ τοῖς υἱοῖς Ἰσραὴλ δάκνοντες (p. 134. 11.), atque hæ falsæ serpentes, quæ genuinam illam æmulantur, cum recte appellari possint τὰ ὀφιοειδῆ tum cur '*superne delatis insidiari*' dicantur, inde explicatur, quod ipsæ sunt θεοὶ τῆς γενέσεως (p. 133. 87.) sive θεοὶ τῆς ἀπωλείας (p. 133. 91.). Verum hæc de hac re satis dicta sunto.

Quod præterea in A emendetur, nil restat nisi v. 93. τὴν τρίτην μοῖραν λέγει τοῦ κόσμου τοῦ ἰδικοῦ. Hæc enim scriptura si recte sese habet, ipse κόσμος ἰδικός tribus partibus constare dicitur. At vero cum ex tota Peraticorum ratione apparet, tum supra A 24. data opera exponitur, tertiam partem universi κόσμου tripertiti esse κόσμον ἰδικόν, sive (p. 130. 17.) τὸν καθ' ἡμᾶς κόσμον. Quicum ut locus, de quo agimus, consentiat, scribendus est sic: τὴν τρίτην μοῖραν λέγει, τὸν κόσμον τὸν ἰδικόν.

Jam exhausto A deducimur ad B. Ibi primum recte egisse Millerum B 6. ἔστι δὲ τριχῆς διαιρέσεως in ἔστι δὲ τῆς τριχῆ διαιρέσεως mutando, ostenditur per A 9. Minus bene idem Millerus rem gessisse in eo videtur, quod B 8. pro οἷον ἡ μία ἀρχή proposuit οἱονεὶ μία ἀρχή. Quo quid lucremur, excogitare nequeo. Immo per articulum ἡ, quem consulto hic posuisse videtur Hippolytus, sicut non magis temere exstat A 11. οἷον μία τις ἀρχή, commone-

fecit lectorem, *μίαν ἀρχήν* pro eo accipiendum esse, quod vulgo dicitur "terminus technicus." Etenim *μία ἀρχή* in hoc scriptorum genere, ad quod Hippolytus pertinet, sic frequentatur ut non *unum* principium sed *unicum* omnium rerum principium (*μόνην ἀρχὴν τῶν ὅλων*) significet. Quod recte dictum esse Te non fugit, qui illa vocabula sic usurpata cum passim alibi legeris, tum in fragmentis Rhodonianis, quæ ex Eusebio exscripsit Routhius, Relliqq. Sacrr. i. p. 439. 40. ed. sec. Totus igitur Hippolyti locus sic distinguendus est atque vertendus: *Ἔστι δὲ τῆς τριχῆ διαιρέσεως τὸ μὲν ἓν μέρος οἷον ἡ μία ἀρχὴ, καθάπερ πηγὴ μεγάλη εἰς ἀπείρους τομὰς τῷ λόγῳ τμηθῆναι δυναμένη.* '*Unitas tripertitæ divisionis est quasi unicum principium, quod tanquam fons magnus in innumerabilia segmenta cogitando secari potest.*" Ubi consulto *Unitas* posui pro eo quod Græce est *τὸ ἓν μέρος*. Ea enim quæ statim sequuntur (B 11. = A 15.) si accurate pensitaveris, non de una parte hic agi videbis sed de Toto. Atque adeo suspicor, Totum illud ab ipsis Peratis nequaquam appellatum esse *τὸ ἓν μέρος*, sed *τὸ Ἕν*, cui vel Hippolytus, vel is, ex quo ipse pendet, scriptor, perperam de suo addiderit *μέρος*. Paullo post B 16. *δυνάμεων ἀπείρων τι πλῆθος* nemo non mutaverit in id, quod A 22. legitur, *ἄπειρόν τι πλῆθος*. Neque minus apertum est post B 18. *καὶ ἔστι τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἀγέννητον* haud pauca excidisse. Nusquam enim quicquam reperitur quo vel *μέν* vel *πρῶτον* possit referri. Lacunæ supplementum hoc: *καὶ ἔστι τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἀγέννητον ὅπερ ἐστὶ ἀγαθόν· τὸ δὲ δεύτερον ἀγαθὸν αὐτογενές· τὸ τρίτον γεννητόν· ὅθεν διαρρήδην κ.τ.λ.* præbet A 24—30., simulque aperit hanc quoque lacunam sicut tot alias, quibus cum quivis scriptus liber tum vero imprimis hic Hippolytei operis codex Parisinus * affligitur, ex uberrimo homœoteleutôn fonte manasse.

* Aliud exemplum non minus luculentum in capitibus de

Reliqua quæ in B mutanda esse significavi, talia sunt, ut coram Te de eis verba facere supervacaneum, pæne dixerim, ineptum videatur. Quapropter his omissis aliud quiddam breviter perstringam, quo quasi manu ducit comparatio decimum inter et reliquos libros instituta. Etenim versum Coloss. ii. 9. quo Peratæ suam doctrinam stabilire conantur, allatum vides A 55. sic: *πᾶν τὸ πλήρωμα εὐδόκησε κατοικῆσαι ἐν αὐτῷ σωματικῶς καὶ πᾶσά ἐστι ἐν αὐτῷ ἡ θεότης.* Quod discrepat quidem a vulgata scriptura quæ hæc est: *ὅτι ἐν αὐτῷ κατοικεῖ πᾶν τὸ πλήρωμα τῆς θεότητος σωματικῶς*, proxime vero accedit ad eam hujus versiculi lectionem, quam ex Origene ascripsit Lachmannus in editione majore: *εἰς ὃν εὐδόκησε ἅπαν τὸ πλήρωμα τῆς θεότητος κατοικῆσαι σωματικῶς.* Exsultabunt hoc patefacto, quicunque Origenem Philosophumenôn

Sethianis inveniemus. Præterea hic duo ascribere liceat, quorum unum exstat in capitibus de Basilide:

Lib. VII. p. 233. 80.	Lib. X. p. 320. 85.
ταύτης τῆς νιότητος τῆς τριχῆ διῃρημένης τὸ μέν τι ἦν λεπτομερὲς, τὸ δὲ ἀποκαθάρσεως δεόμενον.	*ταύτης τῆς νιότητος τριχῆ διῃρημένης τὸ μέν τι ἦν λεπτομερὲς, τὸ δὲ παχυμερὲς, τὸ δὲ ἀποκαθάρσεως δεόμενον.*

Ibi verba *τὸ δὲ παχυμερές*, quæ in octavo libro propter *λεπτομερές* interciderunt, integra præstat decimus liber. Contrarium accidit in capitibus de Simone:

Lib. VI. p. 165. 50.	Lib. X. p. 319. 37.
εἶναι δὲ ἐν ταῖς ἓξ ῥίζαις ταύταις πᾶσαν ὁμοῦ τὴν ἀπέραντον δύναμιν δυνάμει οὐκ ἐνεργείᾳ. Ἥντινα ἀπέραντον δύναμιν φησὶ τὸν ἑστῶτα, [adde στάντα,] στηρόμενον.	*εἶναι δὲ ἐν ταῖς ἓξ ῥίζαις ὁμοῦ τὴν ἀπέραντον δύναμιν· εἶναι φησὶ τὸν ἑστῶτα, στάντα, στησόμενον.*

Ubi restituit sextus liber quæ simile homœoteleut on decimo eripuit: *δυνάμει οὐκ ἐνεργείᾳ· ἥντινα ἀπέραντον δύναμιν* ante *εἶναι φησί* inserenda.

scriptorem esse vel dixerunt vel, ut fert humana natura semel dictorum tenax, etiam in posterum dicturi sunt, et fortasse si a nobis moniti totum opus, ratione biblicorum locorum habita, denuo pervolutaverint in caput de Monoimo Arabe p. 270. 55. devenient, ibique eundem locum iterum deprehendent Origenianæ lectioni quam vulgatæ propiorem: *πᾶν τὸ πλήρωμα εὐδόκησε κατοικῆσαι ἐπὶ τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ ἀνθρώπου σωματικῶς*. Verum caveant, ne præpostere exsultent. Nam ab altera parte stat decimus liber, in quo versus, de quo agimus, prorsus ita scriptus exstat sicut vulgo circumfertur: B. 42. *ἐν ᾧ κατοικεῖ πᾶν τὸ πλήρωμα τῆς θεότητος σώματι*, ubi corrigendum esse *σωματικῶς* vidit Millerus neque ullus non viderit. Jam quid de hac discrepantia statuendum esse dicamus? Equidem ita censeo: Cum in libro quinto et octavo capita de Peratis et de Monoimo conscriberet Hippolytus, horum ipsorum libris vel aliquo, qui inde hauserat, scriptore ita usus est, ut eorum vestigia persequeretur. Itaque biblicos locos eo ascripsit modo quo eos allatos invenit, i. e. sicut legebantur in ecclesiis Orientis, ubi Peratæ et Monoimus floruerunt et vero etiam Origenes. Quo factum est, ut in illa operis Hippolytei parte *εὐδόκησε*, quod vulgo Coloss. i. 19. legitur, etiam Coloss. ii. 9. adsit. Contra cum decimum librum festinanter e reliquis libris excerperet Hippolytus: talem varietatem nil referre ratus, eam ascripsit lectionem, quam et ipse a puero edidicerat et suæ regionis homines usurpabant, i. e. qualis legebatur in ecclesiis Occidentis. Quæ si recte disputata sunt, tantum abest, ut opinioni de Origene Philosophumenôn scriptore opitulentur, ut eam redarguant via quadam inopinata. Simul autem eo valent, ut multiplex Lachmannianæ operæ utilitas, quam utinam theologi tandem aliquando ut par est agnoscant, novo argumento illustretur. Ea enim editione recte adhibita, de quovis libro controverso facillime dijudicari potest, utrum ad Orientem

an ad Occidentem pertineat, modo insit aliquis ex eis Bibliorum locis, quorum orientalis lectio differt ab occidentali. Velut, cum Hippolytum in libro decimo occidentali lectione usum esse videamus, inde cumulus accedit argumentationi Tuæ, qua eum episcopum Arabiæ non fuisse demonstrasti.

Absolutis igitur his, quæ erant de Peratis, capitibus, pergimus ad proxima, quæ sunt de Sethianis. Ea quum inter corruptissimas totius operis partes numeranda sint, sane feliciter accidit, quod liber decimus in hoc capite ἐπιτομήν exhibet solito copiosiorem.

A.

(Lib. V. p. 138. 34.)

Ἴδωμεν οὖν τί λέγουσιν οἱ Σιθιανοί.[1] Τούτοις δοκεῖ τῶν ὅλων εἶναι τρεῖς ἀρχὰς περιωρισμένας. ἑκάστην δὲ τῶν ἀρχῶν ἀπείρους ἔχειν δυνάμεις. [2]Δυνάμεις δὲ αὐτῶν λεγόντων λογιζέσθω ὁ ἀκούων τοῦτο αὐτοὺς λέγειν· "Πᾶν ὅ τι νοήσει ἐπινοεῖς ἢ καὶ παραλείπεις μὴ νοηθὲν, τοῦτο ἑκάστῃ τῶν ἀρχῶν πέφυκε γενέσθαι ὡς ἐν ἀνθρωπίνῃ ψυχῇ πᾶσα ἡτισοῦν διδασκομένη τέχνη· οἱονεὶ, φησὶ, [3]γενήσεται τοῦτο

B.

(Lib. X. p. 316. 49.)

Τοῖς δὲ Σιθιανοῖς δοκεῖ, ὅτι τῶν ὅλων εἰσὶ τρεῖς ἀρχαὶ περιωρισμέναι. Ἑκάστη δὲ τῶν ἀρχῶν πέφυκε [4]δύνασθαι γενέσθαι, ὡς ἐν ἀνθρωπίνῃ ψυχῇ πᾶσα ἥτις οὖν διδασκομένη τέχνη [5]οἱονεὶ γένοιτο παιδίον αὐλητῇ γενέσθαι αὐλεῖν, ἢ γεωμέτρῃ γεωμετρεῖν, ἢ τινὶ τέχνῃ ὁμοίως. Αἱ

1 Σηθιανοί scribendum ubique.

2 Δύναται δὲ αὐτῶν λεγόντων λογίζεσθαι.

3 γενήσεται] Cod. γένηται. Scr. γένοιτο.

4 δύνασθαι delendum.

5 οἷον εἰ ἐγγὺς γένοιτο παιδίον αὐλητῇ δύνασθαι αὐλεῖν.

τὸ παιδίον αὐλητὴς ἐγχρονίσαν αὐλητῇ, ἢ γεώμετρος γεωμέτρῃ, γραμματικῷ γραμματικὸς, τέκτων τέκτονι, καὶ ταῖς ἄλλαις ἁπάσαις τέχναις ἐγγὺς γινόμενον ὁμοίως συμβήσεται.

Αἱ δὲ τῶν ἀρχῶν, φησὶν, οὐσίαι εἰσὶ φῶς καὶ σκότος· τούτων δέ ἐστιν ἐν μέσῳ πνεῦμα ἀκέραιον· τὸ δὲ πνεῦμα τὸ τεταγμένον ἐν μέσῳ τοῦ σκότους, ὅπερ ἐστὶ κάτω, καὶ τοῦ φωτὸς, ὅπερ ἐστὶν ἄνω, οὐκ ἔστι πνεῦμα ὡς ἄνεμος ἢ ῥιπὴ ἢ λεπτή τις αὖρα νοηθῆναι δυναμένη, ἀλλ' οἱονεὶ μύρου τις ὀσμὴ ἢ θυμιάματος ἐκ συνθέσεως κατεσκευασμένου, λεπτὴ διοδεύουσα δύναμις ἀνεπινοήτῳ τινὶ καὶ κρείττονι λόγῳ ἔστιν ἐξειπεῖν εὐωδία. Ἐπεὶ δὴ ἄνω ἐστὶ τὸ φῶς καὶ κάτω [τὸ] σκότος καὶ τούτων ὡς ἔφην τοιοῦτον τρόπον ὂν μέσον τὸ πνεῦμα, [1]τὸ φῶς πέφυκε, καθάπερ [2]δή τις ἥλιος

δὲ τῶν ἀρχῶν, φασὶν, οὐσίαι εἰσὶ φῶς καὶ σκότος. Τούτων δέ ἐστιν ἐν μέσῳ πνεῦμα ἀκέραιον· τὸ δὲ πνεῦμα τὸ τεταγμένον ἐν μέσῳ τοῦ σκότους, ὅπερ ἐστὶ κάτω, καὶ τοῦ φωτὸς, ὅπερ ἐστιν ἄνω, οὐκ ἔστι πνεῦμα ὡς ἄνεμος ἢ ῥιπὴ ἢ λεπτή τις αὖρα νοηθῆναι δυναμένη, ἀλλ' οἱονεί τις ὀσμὴ μύρου ἢ θυμιάματος ἐκ συνθέσεως κατασκευαζομένου [3]λεπτῆς, διοδεύσασα δύναμις ἀνεπινοήτῳ τινὶ καὶ κρείττονι λόγου φορᾷ εὐωδίας. Ἐπεὶ τοίνυν ἐστιν ἄνω τὸ φῶς καὶ κάτω τὸ σκότος καὶ τούτων μέσον τὸ πνεῦμα, τὸ δὲ φῶς [4]ἀκτὶς ἡλίου ἄνωθεν [5]ἐκλάμπουσα εἰς τὸ ὑποκείμενον σκότος, ἡ δὲ τοῦ πνεύματος εὐωδία φέρεται μέσην ἔχουσα τάξιν καὶ ἐξικνεῖται ὥσπερ ἡ τῶν θυ-

[1] τὸ φῶς] Cod. τὸ δὲ φῶς recte.
[2] δή τις ἥλιος] Cod. δή τις ἡλίου. Scr. ἀκτὶς ἡλίου.
[3] λεπτὴ διοδεύουσα. [4] φῶς ὡς ἀκτίς. [5] ἐλλάμπουσα.

ἄνωθεν [1]ἐλλάμπει εἰς τὸ ὑποκείμενον σκότος· ἀνάπαλιν δὲ ἡ τοῦ πνεύματος εὐωδία [2]διαμέση ἔχουσαν τάξιν ἐκτείνεται καὶ φέρεται πανταχῆ, ὡς ἐπὶ τῶν ἐν πυρὶ θυμιαμάτων τὴν εὐωδίαν πανταχῆ φερομένην ἐπεγνώκαμεν. [3]Τοιαύτης δὲ οὔσης τῆς δυνάμεως τῶν [4]εἰρημένων τριχῶς, τοῦ πνεύματος καὶ τοῦ φωτὸς ὁμοῦ ἡ δύναμίς ἐστιν ἐν τῷ σκότει τῷ κάτωθεν αὐτῶν τεταγμένῳ. Τὸ δὲ σκότος ὕδωρ ἐστι φοβερόν, εἰς ὃ κατέσπασται καὶ μετενήνεκται εἰς τὴν τοιαύτην φύσιν μετὰ τοῦ πνεύματος τὸ φῶς. Τὸ δὲ σκότος ἀσύνετον οὐκ ἔστιν ἀλλὰ φρόνιμον παντελῶς· καὶ οἶδεν ὅτι ἂν ἀπαρθῇ τὸ φῶς ἀπὸ τοῦ σκότους, μένει τὸ σκότος ἔρημον, ἀφανὲς, ἀλαμπὲς, ἀδύναμον, ἄπρακτον, ἀσθενές. Διὸ πάσῃ φρονήσει καὶ συνέσει βιάζεται

μιαμάτων ὀσμὴ ἐπὶ τῷ πυρὶ φέρεται, τοιαύτης δὲ οὔσης τῆς δυνάμεως τῶν διῃρημένων τριχῶς, τοῦ πνεύματος καὶ τοῦ φωτὸς ὁμοῦ ἐστι κάτω ἡ δύναμις ἐν τῷ σκότει τῷ ὑποτεταγμένῳ, τὸ δὲ σκότος ὕδωρ εἶναι φασὶ φοβερὸν, εἰς ὃ κατέσπασται [καὶ] μετενήνεκται εἰς τοιαύτην φύσιν μετὰ τοῦ πνεύματος τὸ φῶς. Φρόνιμον οὖν τὸ σκότος ὂν καὶ γινῶσκον ὅτι ἂν ἀπαρθῇ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ τὸ φῶς, μένει τὸ σκότος ἔρημον, ἀφανὲς, ἀλαμπὲς, ἀδύναμον, ἄπρακτον, ἀσθενὲς, [5]τόδε πάσῃ συνέσει καὶ φρονήσει βιάζεται κατέχειν εἰς ἑαυτὸ τὴν λαμπηδόνα καὶ τὸν σπινθῆρα τοῦ φωτὸς μετὰ τῆς τοῦ πνεύματος εὐωδίας. Εἰκόνα

1 ἐλλάμπει] Cod. ἐλλάμπειν recte.
2 διαμέση] μέσην ἔχουσα Millerus
3 Distingue : ἐπεγνώκαμεν· τοιαύτης.
4 εἰρημένων] διῃρημένων.
5 τόδε] Cod. τῷ δὲ. Scribo : οὕτω δή.

κατέχειν εἰς ἑαυτὸ τὴν λαμπηδόνα καὶ [1]σπινθῆρα τοῦ φωτὸς μετὰ τῆς τοῦ πνεύματος εὐωδίας καὶ τούτων ἔστιν ἰδεῖν τῆς φύσεως εἰκόνα κατὰ πρόσωπον ἀνθρώπου, κόρην ὀφθαλμοῦ, σκοτεινὴν ἐκ τῶν ὑποκειμένων ὑδάτων, πεφωτισμένην πνεύματι. Ὡς οὖν ἀντιποιεῖται τὸ σκότος τῆς λαμπηδόνος, ἵνα ἔχῃ τὸν σπινθῆρα δουλεύοντα καὶ βλέπῃ, οὕτως ἀντιποιεῖται τὸ φῶς καὶ τὸ πνεῦμα τῆς δυνάμεως τῆς ἑαυτῶν· καὶ σπεύδουσιν ἄραι καὶ ἀνακομίσασθαι πρὸς [2]ἑαυτὰς τὰς μεμιγμένας αὐτῶν δυνάμεις εἰς τὸ ὑποκείμενον ὕδωρ σκοτεινὸν καὶ φοβερόν. Πᾶσαι δὲ αἱ δυνάμεις τῶν τριῶν ἀρχῶν οὖσαι κατ' ἀριθμὸν ἀπειράκις ἄπειροί εἰσιν ἑκάστη κατὰ τὴν οὐσίαν τῆς ἑαυτῆς φρόνιμοι, νοεραὶ, ἀναρίθμητοι τὸ πλῆθος. Φρόνιμοι δὲ οὖσαι καὶ νοεραὶ, ἐπειδὰν μένωσι κατ' αὐτὰς, ἡσυχάζουσι πᾶσαι· ἐὰν δὲ πλησιάσῃ δύναμις δυνάμει, ἡ ἀνομοιότης τῆς παραθέσεως ἐργάζεται κίνησιν

τούτου ταύτην παρεισάγουσι λέγοντες, ὥσπερ ἡ κόρη τοῦ [3]ὀφθαλμοῦ ὑποκειμένων ὑδάτων σκοτεινὴ φαίνεται, φωτίζεται δὲ ὑπὸ τοῦ πνεύματος, οὕτως ἀντιποιεῖται τὸ σκότος τοῦ πνεύματος, ἔχει δὲ παρ' ἑαυτῷ πάσας τὰς δυνάμεις βουλομένας ἀφίστασθαι καὶ ἀνιέναι. Εἰσὶ δὲ αὗται

ἀπειράκις ἄπειροι ἐξ ὧν τὰ πάντα [4]κυκλοῦται καὶ γένεται ἐπιμιγνυμένων δίκην σφραγίδων. Ὥσπερ

[1] καὶ τὸν σπινθῆρα.
[2] ἑαυτά.
[3] ὀφθαλμοῦ ὑπὸ ὑποκειμένων.
[4] κυκλοῦται] τυποῦται.

τινα καὶ ἐνέργειαν ἀπὸ τῆς κινήσεως μεμορφωμένην κατὰ τὴν συνδρομὴν τῆς παραθέσεως τῶν συνελθουσῶν δυνάμεων. Γίνεται γὰρ τῶν δυνάμεων ἡ συνδρομή, [1]οἱονεί τις τύπος σφραγῖδος κατὰ συνδρομὴν [2]ἀπὸ πληγῆς παραπλησίως πρὸς τὸν ἐκτυποῦντα τὰς ἀναφερομένας οὐσίας. Ἐπεὶ οὖν ἄπειροι μὲν κατ' ἀριθμὸν τῶν τριῶν ἀρχῶν αἱ δυνάμεις, ἐκ δὲ τῶν ἀπείρων δυνάμεων ἄπειροι συνδρομαὶ, ἀναγκαίως γεγόνασιν ἀπείρων σφραγίδων εἰκόνες. Αὗται οὖν εἰσὶν αἱ εἰκόνες αἱ τῶν διαφόρων ζῴων ἰδέαι. Γέγονεν οὖν ἐκ πρώτης τῶν τριῶν ἀρχῶν [3]συνδρομῆς μεγάλης μεγάλη τις ἰδέα, σφραγὶς οὐρανοῦ καὶ γῆς. Σχῆμα δὲ ἔχουσιν ὁ οὐρανὸς καὶ ἡ γῆ μήτρᾳ παραπλήσιον τὸν ὀμφαλὸν ἐχούσῃ μέσον, καὶ εἰ, φησὶν, ὑπὸ ὄψιν ἀγαγεῖν Θέλει τις τὸ σχῆμα τοῦτο, ἔγκυον μήτραν ὁποίου βούλεται ζῴου τεχνικῶς ἐρευνησάτω, καὶ εὑρήσει τὸ ἐκτύπωμα τοῦ οὐρανοῦ καὶ τῆς γῆς

γὰρ σφραγὶς ἐπικοινωνήσασα κηρῷ τὸν τύπον ἐποίησεν αὐτὴ παρ' ἑαυτῇ ἥτις οὖν μένουσα, οὕτως καὶ αἱ δυνάμεις ἐπικοινωνήσασαι τὰ πάντα ἀπερ- 75
γάζονται γένη ζῴων ἄπειρα. Γεγονέναι

οὖν ἀπὸ τῆς πρώτης συνδρομῆς τῶν τριῶν ἀρχῶν μεγάλης σφραγῖδος ἰδέαν, [4]οὐρανὸν καὶ γῆν εἶδος 80
ἔχουσαν παραπλήσιον μήτρᾳ ὀμφαλὸν ἐχούσῃ μέσον. Οὕτως

[1] οἱονεί] οἷον εἰ.
[2] ἀπὸ πληγῆς] ἀποπλάσῃ.
[3] συνδρομῆς, μεγάλης μεγάλη τις ἰδέα σφραγῖδος.
[4] οὐρανοῦ καὶ γῆς.

καὶ τῶν ἐν μέσῳ πάντων ἀπαραλλάκτως ὑποκείμενον· γέγονε δὲ οὐρανοῦ καὶ γῆς τὸ σχῆμα τοιοῦτον, οἱονεὶ μήτρᾳ [1]παραπλήσιον. Κατὰ τὴν πρώτην συνδρομὴν ἐν αὐτῷ μέσῳ τῷ οὐρανῷ καὶ τῇ γῇ γεγόνασιν ἄπειροι δυνάμεων συνδρομαί. Καὶ ἑκάστη συνδρομὴ οὐκ ἄλλο τι εἰργάσατο καὶ ἐξετύπωσεν ἢ σφραγῖδα οὐρανοῦ καὶ γῆς παραπλήσιον μήτρᾳ. Εἰς δὲ ταύτην πᾶσαν [2]ἡ ὑπὸ τὸν οὐρανὸν ἐν τοῖς διαφόροις ζῴοις [3]ἀπειρία κατέσπαρται καὶ καταμεμέρισται μετὰ τοῦ φωτὸς ἡ τοῦ πνεύματος ἄνωθεν εὐωδία. Γέγονεν οὖν ἐκ τοῦ ὕδατος πρωτόγονος ἀρχὴ, ἄνεμος σφοδρὸς καὶ λάβρος καὶ πάσης γενέσεως αἴτιος. Βρασμὸν γάρ τινα ἐμποιῶν τοῖς ὕδασι, ἀπὸ τῶν ὑδάτων διεγείρει κύματα· ἡ δὲ τῶν κυμάτων γένεσις, οἱονεί τις οὖσα [4]ὁρμὴ ἐγκύμονα γεγονέναι τὸν ἄνδρα καὶ τὰς λοιπὰς ἐκτυπώσεις τῶν πάντων ἐκτετυπῶσθαι ὥσπερ οὐρανὸν καὶ γῆν μήτρᾳ παραπλησίους. Ἐκ δὲ τοῦ ὕδατος γεγονέναι φασὶ πρωτόγονον ἀρχὴν [5]ἀνεμοφθόρον καὶ λάβρον καὶ πάσης γενέσεως [6]ἀγγεῖον, βρασμόν τινα καὶ κίνησιν ἐργαζόμενον τῷ κόσμῳ ἐκ τῆς τῶν ὑδάτων κινήσεως. [7]Τοῦτον δὲ ἐπιτελεῖν εἶδος συρίγματι ὄφεως παραπλήσιον,

[1] Distinguendum et scribendum sic: *παραπλήσιον κατὰ τὴν πρώτην συνδρομήν. Ἐν δ' αὖ τῷ μέσῳ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ καὶ τῆς γῆς* κ.τ.λ.

[2] *ἡ*] *τήν*. [3] *ἀπειρίαν*.

[4] *ὁρμὴ μήτρας ἐγκύμων γέγονεν τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἡ τοῦ νοῦ, ὁπόταν* κ.τ.λ.

[5] *ἄνεμον σφοδρόν*, Millerus. [6] *ἀγγεῖον*] *αἴτιον*.

[7] *Τοῦτον δὲ ἐπὶ τέλειον εἶδος σύρματι ὄφεως παραπλήσιον μορφωθῆναι, ὃ ἀφορῶν ὁ κόσμος* κ.τ.λ.

θρωπον ἢ τὸν βοῦν, ὁπόταν ὑπὸ τῆς τοῦ πνεύματος ὁρμῆς [1]ὁρμήσασα ἐπείγηται. Ἐπὰν δὲ τοῦτο τὸ ὑπὸ τοῦ ἀνέμου κῦμα ἐκ τοῦ ὕδατος ἐγερθὲν καὶ ἐγκύμονα ἐργασάμενον τὴν φύσιν γέννημα θηλείας [2]εἰληφὸς ἐν ἑαυτῷ καὶ ἔχον τὸ κατεσπαρμένον φῶς ἄνωθεν μετὰ τῆς τοῦ πνεύματος εὐωδίας, τουτέστι νοῦν μεμορφωμένον ἐν τοῖς διαφόροις εἴδεσιν, ὅ ἐστι τέλειος Θεὸς ἐξ ἀγεννήτου φωτὸς ἄνωθεν καὶ πνεύματος κατενηνεγμένος εἰς ἀνθρωπίνην φύσιν ὥσπερ εἰς ναὸν φορᾷ φύσεως καὶ ἀνέμου κινήματι, γεννηθεὶς ἐξ ὕδατος, [3]συγκεκρυμμένος καὶ καταμεμιγμένος τοῖς σώμασιν οἱονεὶ [4]ἀλάλων γενομένων [5]ὑπάρχον καὶ φῶς τοῦ σκότους, ἀπὸ τῶν σωμάτων [6]σπεῦδον λυθῆναι καὶ μὴ δυνάμενος τὴν λύσιν εὑρεῖν καὶ τὴν διέξοδον ἑαυτοῦ· καταμέμικται γὰρ σπινθήρ τις ἐλάχιστος ἀπ... .....ᾶσμα ἄνωθεν ἀ.. ..... νος δίκην ἐν τὸ .... | φέρων ὅθεν ἦν ὁ φορῶν ὁ κόσμος πρὸς γένεσιν ὁρμᾷ· ὀργήσας ὡς μήτρα καὶ ἔντευθεν θέλουσι συνίστασθαι τὴν τῶν ὅλων γένεσιν. Τοῦτον δὲ εἶναι πνεῦμα ἄνεμον λέγουσι, τέλειον Θεὸν ἐκ τῆς τῶν ὑδάτων καὶ τῆς τοῦ πνεύματος εὐωδίας καὶ φωτὸς λαμπηδόνος γεγονέναι, καὶ εἶναι γέννημα θηλείας νοῦν τὸν ἄνωθεν σπινθῆρα κάτω ἀναμεμιγμένον, [7]σὺν τοῖς περὶ συγκρίτοις σώματος σπεύδειν καὶ φεύγειν, ἐκφυγόντα πορεύεσθαι καὶ τὴν λύσιν οὐκ εὑρίσκειν διὰ τὴν ἐν τοῖς ὕδασι δέσιν. Διὸ ἐβόα ἐκ τῆς τῶν ὑδά-

[1] ὀργήσασα. [2] εἰλήφῃ ἐν ἑαυτῷ, κατέχει τό κ.τ.λ.
[3] συγκεκριμένος. [4] ἀλάλων] ὕλας τῶν. [5] ὑπάρχων.
[6] σπεύδων.
[7] σὺν τοῖς περισυγκρίτοις σώματος σπεύδειν ἐκφεύγειν καὶ ἐκφυγόντα κ.τ.λ.

.... [1]λυσυγκρίτοις πολλῶν. Ὡς, φησὶν, ἐν τῷ ψαλμῷ λέγει· "Πᾶσα οὖν φροντὶς καὶ ἐπιμέλεια τοῦ φωτὸς ἄνωθεν ἔστι." Πῶς καὶ τίνα τρόπον; ἀπὸ τοῦ θανάτου τοῦ πονηροῦ καὶ σκοτεινοῦ σώματος ἀπολυθεὶς ὁ νοῦς ἀπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς τοῦ κάτωθεν, ὅ ἐστιν ὁ ἄνεμος ἐν βρόμῳ καὶ ταράχῳ ἐπεγείρας κύματα καὶ γεννήσας νοῦν τέλειον υἱὸν ἑαυτοῦ οὐκ ὄντα ἴδιον ἑαυτοῦ κατ' οὐσίαν. Ἄνωθεν γὰρ ἦν ἀκτὶς ἀπὸ τοῦ τελείου φωτὸς ἐκείνου ἐν τῷ [2]σκολιῷ καὶ φοβερῷ καὶ πικρῷ καὶ μιαρῷ ὕδατι κεκρατημένον ὅπερ ἐστὶ πνεῦμα φωτεινὸν ἐπιφερόμενον ἐπάνω τοῦ [3]φωτός· ἐπεὶ οὖν..... ... ημάτων κύματα .... διαφόροις γ..... εσι μήτρα τίς ..... κατεσπαρμέν.....ὡς ἐπὶ πάντων μίξεως κατὰ τὸν ψαλμῳδὸν ὡς [4]λέγουσι· "Πᾶσα οὖν ἡ φροντὶς τοῦ ἄνω φωτός ἐστιν, ὅπως ῥύσηται τὸν κάτω σπινθῆρα ἀπὸ τοῦ κάτω πατρὸς" ἀνέμου ἐπεγείροντος βρασμὸν καὶ τάραχον καὶ ἑαυτῷ νοῦν ποιήσαντος οὐκ ὄντα [5]αὐτοῦ φάσκουσιν ἰδόντα

[1] Distinguendum et scribendum sic: [πε]ρισυγκρίτοις .... "....[ὑδάτων] πολλῶν" ὡς, φησὶν, ἐν τῷ ψαλμῷ λέγει. Πᾶσα οὖν φροντὶς καὶ ἐπιμέλεια τοῦ φωτὸς ἄνωθέν ἐστι, πῶς καὶ τίνα τρόπον ἀπὸ τοῦ θανάτου τοῦ πονηροῦ καὶ σκοτεινοῦ σώματος ἀπολυθείη ὁ νοῦς, ἀπό κ.τ.λ.

[2] σκολιῷ] σκοτίῳ. [3] φωτὸς] ὕδατος

[4] Distinguendum sic: λέγουσι. Πᾶσα οὖν κ.τ.λ., citandi signis ante πᾶσα et post πατρός deletis.

[5] αὐτοῦ, ὃ, φάσκουσιν, ἰδόντα κ.τ.λ.

των τῶν ζῴων [1]θεωρείται. Ὁ δὲ ἄνεμος λάβρος ὁμοῦ καὶ φοβερὸς φερόμενός ἐστι τῷ σύρματι ὄφει παραπλήσιος [2]πτερωτός· ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀνέμου, τουτέστιν ἀπὸ τοῦ ὄφεως ἡ ἀρχὴ τῆς γεννήσεως τὸν εἰρημένον τρόπον γέγονεν, πάντων ὁμοῦ τὴν ἀρχὴν τῆς γεννήσεως εἰληφότων. Ἐπεὶ οὖν κατείληπται τὸ φῶς καὶ τὸ πνεῦμα εἰς τὴν ἀκάθαρτον, φησὶ, καὶ πολυπήμονα μήτραν ἄτακτον εἰς ἣν ὁ ὄφις εἰσερχόμενος, ὁ ἄνεμος τοῦ σκότους, ὁ πρωτόγονος τῶν ὑδάτων, γεννᾷ τὸν ἄνθρωπον, καὶ ἄλλο οὐδὲν εἶδος οὔτε ἀγαπᾷ οὔτε γνωρίζει ἡ ἀκάθαρτος μήτρα· ὁμοιωθεὶς οὖν ὁ ἄνωθεν τοῦ φωτὸς τέλειος λόγος τῷ θηρίῳ τῷ ὄφει [3]εἰσελθὼν εἰς τὴν ἀκάθαρτον μήτραν, ἐξαπατήσας αὐτὴν τοῦ θηρίου τῷ ὁμοιώματι, ἵνα λύσῃ τὰ δεσμὰ τὰ περικείμενα τῷ τελείῳ νοὶ τῷ γεννωμένῳ ἐν ἀκαθαρσίᾳ μήτρας ὑπὸ τοῦ [4]πρωτοτόκου ὕδατος, ὄφεως, ἀνέμου, θηρίου. Αὕτη,

τὸν τέλειον λόγον τοῦ ἄνωθεν φωτὸς αὐτὸν ἀπομορφώσαντα εἴδει ὄφεως κεχωρηκέναι [5]ἐν μήτρᾳ, ἵνα τὸν νοῦν ἐκεῖνον τὸν ἐκ τοῦ φωτὸς σπινθῆρα ἀναλαβεῖν δυνηθῇ. Καὶ τοῦτο

εἶναι τὸ εἰρημένον· "Ος ἐν

[1] Distingue : θεωρεῖται, ὁ δὲ κ.τ.λ.
[2] πτερωτῷ, Millerus. [3] εἰσελθὼν] εἰσῆλθεν.
[4] πρωτοτόκου ὕδατος] πρωτοτόκου τοῦ ὕδατος.
[5] ἐς μήτραν.

φησὶν, ἐστὶν ἡ [1]τοῦ δού-
255 λου μορφὴ, καὶ αὕτη ἡ ἀ-
νάγκη τοῦ κατελθεῖν τὸν λό-
γον τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐς μήτραν παρ-
θένου.

μορφῇ Θεοῦ ὑπάρχων οὐχ ἁρ-
παγμὸν ἡγήσατο τὸ εἶναι ἴσα
Θεῷ, ἀλλ' ἑαυτὸν ἐκένωσε
μορφὴν δούλου λαβών." Καὶ 135
ταύτην εἶναι τὴν μορφὴν οἱ
κακοδαίμονες θέλουσι καὶ πο-
λυπήμονες Σιθιανοί. Ταῦτα
μὲν οὖν καὶ οὗτοι λέγουσιν.

Vides quam largum certarum emendationum proventum hæc capita attulerint. Quas si omnes, singularum rationes proferendo, persequi vellemus, tam ampli scribendi essent commentarii, ut hujus epistolæ cancelli eos non caperent. Quare satius videtur, de eis solis locis disputare, in quibus plus quam in reliquis auxilii e B redundavit in A. Incipiam autem ab A 42—63. Eum locum si relegeris, sicut editus est a Millero, nullum, opinor, invenies, qui vel ab indulgentissimo lectore ferri queat, sententiarum connexum. Id vero accidit minore librarii culpa quam Milleri, qui quidem primum quæ sana exstant in codice tanquam vitiosa mutavit, deinde quæ vitiosa sunt pro sanis accepit, denique perperam distinguendo* effecit, ut distrahantur continuanda, continuentur autem quæ sunt disjungenda.

[1] "τοῦ δούλου μορφή." Philipp. ii. 7.

* Eodem modo quæ alibi in hoc de Sethianis capite peccavit, notavimus in margine A 145. 196. B 118. His unum præterea exemplum addam, ubi recta distinguendi ratione inventa locus obscurissimus et vitiosus fit planissimus. Exstat is quidem in capite de Valentino p. 186. 51.: Ἐπεὶ δὲ γεννητὸς ἦν ὁ νοῦς καὶ ἡ ἀλήθεια καὶ οὐκ εἶχε τὸν [τὸ recte conj. Millerus] πατρικὸν τέλειον, τὴν ἀγεννησίαν, οὐκέτι τελείῳ ἀριθμῷ ὁ λόγος καὶ ἡ ζωὴ δοξάζουσι τὸν ἑαυτῶν πατέρα τὸν νοῦν. Ἀλλὰ γὰρ ἀνατελεῖ, δώδεκα γὰρ αἰώνων προφέρουσιν ὁ λόγος καὶ ἡ ζωὴ τῷ νοῒ καὶ τῇ ἀληθείᾳ. Quæ mecum sic restituas: οὐκέτι τελείῳ ἀριθμῷ ὁ λόγος καὶ ἡ ζωὴ δοξάζουσι τὸν ἑαυτῶν πατέρα, τὸν νοῦν, ἀλλὰ γὰρ ἀτελεῖ. Δώδεκα γὰρ

Etenim, quod ad primum attinet, cum A 46. codex habeat τὸ δὲ φῶς, delevit Millerus particulam, quæ et B 28.* exstat et omnino necessaria est ad veram periodi conformationem. Eodem pertinet quod A 48. ἐλλάμπειν, quæ est codicis scriptura, pendere a πέφυκε A 46. prætervidit, in ejusque locum de suo suffecit ἐλλάμπει. Quos in errores propterea incidit, quia non detexit verum vitii latibulum, quod est A 47. Ibi cum codex præbeat δή τις ἡλίου: iterum Millerus ἡλίου, quod sanum est, mutavit in ἥλιος, intactum autem reliquit δή τις (ΔΗΤΙΣ), quod corruptum esse ex ἀκτίς (ΑΚΤΙΣ) ostendit B 29. τὸ δὲ φῶς ἀκτὶς ἡλίου. Plane eodem modo egit cum A 58. τῶν εἰρημένων τριχῶς. Retinuit enim εἰρημένων, quod secundum B 37. corrigendum est in διῃρημένων, pro τριχῶς vero, quod non erat sollicitandum, fortasse legendum esse dixit τριῶν ἀρχῶν. Porro qui decimum librum consuluisset, non dubitasset utrum in A 51. ἡ τοῦ πνεύματος εὐωδία διαμέση ἔχουσαν τάξιν per errorem iteratæ essent litteræ δια e fine vocabuli εὐωδία an scribendum esset διὰ μέσης, sed prius

αἰῶνας προσφέρουσιν ὁ λόγος κ.τ.λ. '*Non amplius perfecto numero patrem suum, Mentem, Verbum et Vita glorificant sed imperfecto. Nam duodecim mundos offerunt, etc.*' Quibuscum conferas, p. 186. 37.: καὶ προσφέρουσιν αὐτῷ τέλειον ἀριθμὸν, αἰῶνας δέκα.

* Ubi pro τὸ δὲ φῶς ἀκτὶς ἡλίου scribendum est τὸ δὲ φῶς ὡς ἀκτὶς ἡλίου. Similis error p. 178. 6. peperit absurda hæc: παρεκθήσομαι νῦν τίνα ἐστὶν ἃ Πυθαγόρας ὁ Σάμιος μετὰ τῆς ὑμνουμένης παρὰ τοῖς Ἕλλησι γῆς φιλοσοφεῖ. Ibi finis vocabuli Ἕλλησι absorpsit initium ejus vocabuli quod sequi oportet, i. e. σιγῆς. Quo respicit Hippolytus ad notissimum illud Pythagoreorum silentium, ἐχεμυθίαν.—Idem vocabulum σιγή, cujus haud parvæ partes sunt in Valentinianorum doctrina, bis oblitteratum est in eo libri sexti capite, quod illam doctrinam explicat: p. 188. 13. τίνες δὲ συνυπάρχειν τῷ πατρὶ εἰς γῆν; et p. 197. 72. τούτοις περιτυχὼν Οὐαλεντῖνος ὑπεστήσατο τὸν πάντων βασιλέα, ὃν ἔφη Πλάτων, οὗτος πατέρα καὶ βυθὸν καὶ πᾶσι γῆν τῶν ὅλων αἰώνων; utroque enim loco et pro εἰς γῆν et pro πᾶσι γῆν scribendum est σιγήν.

re vera factum esse ex B 32. *ἡ δὲ τοῦ πνεύματος εὐωδία φέρεται μέσην ἔχουσα τάξιν* intellexisset. Denique, comparato B, nequaquam eum fugere poterat, totum locum finibus circumscribi periodi unius, cujus protasis usque ad A 56. *ἐπεγνώκαμεν* extenderetur, apodosis autem inciperet a *τοιαύτης*. His igitur, quæ vel librarius commisit vel Millerus, amotis omnibus, planam habemus periodum hanc: *ἐπεὶ δὴ ἄνω ἐστὶ τὸ φῶς καὶ κάτω τὸ σκότος καὶ τούτων, ὡς ἔφην τοιοῦτον τρόπον ὄν, μέσον τὸ πνεῦμα, τὸ δὲ φῶς πέφυκε, καθάπερ ἀκτὶς ἡλίου, ἐλλάμπειν εἰς τὸ ὑποκείμενον σκότος, ἀνάπαλιν δὲ ἡ τοῦ πνεύματος εὐωδία μέσην ἔχουσα τάξιν ἐκτείνεται καὶ φέρεται πανταχῆ, ὡς ἐπὶ τῶν ἐν πυρὶ θυμιαμάτων τὴν εὐωδίαν πανταχῆ φερομένην ἐπεγνώκαμεν· τοιαύτης δὲ οὔσης τῆς δυνάμεως τῶν διῃρημένων τριχῶς, τοῦ πνεύματος καὶ τοῦ φωτὸς ὁμοῦ ἡ δύναμίς ἐστιν ἐν τῷ σκότει τῷ κάτωθεν αὐτῶν τεταγμένῳ.* '*Jam cum supra sit lumen et infra tenebræ, medius autem inter hæc talis spiritus, qualem dixi, lumen autem ita natura sua comparatum sit ut, tanquam radius solis, illucescat in subjacentes tenebras, rursus vero spiritus fragrantia medium locum obtinens pertineat et feratur in omnes regiones, sicut suffimentorun igni crematorum fragrantiam in omnes regiones ferri cognovimus: talis igitur cum sit indoles trium partium, vires spiritus luminisque una sunt in tenebris, quæ ipsis supposita sunt.*'

Decimi igitur libri beneficio contigit, ut componerentur hujus quidem loci turbæ omnes. Sane non tanta neque tamen multo sunt minora, quæ idem liber præstat in altero loco, qui nulli corruptelarum generi non est obnoxius. Pertinet autem ab A 165. usque ad A 233. Ibi primum enuntiatum sic editum vides: A 165. *ἡ δὲ τῶν κυμάτων γένεσις, οἱονεί τις οὖσα ὁρμὴ, ἐγκύμονα γεγονέναι τὸν ἄνθρωπον ἢ τὸν βοῦν, ὁπόταν ὑπὸ τῆς τοῦ πνεύματος ὁρμῆς ὁρμήσασα ἐπείγηται.* In quo redintegrando certa distinguens ab incertis, primum dico certissimum esse, sub stupido isto *βοῦν*

latere divinum *νοῦν*, de quo agitur A 178. Neque magis dubium esse videtur quin *ὁρμήσασα* corrigendum sit in *ὀργήσασα*, quo utitur B 96. *ὁ κόσμος πρὸς γένεσιν ὁρμᾷ ὀργήσας ὡς μήτρα.* Hoc autem reposito, sequitur necessario, *μήτραν* alicubi inter ea quæ antecedant collocatum per lacunam excidisse. Tria hæc certa esse mihi quidem videntur; quæ præterea requiruntur, ex multis, quæ possunt afferri non inepta, eligenda sunt maxime probabilia. Quæ Tu judicabis utrum assequutus sim scribendo sic: *ἡ δὲ τῶν κυμάτων γένεσις, οἱονεί τις οὖσα ὁρμὴ μήτρας, ἐγκύμων γέγονεν τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἢ τοῦ νοῦ ὑπόταν ὑπὸ τῆς πνεύματος ὁρμῆς ὀργήσασα ἐπείγηται.* '*Undarum autem ortus, quasi impetus quidam uteri, gravidus factus est Homine vel Mente, quando spiritus impetu tumens id appetebat.*' Sequitur A 170—193. longus verborum cursus participiis in infinitum propulsus neque usquam consistens. Pausam igitur aliquam ut nancisceremur, *εἰληφός* A 175., quod in codice sic exstat: *εἰληφώς*, mutavi in *εἰλήφῃ*, ibique finem protaseos statui; deinde ut apodosis quoque haberet quo niteretur, ex *καὶ ἔχον* A 175. effeci *κατέχει*. Qua via ad talem pervenimus, quæ intelligi certe potest, periodi formam, A 170—179.: *Ἐπὰν δὲ τοῦτο τὸ ὑπὸ τοῦ ἀνέμου κῦμα ἐκ τοῦ ὕδατος ἐγερθὲν καὶ ἐγκύμονα ἐργασάμενον τὴν φύσιν γέννημα θηλείας εἰλήφῃ, ἐν ἑαυτῷ κατέχει τὸ κατεσπαρμένον φῶς ἄνωθεν μετὰ τῆς τοῦ πνεύματος εὐωδίας, τούτεστι νοῦν κ.τ.λ.* '*Cum vero hæc unda a vento ex aquis excitata, quæ naturam suam gravidam reddidit, fœtum feminæ concipiat: retinet in se lumen superne simul cum spiritus fragrantia disseminatum, hoc est, Mentem, etc.*' Jam in reliqua periodi parte Νοῦς ille describitur accuratius diciturque A 185. *συγκεκρυμμένος καὶ καταμεμιγμένος τοῖς σώμασιν οἱονεὶ ἀλάλων γενομένων ὑπάρχον καὶ φῶς τοῦ σκότους.* Ibi *συγκεκρυμμένος* eodem modo corruptum est ex *συγκεκριμένος* quo supra p. 124. 30. *διακεκρυμ-*

μένης factum ex διακεκριμένης. Deinde 'sub ἀλάλων γενομένων quid lateat nescit' Millerus. Ego, quod præfiscine dixerim, scire mihi videor. Latet enim ἅλας τῶν γενομένων '*sal omnium quæ sunt**,' qua similitudine Mens illa superne delata omnia sustentare significatur. Prorsus eodem modo Valentiniani, secundum Irenæum adv. Hær. i. 6. 1. dixerunt τὸ πνευματικὸν εἶναι τὸ ἅλας καὶ τὸ φῶς τοῦ κόσμου. Neque ulli non in mentem venerit Matth. v. 13. ὑμεῖς ἔστε τὸ ἅλας τῆς γῆς et quæ in Novo Testamento reperiuntur similia. Hac igitur conjectura aliisque quibusdam mutationibus necessariis in verborum ordinem receptis, ultima totius periodi pars evadit talis: A 180. τέλειος Θεὸς . . . . . συγκεκριμένος καὶ καταμεμιγμένος τοῖς σώμασιν, οἱονεὶ ἅλας τῶν γενομένων ὑπάρχων καὶ φῶς τοῦ σκότους, ἀπὸ τῶν σωμάτων σπεύδων λυθῆναι καὶ μὴ δυνάμενος τὴν λύσιν εὑρεῖν καὶ τὴν διέξοδον ἑαυτοῦ. '*Perfectus Deus . . . . . confusus et commixtus cum corporibus, quasi sal omnium rerum existens et lux tenebrarum, ex corporibus exsolvi studens, neque solutionem et exitum reperire valens.*'

Hæc pro virili parte perfecimus auxilio libri decimi adjuti fere nullo. Id præsens demum et salutiferum adest inde a posteriori parte ejus enuntiati, quod jam codicis nostri librarius in exemplari suo vel difficile lectu invenit vel dilaceratum lacunis. Neque vero, quod in quibusdam recte fecit, omnes lacunas signavit interstitiis vacuis. Unde factum est ut continua legantur hæc: A 197.... λυσυγκρίτοις πολλῶν. Ὡς, φησὶν, ἐν τῷ ψαλμῷ λέγει· "Πᾶσα οὖν φροντὶς καὶ ἐπιμέλεια τοῦ φωτὸς ἄνωθεν ἐστί." Πῶς καὶ τίνα τρόπον; ἀπὸ τοῦ θανάτου τοῦ πονηροῦ καὶ σκοτεινοῦ σώματος ἀπολυθεὶς ὁ νοῦς κ.τ.λ. In quibus pæne

* Quod ad γενομένων attinet, conferas p. 185. 5.: καὶ πάντων τῆς γενέσεως αἰτία τῶν γενομένων; p. 183. 69.: δημιουργὸν δὲ εἶναι τῶν λεγομένων πάντων, scrib. γενομένων.

tot ineptiæ insunt, quot vocabula. Nam primum quidem verba illa: *πᾶσα οὖν φροντὶς καὶ ἐπιμέλεια τοῦ φωτὸς ἄνωθέν ἐστι*, quæ ex psalmo scilicet afferuntur, nullam continent sententiam in se absolutam, cum non addatur id, quo tendat 'cura et sollicitudo luminis.' Deinde neque in Davidicis Psalmis exstant, neque ex Sethianorum psalmo aliquo deprompta esse possunt. Id enim si verum esset, non *ὡς, φησὶν, ἐν τῷ ψαλμῷ λέγει* scripsisset Hippolytus, sed vel addidisset nomen ejus, qui psalmum condiderit, vel plurali numero, *λέγουσι*, usus esset, sicut fecit supra, ubi Naassenorum affert psalmum: p. 122. 76. *ψαλμὸς αὐτοῖς ἐσχηδίασται οὕτως*. Postremo quid interrogetur per verba *πῶς καὶ τίνα τρόπον* nequaquam apparet, neque magis intelligitur, quo tandem pacto tali quæstioni respondeatur per verba proxima. Tot igitur tantasque adesse in hoc loco difficultates, quivis, opinor, perspiciet, qui divino rationis munere recte uti didicerit. Promptam vero et probabilem earum solutionem vereor ut vel sagacissimus inventurus sit, nisi nitatur adminiculo, quod fauste subministrat B 114.: *διὸ ἑβδόα ἐκ τῆς τῶν ὑδάτων μίξεως κατὰ τὸν ψαλμῳδὸν ὡς λέγουσι. Πᾶσα οὖν ἡ φροντὶς τοῦ ἄνω φωτός ἐστιν, ὅπως ῥύσηται τὸν κάτω σπινθῆρα ἀπὸ τοῦ κάτω πατρὸς κ.τ.λ.* Inde jam certiores reddimur excidisse A 198. ante *ὡς, φησὶν, ἐν τῷ ψαλμῷ λέγει* locum aliquem Davidicorum Psalmorum, in quo de clamore ex aquis sublato ageretur. Talis autem locus reperitur Psalm. 29. 3.: *φωνὴ Κυρίου ἐπὶ τῶν ὑδάτων, ὁ Θεὸς τῆς δόξης ἐβρόντησε, Κύριος ἐπὶ ὑδάτων πολλῶν*, ejusque reliquiæ servatæ sunt in *πολλῶν* quod legitur A 197. Atque illum Psalmorum versum, quippe in quo ipse *Κύριος* clamorem tolleret, a Sethianis acceptum esse de ipsorum *Θεῷ τελείῳ* (A 180.), veri videtur esse similius, quam alios quosdam in quibus, velut Psalm. 93. 4., clamor quidem tollitur, verum non a Deo. Hac igitur via eo perveni ut in margine sic hæc legenda et distin-

guenda esse annotaverim: A 196. . . . . *[πε]ρισυγκρίτοις . . . . "[ὑδάτων] πολλῶν" ὡς, φησὶν, ἐν τῷ ψαλμῷ λέγει. Quo facto, nulla amplius adest causa cur citandi signis includantur proxima. Quæ quidem in unius gyrum periodi sic compellenda sunt, ut ex A 205. ἀπολυθείς recuperetur id quod vocabulo ῥύσηται B 118. respondeat. Hoc jam fit facillime sic: πᾶσα οὖν φροντὶς καὶ ἐπιμέλεια τοῦ φωτὸς ἄνωθέν ἐστι, πῶς καὶ τίνα τρόπον ἀπὸ τοῦ θανάτου τοῦ πονηροῦ καὶ σκοτεινοῦ σώματος ἀπολυθείη ὁ νοῦς. *'Omnis igitur cura et sollicitudo superni luminis est, qua via et ratione ab improbi et obscuri corporis morte solvatur Mens.'*

Paullo post, A 217. ὅπερ ἐστὶ πνεῦμα φωτεινὸν ἐπιφερόμενον ἐπάνω τοῦ φωτός vitiosum esse, in oculos incurrit. Nequaquam enim cum lumine commisceri lumen dictum erat sed cum σκοτίῳ † καὶ φοβερῷ καὶ πικρῷ καὶ μιαρῷ ὕδατι A 214. Neque dubitari potest, quin pro ἐπάνω τοῦ φωτός sufficiendum sit ἐπάνω τοῦ ὕδατος, cum appareat Sethianos respicere ad Genes. i. 2.: καὶ πνεῦμα θεοῦ ἐπεφέρετο ἐπάνω τοῦ ὕδατος. Quæ statim sequuntur miserum in modum lacunosa, conjungi videntur vinculo periodi unius, cujus apodosis incipit ab A 227. ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀνέμου. Quare nihil mutavi nisi A 227. πτερωτός in πτερωτῷ, quamquam Millerus, qui talem periodi formam vel non intellexit vel non probavit, post πτερωτῷ fulcrum orationis inseruit ὡς.

Hujusmodi rationibus ductus istas, quæ copiosiorem disputationem postulare videbantur, institui mutationes in A. Non pauciora quidem neque minora movenda erant in B. Ea vero tam manifesta sunt fere omnia, ut et Tui et mei otii prodigus videar, si sin-

* Sic scribendum esse pro . . . . λυσυγκρίτοις, quod exstat apud Millerum, colligo ex B 108.: σὺν τοῖς περισυγκρίτοις.

† Codex: σκολιῷ, quod cum aqua conjungi non potest. Scripsi σκοτίῳ secundum A 98.: ὕδωρ σκοτεινὸν καὶ φοβερόν.

gularum caussas prolixe explicare velim. Quare de solo B 3. breviter dicam, quippe ubi et vitii origo magis quam in reliquis delitescat, et variæ pateant emendandi viæ. Ex quibus eam quæ videbatur simplicissima esse ingressus primum quidem perspexi, vel ipsum Hippolytum excerpendi festinatione abreptum, vel librarium negligentem, utrumque autem homœoteleuto deceptum ab A 5. ἑκάστην δὲ τῶν ἀρχῶν transiluisse ad A 11. ἑκάστη τῶν ἀρχῶν πέφυκε. Quo factum est ut omitterentur media interque ea periret subjectum πᾶν ὅ,τι κ.τ.λ. A 9., quod pertineret ad πέφυκε. Deinde δύνασθαι ab initio ascriptum emendandi caussa ad alterum γενέσθαι, quod exstat B 8., per errorem insertum est ante prius γενέσθαι B 5. Quapropter B 4. δύνασθαι delendum esse, contra B 8. γενέσθαι mutandum in δύνασθαι, quod pendeat a πέφυκε B 4., significavi in margine. Præterea ut tenor aliquis orationi constet, οἱονεί B 7. disjunxi ita ut fieret οἷον εἰ et ἐγγύς ante γένοιτο B 7. ascivi ex A 22. ἐγγὺς γιγόμενον.*

Jam postquam tria capitum paria, quæ quidem erant de Naassenis, Peratis, Sethianis, pertractavimus: satis, opinor, patefactum est, quod initio hujus epistolæ dixi, a libro decimo afferri multis reliquorum librorum locis mutilatis et vitiosis auxilium fere idem quod a codice integriore exspectari possit. Tam prosperum adjumentum ut futurus aliquis editor ad capitum paria, quæ restant, et velit adhibere et possit, Tu, scio, mecum vehementer optabis. Tali igitur viro hoc negotium, quod nos inchoavimus, omni ex parte perficiendum committentes, coronidis loco his pagellis pauca quædam addamus de quibusdam Heracliti Ephesii fragmentis, quæ in Hippolyteo libro reperiuntur.

Ordinem Hippolytei operis si sequimur, primo loco Heraclitea verba talia reperimus, quæ fieri potuit ut

* Milleri annotationem ad 316. 52. (=B 6.) non intelligo, cum taceat de οἱονεὶ γένοιτο.

esse Heraclitea ignoraverit ipse Hippolytus. Inveniuntur autem in excerptis ex aliquo Naassenorum libro, quem qui scripsit Eleusiniorum mysteriorum ceremonias secundum Naassenorum placita explicare conatus est: p. 115. 4. Τοῦτο, φησὶν, ἐστὶν ὃ λέγουσι οἱ κατωργιασμένοι τῶν Ἐλευσινίων τὰ μυστήρια· "Θεμιτὸν* δέ ἐστι τὰ μικρὰ μεμνημένους αὖθις τὰ μεγάλα μνεῖσθαι. Μόροι γὰρ μείζονες μείζονας μοίρας λαγχάνουσι." Μικρὰ, φησὶν, ἐστὶ τὰ μυστήρια τὰ τῆς Περσεφόγης κάτω . . . . . Ταῦτ' ἐστὶ, φησὶ, τὰ μικρὰ μυστήρια τὰ τῆς σαρκικῆς γενέσεως, ἃ μνηθέντες οἱ ἄνθρωποι μικρὰ παύσασθαι ὀφείλουσι καὶ μνεῖσθαι τὰ μεγάλα τὰ ἐπουράνια. Οἱ γὰρ τοὺς ἐκεῖ, φησὶ, λαχόντες μόρους [μείζονας ἔνθα]† μείζονας μοίρας λαμβάνουσιν. Cujus loci ratio, quam quoad potui significavi distinguendo, hæc est, ut scriptor Naassenus commentetur in alicujus de Eleusiniis mysteriis scriptoris verba ea, quæ citandi signis inclusi. Itaque vocabulum θεμιτόν (v. 2.) reddit per ὀφείλουσι (v. 7.) et quid τὰ μικρὰ καὶ τὰ μεγάλα secundum Naassenos significent aperire studet circumscribendo et addendo. In ultimis autem istius de mysteriis scriptoris verbis, quæ hæc sunt: μόροι γὰρ μείζονες μείζονας μοίρας λαγχάνουσι, Ephesii philosophi orationem adesse, fortasse ne Naassenus quidem scriptor magis perspexit quam Hippolytus. Nos vero totidem litteris ea tanquam Heraclitea allata videmus a Theodoreto et Clemente Alexandrino, unde in Schleiermacherianam Heracliteorum fragmentorum collectionem abiere, fr. 54. (vol. ii. p. 124. Opp. Philoss.) Frequentabatur autem hoc dictum in sermonibus hominum, sicut multa alia Heraclitea acuta quadam brevitate insignia, atque sic paullatim, quod fieri solet in proverbiis, in significationem conversum est aliquantum discrepantem a vera ipsius auctoris mente. Quam cum Schleiermachero Theodoreti loco nixus eam fuisse

* Sic Millerus pro eo quod in codice est: θέμιον.

† Hæc vel similia per homœoteleuton excidisse apparet.

arbitror, ut hominibus in bello occisis honores et præmia eo majora tribui quo majores labores et pericula subiissent, apto quodam magni sui operis loco diceret Heraclitus.

Proximum ab hoc fragmentum, jam nomine Heracliti ascripto, in Hippolyteum opus ex Peratico aliquo scriptore translatum est, qui in aqua principium mortis contineri, quæ quidem est Peraticorum opinio, etiam ex Græcis poetis et philosophis demonstrare susceperat: p. 132. 60. *Οὐ μόνον δὲ τοῦτο, φησὶν, οἱ ποιηταὶ λέγουσιν, ἀλλ' ἤδη καὶ οἱ σοφώτατοι τῶν Ἑλλήνων, ὧν ἐστὶ καὶ Ἡράκλειτος, "εἷς" λέγων "ψυχῇς εἰ γὰρ θάνατος ὕδωρ γενέσθαι."* Sic quidem hæc distribuit Millerus, præterea ' pro *εἰ γάρ* legendum esse *εἴη ἄν*' in annotatione pronuntians. Cui nemo, puto, obtemperabit, qui Schleiermacheri librum inspexerit. Ibi enim cum fragmentum 49. p. 117. sic perscribatur: *ψυχῇσι θάνατος ὕδωρ γενέσθαι, ὕδατι δὲ θάνατος γῆν γενέσθαι· ἐκ γῆς δὲ ὕδωρ γίνεται, ἐξ ὕδατος δὲ ψυχή*, statim quivis intelliget totum Hippolyti locum distinguendo et corrigendo administrandum esse ita: *Οὐ μόνον δὲ τοῦτο, φησὶν, οἱ ποιηταὶ λέγουσιν ἀλλ' ἤδη καὶ οἱ σοφώτατοι τῶν Ἑλλήνων, ὧν ἐστὶ καὶ Ἡράκλειτος εἷς, λέγων· "ψυχῇσι γὰρ θάνατος ὕδωρ γενέσθαι."*

Hæc igitur fragmenta per occasiones oblatas interseruntur operi Hippolyteo. Verum etiam dedita opera locos Heracliteos larga manu effudit Hippolytus in libro nono, ubi Noeti doctrinam ex Heraclitea philosophia prodiisse probaturus est. In quo demonstrando ita versatur, ut disputationi suæ quasi tabulam quandam præmittat earum notionum theologicarum, quarum maximum est in Noeti hæresi momentum, easque ipsas jam in Heracliti opere inveniri ostendat singulos hujus locos afferendo. Ergo in eligendis Heracliteis certo quodam consilio ducebatur Hippolytus. Id si semper ante oculos nostros posuerimus: cum per labyrinthum variorum errorum, quos in interpretandis vel potius detorquendis Heracliteis com-

misit Hippolytus, licebit penetrare, tum nonnulla certe scribendi menda tollere poterimus, quibus Ephesii dicta jam per se obscura etiam crassioribus tenebris involvit librarii negligentia. Verba autem Hippolyti, quibus tabula illa, quam diximus, continetur, sese habent sic: p. 280. 51. Ἡράκλειτος μὲν οὖν φησὶν εἶναι τὸ πᾶν (1.) διαιρετὸν ἀδιαίρετον, (2.) γενητὸν ἀγένητον, (3.) θνητὸν ἀθάνατον, (4.) λόγον, (5.) αἰῶνα, (6.) πατέρα υἱὸν, (7.) θεὸν δίκαιον. Continuo locos quosdam Heracliti p. 280. 60—65. ascribit, in quibus cum doctrina de discorde concordia tradatur, ita eos accipit Hippolytus quasi Omne (τὸ πᾶν) et posse dividi dicant et non posse. Unde confirmare vult illud contrariarum notionum par, quod in tabula posuit primo loco, διαιρετὸν ἀδιαίρετον. Deinde λόγον esse τὸ πᾶν secundum Heraclitum, quod quarto loco exstat in tabula, expiscatur ex nobili illo totius Heraclitei operis exordio, quod habes apud Schleiermacherum fr. 47. p. 111.: λόγου τοῦδε ἐόντος ἀεὶ ἀξύνετοι γίνονται ἄνθρωποι κ.τ.λ. Hucusque negotium, quod sibi peragendum proposuerat, facile successit Hippolyto. Verum sexto tabulæ loco etiam υἱόν dictum esse ab Heraclito τὸ πᾶν affirmaverat. Cujusmodi quid quia totum Ephesii librum perscrutatus indagare nequivit: cum astuta quadam simplicitate ad vocabulum aliquod confugit, quod vocabulo υἱός cognatum esset, nimirum ad παῖς. Hac via deprehendit verba commodissima, ex quibus eadem opera παῖδα sive υἱόν appellatum esse τὸ πᾶν probaret tum vero etiam αἰῶνα, quod quidem dixerat quinto tabulæ loco. Itaque p. 281. 72. scripsit hæc: Ὅτι δέ ἐστι παῖς τὸ πᾶν καὶ δι' αἰῶνος αἰώνιος βασιλεὺς τῶν ὅλων οὕτως λέγει· "Αἰὼν παῖς ἐστὶ παίζων, πεττεύων· παιδὸς ἡ βασιληΐη." Horum Heracliteorum verborum qualis vera esset sententia, olim copiosius aperui in Musei Rhenani volumine septimo, p. 108. seqq. Pertinent enim ad doctrinam de mundis continuo et creatis et deletis, quam

tradidit Heraclitus similitudine repetita a pueris, qui quæ modo ex arena ædificarunt ædificia statim diruunt.

Proxima edita vides a Millero sic: p. 281. 74. Ὅτι δέ ἐστιν ὁ [πόλεμος] πατὴρ πάντων τῶν γεγονότων γενητῶν, ἀγένητος κτίσις δημιουργὸς, ἐκείνου λέγοντος ἀκούωμεν· "Πόλεμος πάντων μὲν πατὴρ, πάντων δὲ βασιλεύς." Ubi inter ὁ et πατήρ inseruit Millerus πόλεμος, quia quod esset Hippolyti in afferendo hoc fragmento consilium haud intellexit. Neque enim quidquam curabat Hippolytus quo loco in Heraclitea doctrina esset ὁ πόλεμος; verum hoc agebat, ut id quod νίόν dictum esse modo sese probasse opinaretur simul πατέρα nominari ab Heraclito monstraret, atque sic Noeti placitum, τὸν αὐτὸν νίὸν εἶναι καὶ πατέρα (p. 284. 57 \, Heracliteum, non Christianum, esse argueret. Idem autem Noetus* cum πατέρα et νίὸν γεννητόν simul et ἀγέννητον esse dixisset, etiam hoc ex eisdem Heracliteis verbis extundere aggressus est, ut promisso staret quod secundo tabulæ loco dedisset. Unde totum locum jam perspicimus conformandum esse sic: Ὅτι δέ ἐστιν ὁ πατὴρ πάντων τῶν γεγονότων γεννητὸς ἀγέννητος, κτίσις δημιουργὸς, ἐκείνου λέγοντος ἀκούωμεν· "Πόλεμος πάντων μὲν πατήρ ἐστι, πάντων δὲ βασιλεύς." *'Qui vero pater sit omnium rerum, et creatum esse et non creatum, creaturam simul esse et creatorem, ex ipso audiamus dicente sic: Bellum omnium pater est, omnium rex.'* Nimirum cum Heraclitus id velit, ut omnia e bello, hoc est, e contrariis nasci dicantur, sic hoc detorquet Hippolytus, ut contraria quævis Patri ab Heraclito tribui inde probet; eodem igitur jure creatum dici posse Patrem quo non creatum,

* P. 284. 54. sic scriptum exstat in codice: Οὕτως κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν λόγον ἀκράτητος ἀκράτητος, ἀγένητος, ἀθάνατος καὶ ζωητός. Ibi Millerus alterum ἀκράτητος delevit, quamquam in promptu est totum locum et corrigendum et supplendum esse sic: οὕτως κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν λόγον ἀκράτητος καὶ κρατητὸς, ἀγέννητος [καὶ γεννητὸς], ἀθάνατος καὶ ζωητός scil. ἦν ὁ Θεός.

creaturam quo creatorem. Hæc si recte disputata sunt, etiam κτίσις δημιουργός, quod in κτίσεως δημιουργός mutari voluit Millerus, non sollicitandum esse videmus. Continent enim hæc verba alterum contrariorum juxta positorum par, quod priori γεννητὸς ἀγέννητος respondet.

Minores admovendæ erant machinæ ut θνητόν et ἀθάνατον idem esse secundum Heraclitum appareret, quod tertio tabulæ loco positum erat. Id enim facile deducitur ex fragmento Schleiermacheriano 51. p. 123.: θεοὶ θνητοὶ ἄνθρωποι ἀθάνατοι ζῶντες τὸν ἐκείνων θάνατον θνήσκοντες τὴν ἐκείνων ζωήν, quod paucis mutatis ascribit Hippolytus p. 282. 22.: Λέγει δὲ ὁμολογουμένως τὸ ἀθάνατον εἶναι θνητὸν καὶ τὸ θνητὸν ἀθάνατον διὰ τῶν τοιούτων λόγων· ἀθάνατοι θνητοί, θνητοὶ ἀθάνατοι, ζῶντες τὴν ἐκείνων θάνατον, τὸν δὲ ἐκείνων βίον τεθνεῶτες.

Restabat quod ultimo loco tabulæ positum erat, agnosci ab Heraclito θεὸν δίκαιον 'Deum justum,' h.e. qui ultimum de universa rerum natura judicium agat. In quo comprobando ordinem eschatologiæ Christianæ tenuit Hippolytus, atque primum quidem mortuorum resurrectionem ab Heraclito tradi dicit p. 283. 25.: Λέγει δὲ καὶ σαρκὸς ἀνάστασιν ταύτης φανερᾶς ἐν ᾗ γεγενήμεθα, καὶ τὸν Θεὸν οἶδε ταύτης τῆς ἀναστάσεως αἴτιον, οὕτως λέγων· "Ἔνθα δ' ἐόντι ἐπανίστασθαι καὶ φύλακας γίνεσθαι ἐγερτιζόντων καὶ νεκρῶν." Ibi ἐγερτιζόντων vocabulum est nullum. Cujus loco quid scripserint et Heraclitus et Hippolytus obscurum esse amplius non potest, ubi semel in priori vocabuli parte agnoveris antiquum illud adverbium ἐγερτί, cujus duo tantum præter hoc mihi quidem innotuere exempla. Quorum unum exstat Sophocl. Antig. 400. in oratione vigilis de se suisque sociis, qui invicem sese ad diligentiam adhortabantur, narrantis hæc:

καθήμεθ' ἄκρων ἐκ πάγων ὑπήνεμοι,
ὀσμὴν ἀπ' αὐτοῦ μὴ βάλοι πεφευγότες,

ἐγερτὶ κινῶν ἄνδρ' ἀνὴρ ἐπιρρόθοις
κακοῖσιν, εἴ τις τοῦδ' ἀφειδήσοι πόνου.

Alterum invenitur Rhesi v. 525., in Hectoris oratione:

ὑμᾶς δὲ βάντας χρὴ προταινὶ τάξεων
φρουρεῖν ἐγ᾽ερτί.

Ubi ἐγερτί quod ab ἐγείρω ductum significat "vigilanter" prorsus eodem modo conjungi vides cum φρουρεῖν, quo apponitur ad φύλακας γίνεσθαι in Heracliteo fragmento. Jam hoc adverbio ex priori parte enucleato, per lenissimam mutationem ex altera parte ἐγερτιζόντων efficitur ζώντων "vivorum" qui respondeant "mortuis" juxta positis in καὶ νεκρῶν. Denique vitiosa supersunt prima fragmenti verba ἔνθα δ' ἐόντι. In quibus emendandis ducem Hippolytum ipsum sequimur, qui cum Heracliteum locum eo consilio afferat, ut Deum resurrectionis auctorem ab Ephesio philosopho agnosci inde ostendat, aliquid de Deo ibi legerit necesse est. Itaque totum fragmentum sic scribendum esse existimamus: ἔνθα διὰ Θεόν τε ἐπανίστασθαι καὶ φύλακας γίνεσθαι ἐγερτὶ ζώντων καὶ νεκρῶν. '*Ibi Dei ope adstare et vigilanter custodes fieri vivorum et mortuorum.*' Hujus frustuli quænam vera sit ex Heracliti voluntate sententia vix poterit certo dici, donec integra, unde abscissum est, oratio in lucem prodierit alicunde. Interim non absimile videtur esse veri, respexisse Heraclitum ad vetustam opinionem de aureæ ætatis hominibus post mortem bonorum dæmonum loco habitis, cujus opinionis vestigia exstant in Hesiodiis Ἔργοις v. 107.:

αὐτὰρ ἐπειδὴ τοῦτο γένος [χρύσεον] κατὰ γαῖα κάλυψεν
οἱ μὲν δαίμονες ἁγνοὶ ἐπιχθόνιοι καλέονται
ἐσθλοί, ἀλεξίκακοι, φύλακες θνητῶν ἀνθρώπων,
πλουτοδόται· καὶ τοῦτο γέρας βασιλήϊον ἔσχον.

Hippolytum vero, ubi vocabulum ἐπανίστασθαι in

Heracliteo libro offenderit, statim de Christiana ἀναστάσει νεκρῶν cogitasse, non est quod magnopere miremur, præsertim cum vel majore violentia utatur in ultimi judicii doctrina ex Heraclito eruenda sic quidem: p. 283. 29. Λέγει δὲ καὶ τοῦ κόσμου κρίσιν καὶ πάντων τῶν ἐν αὐτῷ διὰ πυρὸς γένεσθαι, λέγων οὕτως· "Τὰ δὲ πάντα οἰακίζει κεραυνός" τουτέστι κατευθύνει· κεραυνὸν τὸ πῦρ λέγων τὸ αἰώνιον. Quod si per se spectaveris, sane non poterit dici errasse, qui οἰακίζειν voluerit interpretari per κατευθύνειν. Etenim κατευθύνειν potest quidem non minus quam οἰακίζειν significare '*di*rigere' atque reapse hoc vult Heraclitus, fulmen igneum, quod est πῦρ ἀείζωον, omnium rerum principium, gubernare atque dirigere omnia. Verum hæc significatio nequaquam eo ducebat quo pergebat Hippolytus. Quapropter ascivit alteram, ex qua κατευθύνειν idem valet quod 'pravum rectum facere, *cor*rigere,' atque sic eo pervenit ut ex verbis Heracliteis hanc exsculpserit sententiam: 'Fulmen omnia *cor*rigit' i. e. judicat, punit.

Jam pertractatis notionibus, quibus tabula illa constat, omnibus, præstitisse videmur quod nobis propositum fuit. Satis enim apparuit, qua ratione Heraclitea tractaverit Hippolytus. Id autem non alienum visum est, quod hoc loco exponeretur, cum aliquantulum conferat ad recte cognoscendum Hippolyti ingenium, cujus imaginem artifici manu in libro Tuo delineasti. Reliqua vero, quæ de his ceterisque fragmentis Heracliteis et plura dici possunt et graviora, cum magis ad Heraclitum pertineant quam ad Hippolytum: aptiorem locum propediem invenient alibi. Interim ut hæc, qualiacunque sunt, benevole accipias mihique et meis studiis favere pergas etiam atque etiam rogo. Vale. Scripsi Londini d. xxvi. Sept. MDCCCLI.

EMENDANTUR

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* Video nunc quidem totum hoc libri decimi de Peratis caput transcriptum esse a Theodoreto Hærett. Fabb. comp. i. 17. omissis vel immutatis paucissimis. Neque vero quicquam

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invenio in Theodoreto, quod ad Hippolyteorum verborum emendationem faciat. Nam partim vel immutavit Theodoretus vel omisit ea ipsa, quæ vitiosa sunt in Parisino Hippolyti codice; velut mendosa verba hæc (de quibus dictum est supra p. xv—xvii.): *ἃ μὲν γάρ, φησὶν, ἔστιν ἄνωθεν κατενηνεγμένα ἀνελεύσεται δι' αὐτοῦ, τὰ δὲ ἐπιβουλεύσαντα τοῖς κατενηνεγμένοις ἀφιεῖ εἰκῇ καὶ κολασθέντα ἀποπέμπεται*, reddidit Theodoretus sic: *τὰ μὲν ἄνωθεν κατενηνεγμένα ἐπανελθεῖν ἄνω παρασκευάσει, τὰ δὲ τούτοις ἐπιβουλεύσαντα παραδώσει κολάσει.* Contra alii quidam loci manifesto corrupti prorsus ita leguntur apud Theodoretum sicut exstant in Parisino codice. Ad quod genus pertinent lacunosa illa verba, de quibus dixi p. xviii. extr.

THE END.

LONDON:
SPOTTISWOODES and SHAW,
New-street-Square.

THE

APOLOGY OF HIPPOLYTUS,

ADDRESSED TO

THE PEOPLE OF ENGLAND.

A SPEECH

DELIVERED

IN LONDON, BEFORE A COMPANY OF FRIENDS,

ON THE IDES OF AUGUST, MDCCCLI.

BEING THE

ANNIVERSARY OF THE DEPOSITION OF THE REMAINS OF SAINT HIPPOLYTUS IN THE CATACOMBS OF THE AGER VERANUS, ON THE TIBURTINE ROAD,

ONE THOUSAND SIX HUNDRED AND SIXTEEN YEARS AFTER HIS MARTYRDOM.

THE

APOLOGY OF HIPPOLYTUS.

I CAN assure you, my Christian Friends and my enlightened Judges, it is with the greatest diffidence that I venture to address you in my defence, and claim your protection and interference. Not that I have any misgiving as to your justice and fairness, when you know the real state of the case: nor is the case in itself a difficult one; but it is prejudged. My book has been taken away from me, because the very existence of a Roman Hippolytus is doubted; and I am thought an apocryphal person, because, most of my other works being lost, this, which bears so unequivocal a proof of my having been a Roman, is said to be written by any one rather than by me. In like manner, my book is not studied, because it seems doubtful who wrote it; and the authorship is doubtful, merely because it is not studied. There are other and deeper reasons for my diffidence, which I will tell you by and by.

Under these circumstances, I know of no better way than to throw myself upon your indulgence, and to tell you with Christian frankness what has happened to me. I want encouragement at your hands; for I am a stranger and an ill-used man, and I feel perplexed and despondent.

Some time ago the Spirit moved me to go to Lugdunum, once the seat of my blessed master Irenæus, in order to examine on the spot the strange stories I had heard of his flock, and of the doctrine of his successor, now member of that same body of the suburban bishops and the parish priests and deacons of Rome, to which I once belonged. But hearing that my book, the work of my life, had been published here as the composition of Origen, I hastened to this country.

Now, consider first what interest I have at stake in this cause. I appear before you to reclaim my property, that is to say, all I ever possessed, save and except my good conscience. For when I speak of my property, I mean, not only the book which I wrote with great labour, and out of love to God-loving men, such as you are, but also my reputation as a scholar and learned divine; and last, though not least, my good Christian name in history. And the reason of all this is, that my very existence as a presbyter at Rome and as bishop of Portus is questioned, or rather given up altogether, in this

country at least. It is doubted whether I, Hippolytus, ever was bishop of Portus and lived at Rome; and I must hear these doubts thrown out, after having led a long, and not only laborious, but also highly honoured, life in the city which was then the metropolis of the world, and in the midst of inquisitive foreigners flowing to Portus from the East and West; after having enjoyed a literary reputation unequalled in my Church, and after having sealed my faith by confessing Christ during a cruel persecution.

So much for the paramount importance of the case to myself. And then look at the injustice and partiality which apparently have been shown in the proceedings. An ingenious man comes from the Gauls, and requests a body of very learned men to allow a book discovered by him to be printed by the press of the university under Origen's name. Now, if they had read the book, such men, I think, could not help seeing that it must have been written at Rome, and by a man in authority resident there. Moreover Origen, my illustrious Alexandrian friend, never said that he had composed a book with such a title, or on such a subject; nor has any body else ever said it of him, so far as I can learn. On the other hand, all the ancient authors and records of ecclesiastical history which have come down to you name me, I am assured, as the author of a work with

that title; and one of them even gives you a pretty good account of it. Those learned men, therefore, knowing, of course, all this, ought in fairness, as it appears to me, to have called upon the ingenious Celt to prove to them why they should believe an unknown, and probably ignorant copyist, rather than all the records of antiquity, and their own impartial judgment. But they did nothing of the sort. For, to judge from the preface which the editor has prefixed to this book in the language of the Romans, either they did not ask him to satisfy their minds on this point, or he satisfied them with reasons known to himself, but unknown to the rest of the world, and to me certainly quite impenetrable. Now I do not quarrel with them for this exceeding courtesy to the Gallic editor. But I do not find the same facility given to me. On the contrary, whenever I come forward and give in my claim as Hippolytus, presbyter of the Church of Rome, and bishop of Portus, they say, I am not one person, but two or three, and nobody knows who and what I am.

Still I was not discouraged at first. I said, these men will judge such a case as men of the law, according to law. I have in my favour two clear principles of that Roman civil law, which, I understand, almost all nations have followed, and acknowledge at least as *ratio scripta*, that is, common sense put in writing. Now, I said, they will, I am sure, think it fair to judge the case of a Roman Father by the principles of

the Roman law. Consequently they will acknowledge the *jus postliminii*, according to which a Roman is allowed to return to his home without any further proof of his right: why, then, should not I in this manner claim my former existence? Besides, as a Roman, I further say, *Ubi invenio vindico*, Where I find my property I seize it; leaving the man in whose possession I find it to recover damages, if he can, from him who made it over to him.

Seeing, however, that they would not accept the principles of Roman jurisprudence, I addressed them as scholars and divines. Accordingly, I am ready, I said, to give you a full account of the book, and to show you that I have referred in it to other acknowledged works of mine: and, if you listen to me, you will soon understand that I must have written it (as I was universally said to have done), and that nobody at that time could have thought of writing it, except myself. Now what answer did they give me to this? They said, they would rather, as English custom allowed them to do, move the previous question, and first satisfy their minds that there was a man of that name, bishop of Portus and presbyter of Rome, nay, whether at that time there was any Hippolytus in the Western Church, or, if so, whether there were not more than one. You maintain unequivocally (they added) that you were bishop of Portus near Rome, and lived at Rome: you therefore leave us no power of saying on your behalf that you might possibly be

Hippolytus, and even the author of this work, but that you lived in Arabia. You are determined to be a Roman, and a bishop and a presbyter at the same time: and we must demur to this for more than one reason.

Hereupon, I said to myself, if this had happened at Rome, I should have called it not dealing quite fairly with a Father, who surely ought to have some presumption of his existence in his favour: at all events there is in it nothing of that facility and courtesy which have been shown to the Gallic editor.

Still I feel I should have overcome these difficulties, if the cause had not been prejudged more than a hundred years ago. It is not the mistake of this Frenchman that has prejudiced the minds of those learned men of yours against me. There are many among them, who are fully convinced that Origen neither wrote the book nor could have written it. But why is this conviction of no avail to me? Alas! there is an old calumny against me, originating in the hasty word of a learned Protestant writer, which unfortunately was taken up by some celebrated French priests of that time. And, again, that hasty word (which at the beginning I could not understand) is the consequence of more than a thousand years of lies. For, soon after I died, people began to make of my simple but true story a poetical but lying legend, upon which in the barbarous ages every one improved as he pleased.

Learned rogues wrote silly or deceitful books under my name, and learned fools believed them to be genuine. Thus it came to pass, that the learned men of those countries where I once lived, being disabled for dealing honestly with historical truth, and for calling a fable a fable and a lie a lie, tried to reconcile all the nursery-tales and fictions which had been brought forward and credited during those dark ages. This, as you see, was simply betraying truth; for you cannot believe fables, without disbelieving the truth to which they are opposed. Thus, by laying down that there must have been two or three Hippolytuses, they lost the only real Hippolytus: and I am he.

Who can tell which was which? said one person But another said, he had a guess. There might be truth in the old report, that the Hippolytus who lived in the time of Alexander Severus was bishop of Portus: for so almost all the authors said, who mentioned him. But why should not this be Aden in Arabia, which was called the Port of the Romans, or the Roman Port? This man of course did not advert to the circumstance, that my home was never so called, but unequivocally the Port of Rome, or Portus near Rome: still less did he mind all the absurdities he involved himself in by compounding between truth and fable, or the doubt which he threw upon history.

So those Gallic priests said, about 150 years ago.

No long time afterwards came an English divine, and made the matter worse. He positively asserted, as if it were a settled case, that I was a native of Arabia, and a bishop of that remote Eastern country, and that this was all any one could know of my person. Now he was certainly a very learned man, and a dean besides:—and he enjoys in this country so great an authority, that it is to his book, I understand, that those recur now in your country, who want to know what people once thought on these subjects of ancient Christian criticism. However that may be, it is clear, that what has prejudged my case is not what the Gallic editor has said, but that old unconscionable judgment, based upon a conjecture; and that this conjecture again was based upon fables and lies, which sprang from a neglect of true historical criticism, and from a want of faith in truth, not to say a contempt of truth.

Now I ask you, whether, with all my feeling of my innocence, and with all my confidence in your natural fairness, I can be very hopeful of success. I have chosen this day as being my anniversary, and as having been celebrated thus [1] by many a Christian soul, for more than sixteen centuries: and I should like you to listen to me through a good part of it with attention. But you have no time. At the utmost, you can only give me two hours,—two short hours, to undo the work of centuries, to remove unfavourable opinions so deeply rooted in the minds of

your learned men, to counteract the effect of a verdict invested in their eyes with the sanction of ages, and to overcome, what is my most formidable enemy, your indifference! Instead of being taken on my word for what I am recorded to be, I am expected to prove my own existence, as being the real and only Hippolytus, the bishop of Portus and the presbyter of Rome and the author of this book, for which in particular I am come to claim your protection. But, to speak the truth with Christian sincerity, you do not care whether I exist or not, nor what I said or said not. For the truth of this frank assertion, and the justice of my complaint of hardship, let me appeal to yourselves. I know, you are enlightened, and generally well informed men; and many of you deeply read in ecclesiastical antiquity. But, first, have you not come to this place with a vague notion that I am an apocryphal person? Now you must have a misgiving about trusting an apocryphal man with a disputed authorship. You might endanger the authority of a book declared authentic and important, and your own likewise. Besides, I fear, many of you are come to this place with a feeling that it is of no great consequence what the truth of the matter may be at last.

Such being my case, I hope, during the two short hours allowed for my defence, you will listen to me attentively, as to a deeply injured man, and, hearing me for the first time on this day, will not be satisfied

till you have sifted my case thoroughly. Above all, you will not forget that we are searching for truth, for historical and religious truth; and I can prove to you that the case you have to investigate is connected with the most important subjects on which it is given to man to meditate, and last, not least, with your highest practical interests. I claim no copyright; I appeal to no point of law; I call upon you to investigate truth, and truth very important for your present and future wellbeing.

I have not concealed from you the weighty causes of my diffidence, which sometimes grows into despondency. But I should be more sorry still, if I had to fear you would imagine that this despondency is founded upon any doubt as to your competency for finding out the truth, or as to your justice towards strangers. I know that you possess all the means requisite for investigating a historical fact, and for distinguishing between good and bad evidence. I know, besides, that you are the fairest of men, kind to foreigners, and generous to all who in distress appeal to you. My misgiving is only this, that, having for a long time deputed all these questions and inquiries to some learned bodies, one of which is apparently inclined the other way, and having, in the midst of so many more practical avocations, no time and little inclination to trouble yourselves about what the old Fathers said or did or were, you may decline to judge my case, as one which ought to

be judged by those whose office it is to read the old Fathers.

Hear, then, my reasons, why it is by you, my Christian Friends, that I wish to be judged in preference to all others. My case is a very simple one, if you divest it of theological terms and subtleties. To be well understood, all that it demands is, that spirit of fairness, and that common sense, for which all nations give you credit, and for which I see you are indeed entitled to be praised. I perceive that whatever you really care for, and take in hand as a nation, you soon master, however difficult the task may be; and then handle it with great wisdom and superior judgment, and carry out your decision with unrivalled energy and perseverance. I have traversed Romanized Gaul, and seen learned but distracted Germany. In both countries I have met with much to admire and praise: but in that which must depend upon practical wisdom and judgment, I have found nothing worthy to be compared to your national doings. I have seen your shores, and your magnificent river with the forest of masts upon it, leaving far behind it all I ever beheld in sailing up the Tiber from Portus to imperial Rome; I have admired the great palaces and domes along its banks; I have wandered through this metropolis, larger and

more populous than Rome ever was; and, finally, I have beheld the Crystal Palace, which is not unequal to the vast buildings raised from time to time on the Campus Martius, and that display of peaceful art and industry, which exhibits so striking a contrast to our shows of military trophies and our bloody games in the amphitheatre. Yet I confess to you with perfect sincerity, that, though I do justice to such works, to your cities and your churches, your iron roads and your steaming ships, there is something which I admire much more than all this; because I have always thought the cause more worthy of admiration than the effect, and held the moving principle higher than any special manifestation and application of it. What I admire most among you, is what I consider to be your great and lasting monument in the history of the world. You have created a commonwealth, where two things are united which that great pagan, Tacitus, thought irreconcilable, liberty and government. And if I search into the nature, origin, and growth of this your commonwealth, I find it to be the fruit of true Christian principles, of Christian self-government and mercy. All that striking order and energy which reign in this country, all the wisdom and zeal of your senators and areopagitic judges, the general respect for the law among the people, as well as all those great and mighty external works which people admire so much, seem to me to originate in your

truly public, and, let me say, Christian spirit. For Christianity is intended to establish law and self-government, first in every individual, next in domestic life, and in public society. Christianity is to convince people of the eternal love of God, and to make them love their fellow-creatures as brethren, in order to enable them, through such love, to erect a godlike, rational, and just, and consequently a free commonwealth. Wherever, therefore, I find the forms of public liberty, I inquire first, whether the people have the law in themselves; whether there be in them, individually, liberty, which is self-government, and charity, which is mutual faith: and where I find that to be the case, I know from history and my own experience that it is the work of Christianity. Now with you this is so, evidently.

And this reminds me of the strange words which I had to hear from the present successor of the blessed Irenæus [2] when I told him, after a short visit, that I intended to go to England and to live some time among you. "I beg your pardon," he said, "for speaking thus freely to one, who asserts himself to be, and who (I am most willing to believe) is, not only a colleague of mine, a cardinal, but also as such is so infinitely my senior, and stands before me indisputably as the Dean of the Sacred College.[3] But I must confess to you, that, after all that has come to pass in that island during these last three hundred years, and all that they have done lately to a colleague of

ours, it appears strange to me that you should wish to go to England. You say you are anxious to know what these Protestants really are; and I understand you were always very inquisitive: but you have only to look at what they did in the ages when their priests were united with us, and to compare it with what they have achieved since their separation, during these last three hundred years, in order to know what to think of their Christianity. The ages in which our Churches were united produced among them saints like yourself, and covered the face of their country with magnificent temples; but since they separated from us, what have they given to the world save money-making men of business, and egotistical statesmen, and what have they reared except factories and cotton-mills?"[4] Then he went on exalting all that the great Roman Catholic nations had done, and lamenting how deep you were sunk; and finally he tried to frighten me by saying, he knew through his infallible reporters and their friends in high places, that the Exhibition would be the signal for revolution and murder.

But, doubting much of what he said, I persisted in my resolution, and came over to your country. And here I see that you have indeed erected most wonderful factories and cotton-mills; but you do not make the poor people, men and women and children, work in them on Sundays, as the Gauls do in their country. You have, like them, labourers and mechanics, aspir-

ing to better their condition; but yours prefer working, and quietly associating together, to the making of revolutions, and plunging others and themselves into misery. You have ragged children: but you clothe and educate them for useful work, instead of enlisting them as soldiers to kill their fellow-citizens; and they like learning to read and to work, rather than making an attempt to convulse society by their votes, and to subvert order by arms. Your metropolis is not a monumental town, like a part of theirs: but your monument is your commonwealth. I must apply to you as a nation, what you say in your great basilica on the tomb of the great architect who raised it: "*Si monumentum requiris circumspice.*" You have raised, in those three hundred years, that well-balanced commonwealth to which I have already alluded, and you have established and maintained such a sanctuary of liberty as even our fathers did not possess in the great and glorious times of the Republic. You have known how to unite freedom with order, popular rights with a national aristocracy and hereditary monarchy, which union, our great heathen prophet Cicero said, would, if ever it could be brought to pass, form the most perfect of governments.[5] This great monument, which you have erected, I admire more than all those outer works of civilization of which other people think you are so proud, not only as men of your race, but as Christians, and, I am bound to add, as Protestants. You have just shown to

the world the practical effect of the principle on which your social arrangements are based. People on the Continent believed (or tried to make others believe) that the gathering of so many hundreds of thousands of your working and labouring men round the spectacle of the Great Exhibition would be the signal, if not of famine and pestilence, certainly of revolution and bloodshed. But I have seen them surround their queen with respectful affection: and, far from any disturbance taking place, good-will and good-humour and plenty never have reigned more paramount any where than during these months among you. Now when I ask myself, since what time you have possessed this liberty and enjoyed this peace and tranquillity, I cannot help remarking that you owe it all to that godly reform you began to make of Christianity about three hundred years ago. Nor is this an isolated instance: for I find that more or less it is so everywhere; and I know only too well what I have seen in France, and what I have credibly heard here of the state of my native country. In framing your Constitution, you have only applied with consistency and success to politics the great principle of Protestantism, namely, self-responsibility. For liberty is self-government, and self-government is impossible without the principle of moral self-responsibility being the active popular principle of faith. The great work of your Reformation is the State herself, and the progress of society by reform, and not

by revolution, and this I find prevalent only in Protestant countries.

This, then, being the impression your nation and country have made upon me, you cannot doubt of my entire confidence in your competency as well as in your justice. Every thing seems only to depend upon this, whether I succeed in overcoming your disheartening indifference, and interesting you for the truth involved in my case. And I have a hope I shall succeed, as soon as you convince yourselves that it is not so much my personal case, as that of truth, and therefore your own; as soon as you perceive how intimately it is connected with the earliest development of that pure evangelical faith, to which you cling with such instinctive earnestness and ardour.

My only difficulty, then, at last, is that you have no time for such matters. I confess that there are many circumstances which inspire me with hope also on this point. For you have evidently become more aware in these last times than you were before, that it is necessary you should take the religious question, the question of your faith, into your own hands; and I know that, as soon as you do this, you will take up all those studies and inquiries with which I and my book are connected, and about which I must speak to you in my defence.

But still, as matters stand at present, those whose good opinions I am desirous of deserving, and whom I

wish to stir up to some common inquiry respecting the past, present, and future, think very little of us, the old Fathers, and least of all of me, whom their learned men in authority have given up, and struck, as it were, out of their memory. This indifference of your truly learned men frightens me much more than all attacks and criticisms of theirs, past and future. I can say with perfect sincerity that I shall consider it a great honour, if those learned men of yours criticize me at all; and I shall be grateful to them if they show me the defects and faults of my writings and of my age. For this is the right of the younger and the duty of the wiser. Only do not kill my cause by indifference. I require nothing of your learned men but that they sift my case, and above all read my book. I am sure my works, and I myself personally, might have something to tell even to your most learned people. When I meet them privately, I say to myself, It would be preposterous to suppose I could equal such men in knowledge, wherever they will employ their leisure and the means they have to inform themselves. But still, in my time we knew something, and I was thought a great luminary, and certainly laboured much to make my fellow Christians equal the heathen in learning and thought, as they surpassed them in virtue and piety. Following up this idea, and thinking how kind they are to foreigners, I perceived a ray of hope in the midst of my despondency. And

being thus a little comforted, I felt the blood of a martyr rush back to my heart, and I said to myself, I will take courage. I am put on my defence; and however little I may have known, and much as I may fall short of their divines and philosophers in learning, I know who I am, and that I have written my own book; I also trust I know something of Christ and of the Scriptures, of Christian thought and of Christian life. And after all, am I not among a people known over the whole world as models of fairness? If they have shown, as everybody allows, the strictest impartiality in the difficult task they had undertaken, of being at the same time, like the Eleans of old, among the competitors and among the judges in the Olympic contests, how should they not do so in my case? Above all, since they are Christian brethren, loving Christ, his disciples and followers, how should they not care for me and judge me fairly?

These considerations, as they gave me great comfort at the time, so they now inspire me with cheerful thoughts, with confidence and hope. I feel, at this moment, sure that you will give me a patient hearing; and I promise you to be as short as possible. I will simply tell you what has passed in our academical disputations. Appreciating the manifold disadvantages under which I labour, you will, I am certain, forgive the imperfections of my style, and put the most favourable construction upon my words.

You cannot expect me, a foreigner, to be perfect in English idioms, or to know your English forms. I have taken as my model Plato's Apology of Socrates, because I always tried, although very imperfectly, to imitate his style, and to employ the Socratic method as well as I could. Now all this must appear very quaint and strange to you; but be persuaded that it is done without affectation. I do so simply because I do not know better. But above all, you must needs believe that I am not come to accuse your learned divines, but that I stand before you on my defence, and that I do not mean to teach those who are so much wiser than I am, but to instruct myself. If, therefore, you find that in the course of my apology, in answering their doubts, and in endeavouring to remove their difficulties, I have taken the liberty of asking them a question or two in my turn, I hope you will not consider this too great a liberty, but believe that this method proceeds merely from an earnest desire to improve my stock of knowledge during the time that I have the happiness of living amongst you. Moreover, if in these answers or questions of mine I may appear to have intended to place some puzzles and riddles before them, pray do not think that I delight in paradoxes; but rather believe that I give you only the substance of our conversations, because it is my wish not to be too tedious at the first hearing you grant me, and that I desire to establish a connection with you, which may

lead at some future time to more explicit friendly communing between us.

Having thus taken courage to speak frankly to you, and feeling persuaded that you will listen to me with patient attention, I will enter at once upon my defence.

Here you will perhaps fear that I intend to lay before you black-letter records and intricate arguments, in order to prove that I, Hippolytus, was bishop of Portus, and member of the governing presbytery at Rome, and that, as such, I wrote the "Refutation of all the Heresies."

Now I do not intend troubling you with any such proofs. It appears to me absurd that I should be called upon to prove that I am myself; and it makes my head quite giddy to think that it is doubtful whether I am that author. Not understanding anything of the strange stories they so early invented about me, but knowing that they are false, I can with difficulty imagine how men, so wise and enlightened, should ever have arrived at such wild notions and such almost incredible scepticism. A German friend undertook the other day to explain all this to me, and tried to make me comprehend all the strong arguments which he can bring forward from my book itself, and the good evidence

which he has collected from the ancient records about me. I confess that I could not help pitying him for having been obliged to go through so much inquiry, and you for wanting such a circumstantial demonstration in order to believe a fact which ought never to have been doubted. Be sure therefore of this: I will not say a word on this subject; but I will tell you some particulars about Portus and my domestic life in that place, which must prove to you that I lived there, and which will show you how I lived.

I know nothing of that Roman port which they say existed in Arabia, and whither they want to send me into exile. But I know Portus, the harbour, as it were the Piræus, of Rome. You are all acquainted with Ostia, the ancient mouth of the Tiber; and many among you, I dare say, have visited the Holy Island, with its shore of little more than two miles in length from one outlet of the muddy river to the other. Indeed it is from you I have learned how that same island, in my time covered with roses and called a paradise, and crowded by the almost adjoining buildings of Ostia and of Portus, is now a barren spot, haunted by wild buffaloes, and used as a place of transportation, like Sardinia of old. As to Portus itself, they tell me the place bears the old name, but is now no more a harbour; there is yet a pond, I hear, with a few huts round it, constructed, as well as the house of the

bishop, which they style a palace, from the ruins of temples and theatres, quays and piers, which place they call Porto, meaning Portus. But I know old Portus. I recollect that on the natural outlet at Ostia having become shallow and impracticable for shipping, one of our early emperors, I forget whether Claudius or Trajan, cut a canal some miles above, which took in a part of the water of the river, and conducted it to a deep and costly basin, surrounded by warehouses, and open to the sea. A flourishing borough had in consequence risen around this new port; and the place, called Portus, became very populous. All ships came there; and all the nations who traded with Rome had their warehouses and their clubhouses and their sanctuaries at Portus. Being by origin a Greek, speaking Greek as my native tongue, and having studied under Irenæus, who taught in Greek, I was considered by the presbytery at Rome and the congregation at Portus to be a proper person to go thither, in spite of the neighbourhood of the city of Ostia. For Greek was the medium, not only of common conversation at the Harbour, but also of religious controversy and of worship. I became instrumental there in doing good. The foreigners liked me; and I was called the Bishop of the Nations. Indeed, I preferred living and conversing with any of them to disputing and living with the Jews. I was a bishop, with the same right as the bishop of Ostia, my neighbour and brother, whose title was

older, and who took precedence of me in the presbytery at Rome, but who had little to inspect and to govern, whereas I was really the bishop of the foreigners coming to Rome. By becoming the rector, and therefore the bishop of the Harbour, I did not cease to be a presbyter at Rome, our metropolis, with which we were all connected. Why should I not be both at the same time?

As to my domestic life, it was certainly very unlike what I have seen the successor of Irenæus lead at Lugdunum. I had no court around me; but I had a wife and children, the very mention of which startled that priest, and those about him, whom he called canons. But you, feeling so blessed in your homes, and leading, as far as I can see, very generally, clergy as well as laity, a happy family life, will sympathise with me in what I am going to tell you on this subject. [6]

It was at Portus that I married; and there I lost my ever beloved and only wife, Chloe, the faithful and zealous assistant in what I may call, not only my parochial, but my missionary labours in that noisy port. Her memory is for ever connected with that place. Probably my biographers have not told you, that she was the sister of that rich and influential man, Heron, for a long time my opponent and my rival, as sacristan and fanatical patron of the gaudy and deceitful temple of Serapis at Portus, near the Egyptian warehouse. [7] Let me at all events

tell you with humble thankfulness, my labours were at length crowned with success, so that I became instrumental in converting him to the saving faith of Christ. These were the happiest days of my life. But alas! in the next summer I lost Chloe, in consequence of a fatal fever. My own health having suffered much, I was prevailed upon to reside at Rome. There my bitter controversies began; and my domestic bereavement became complete. In the month of August in the following year I had to weep over the corpse of my beloved son Anteros. He also became a victim of the fever, having caught it in bishop Callistus' house in the Jews' quarter, on the other side of the Tiber, near the old bridge, whither I had sent him with a message connected with our angry discussions and disputes.[8]

Thus much about myself. You know me now personally. If you wish to know more of me, read my books, and more particularly the one which they have stolen from me.

I therefore think I act fairly towards my own person, as well as towards you, if I consider myself in possession of my historical existence, as bishop of Portus and presbyter at Rome, no less than of my authorship as regards the book in question. Read my book, and then ask me any questions you like, and see whether I can answer them, and whether my answers are not such as Hippolytus, who is known to the literary world, might have been expected to

give. Let Origen and his friends enjoy the full copyright (for they tell me that this in your country is a very serious matter): I claim only the authorship, and the right to demand that the title of the publication be changed.

Having said thus much upon my person, I proceed immediately to the principal point, which is my reputation as a scholar, a philosopher, a divine, and a Christian. I must treat all these questions separately, one after the other. As you have a right to know what has passed between my learned friends in this country and myself, I think, as I said before, the shortest as well as fairest method will be, that I limit myself to relating the substance of our discussions, so far as to enable you to study the case yourselves, and then give your verdict.

Here I must, first of all, give you an account of a discussion on a rather ticklish preliminary point to settle, which is absolutely necessary for my defence, and for the vindication of my character as a scholar and as a divine.

In the very outset of my theological discussions in this country on the interpretation of the Scriptures, I found it very difficult to come to a right understanding on the question respecting the text of the sacred volume.

I soon agreed with my Christian friends, when

speaking of matters of faith, to take the Holy Scriptures as our common basis. For, as I have said in my treatise against Noetus, without them we should know absolutely nothing[9]; and I can fairly say, that in teaching I have ever declared the Scriptures unequivocally to be the only source of our revealed knowledge of things divine, and of the thought and will of God towards man. This principle I have maintained through life; and on this basis I combated the Gnostic subtleties. You may imagine, therefore, how entirely I agree with your nation, and with the Protestant part of your clergy, on this fundamental point. I have indeed maintained metaphysical points, and opposed philosophical opinions on speculative grounds; but only because the first were, to my mind, necessary or reasonable corollaries from explicit passages of Scripture, and because, on the other hand, those philosophical opinions were in direct opposition to the same. Now, as I thought the Scriptures the basis of our faith, I exhorted the people to read, and tried to help them to understand, what the Bible contains of the word of God. Much, therefore, do I approve and admire your zeal in rendering the Scriptures accessible to all nations; because I am sure this zeal for printing and distributing Bibles is equalled by your more intellectual and effective zeal in instructing the young and the ignorant to understand them, and in preaching the joyful message to all nations by the

mouth of evangelists. Having touched upon this point, let me tell you how much I admire the English version of the Scriptures, which seems to me, on the whole, most intelligible and most faithful, living too in the affections of your nation, and its very words interwoven with your thoughts and speech.

But it seemed to me that something more was required for historical discussion. Here we meet on neutral ground. We must recur to the very words of the original sacred text; and there it is that I feel embarrassed even now.

As to the text of the Old Testament, I, like my brethren, used the Alexandrian version of the Jews; and I feel I am liable to be censured for not going back to the Hebrew original. Let me, therefore, at once confess to you that I never was a Hebrew scholar, although I knew more about the Hebrew than those around me. But I dare say the learned men who criticize and judge me are very great scholars in that language. As they are so particular in points of infinitely minor importance, and so profound in the criticism of the heathen writers, both Greeks and Latins, I feel certain they must be much more so in whatever belongs to the critical and philological understanding of the sacred text. Know, then, that I feel my weakness on this point, and that it is my firm purpose as soon as I shall have vindicated my character and authorship, and have paid a farewell

visit to Rome and to Portus, to come to you and sit down in the shade of your Academies, and ask you many questions about the perplexities which I could not solve in my time, nor Irenæus in his. I feel only too deeply that we were all much in the dark about this point, but most particularly about the prophecies, which I understand your people handle with such admirable readiness, and apply with certainty even to these times. Of the Hebrew text, therefore, I say nothing but this: — happy you who are able to read and to interpret it as good critical and Hebrew scholars; for we all of us knew very little about it.

But I come now to my difficulty respecting the original text of the New Testament. How is it that you do not read the same text which we had in our time? Ours was one delivered to us from the elders, and, as we thought, from the blessed Apostles and from the Apostolic writers; and I never heard of any considerable difference among the Churches of the East and West on this point. But, as I was going the other day through my doctrinal works with one of your countrymen, he, being a learned and, still more, a sincere man, took me to task for some of my quotations. He said that they were not correct, and that, with reference to the text of the first verses of St. John's Gospel, I did not understand the commonest rules of punctuation.[10] This very naturally made a deep impression on my mind. "You are a wise man

indeed," I said to him; "and you will help me out of a great difficulty, if you will tell me whence you got your text, of which you speak with so much confidence. I have told you what our sources and authorities were; and it is difficult for me to understand how later changes can have improved an old text, or of what great importance it can be to know the different ways in which subsequent copyists disfigured and interpolated the texts read by the Fathers, when the old texts agree so well among themselves. So I thought: but how was I humbled (and, I confess, puzzled too) when my learned friend told me, that two booksellers, the one a Gaul, and the other a Batavian, had manufactured that text for you from avowedly late and discordant manuscripts; and that, this text having been received by the people who bought those copies, and made them and their reprints general school-books, it was thought neither reverent nor profitable to discuss that question in this country. Be this as it may, he concluded by saying, "What is printed is printed; and you, as a foreigner, must accept the text as we offer it to you."

Now my first thought was something like this: "What perplexing people these islanders are! They have undoubtedly an esoteric and reserved doctrine, as well as an exoteric and popular one, although they do not avow it. For they themselves possess a most beautiful manuscript of high antiquity, and while reading it the other day, I found exactly all my

texts, as I knew them from Irenæus, and from the library belonging to our presbytery in the Jews' quarter, near the place where St. Peter suffered martyrdom. There can be no doubt those learned men know full well that this text, which is the same as the ancient Church read, is the right text. But such is their self-denial, and their respect for what they have received from the two foreign booksellers, that they conceal from the less knowing that they know better. Whatever be their reason for this mysterious reserve, I cannot but admire the self-denial of which such reserve must be a proof and an example." So I then said to myself, and so I say now to you. Only let it be fully understood, that, when you in future reason with me upon Greek scriptural texts, I appeal to your fairness (as I know I must not appeal to my superior knowledge), and beg of you to allow me to keep to that text which we old Christians knew in our time, and to that Scripture which we acknowledged to be canonical, that is to say, Apostolical.[11]

As to this latter point, I promise not to intrude upon you as canonical a book called the "Apocalypse of St. Peter," which our Roman Apostle and martyr had introduced to be read in our Church, on account of certain striking and graphic passages respecting the past things and future life, which certainly would do no harm. I never quoted it. You will, on your side, kindly abstain from quoting what

you call the Second Epistle of St. Peter. I might have been induced to do so, in order to prove my theory about the coming of Antichrist and the end of the world after 6000 years. But I could not in good conscience. The ancient Churches did not know such a letter. I confess, having read it, I like the beginning well; but the rest seems to me an imitation of the Epistle of Jude, which we considered at Rome as canonical as you do.

This topic brings me to the first point on which I have to defend myself before you. I will summon courage to say something in defence of my allegorical interpretations, which my learned friends in this country generally find so extremely absurd. "How could the old man ever run into such fancies? I am sure he never would, if he had known the full evangelical truth!" said a very respectable clergyman the other day to a friend, in my hearing. I could not sleep the first night after this; and I begged my interpreter to read me some commentaries of his or of his friends on Daniel and the Apocalypse. For on these two books I know I have written with great ignorance: only let it not be forgotten, I have done so, as my work on Antichrist shows, with great diffidence, and never argued against others upon those conjectures and guesses, as I will prove to you

shortly. My companion chose, indeed, as he assured me, the best and most pious and learned books ever written on the subject; and he went so far as to say they were the books of the age. Certainly I found the authors themselves had no diffidence whatever in their method of interpretation; and this assuredly is something much to be admired. For they were obliged to confess to me, that all similar attempts had proved to be delusions: and I was able to show that, if there had been any truth in them, the world would have perished half a dozen times over in the last hundred years. "Mark," I said, "at all events this, the predictions based upon that method have hitherto turned out to be quite as unfounded as my much derided and exploded conjectures on the time of the coming of Antichrist. But I confess to you, with great frankness, yours are likely to have the same fate in the next twenty or thirty years, when, I understand, this world must come to an end, according to those enlightened interpreters. Which, then, is more likely to perish within that period,—the world, or your system? I incline to believe the world will go on, and your interpreters, if any there be, will find no readers in this country. As regards Rome, having heard very little from that quarter since I left this world, I do not know exactly what Callistus' successors may have done there. He was a great tyrant; and his successors may have been no better than he was: but I certainly think you must be mistaken in

believing that St. John's vision of the fall of Rome did not apply to imperial and heathen Rome, but to Christian and Callistian Rome. I can assure you, that they who had seen the Apostle, or learnt from those who had seen him (among whom my master was one), never dreamt of doubting that such was the meaning of his words. And I must confess, reading the book now rationally, I find the text does not allow us to apply to your own time predictions connected with events which relate to imperial Rome. You may be quite right in saying, that, if the Apostle condemned Nero and his satellites, who tortured and burned the Christians, he must also have condemned popish Rome, as you call it, if it corrupted and oppressed Christianity. But then you must also consider, that the Apostle would not have so inveighed against it, because Christian Rome is built upon the site of the heathen city of the seven hills, but because that condemnation is written in the eternal decrees of God against whatever is unholy and corrupt, and stands in the way of the progress of His kingdom, wherever it be. That is an inference, but not an interpretation; and we were now speaking of interpretation, that is to say, of finding out what the Apostle meant to say about the times and their epochs. I myself inferred, in my commentary upon the Apocalypse, that it was quite fair to see in the condemnation of the Jezebel of the Thyatirans an equal condemnation of those conceited and lying

Montanist women, who persecuted the saints of the Lord in the same church of Thyatira. But I did not deny that St. John, by that Jezebel, designated a blasphemous woman of his days, and that the details of his book respecting Thyatira applied to the Thyatira of his own time. I only thought, like himself, that one Jezebel is as bad as another. But, let me remind you, I also thought that one Daniel was as good as another. 'Whoever,' I said in my Antichrist, 'resolves not to eat of the food of the intellectual Nebuchadnezzar, and whoever afflicts his soul with fasting in this Babylon here, through the knowledge of the truth, he is Daniel; and what is told about the Daniel of old will be applicable to him. For both are of one and the same principle, and one and the same habit, so they may both be called Daniel.'" Now, do you not think I had more comfort in this contemplation than I ever could have had, if the period at which the world would come to an end had been really made known to me? Does the end of the world not come to every one of us at the hour of our death, the time of which is restricted within very narrow limits? Do you know what cured me, even in my lifetime, of my Apocalyptic dreams? I found out that some of the Montanist women had foretold repeatedly the epochs of external events which came to pass in their time.[12] Now, am I to think for that, I said to myself, that these women have the Holy Spirit in them? What has

the Holy Spirit to do with counting years and months and days? In His kingdom, the only true and the only divine one, time and space are of a very subordinate importance; and I should suppose that, wherever He has moved holy men in the Church to say something respecting times, it will be found that the subject of the prophecy is not to be wholly external and idealess, but connected with the great thoughts of God, and, finally, that it leaves to the mind a certain latitude, and to the individual will and national action all their energy. But even such predictions can only be of a very secondary nature, and, I suppose, subordinate to the nation's or individual's concerned doing or not doing certain good or wicked things. On the contrary, what an inexhaustible treasure of thought and of holy inspiration is there in the idea, that whoever testifies to the truth, and against the tyrant, and despises all the comforts of the body, and offers his life for the defence of truth, is as much Daniel as the historical one! This contemplation comforted me and many other Christians at that time; and I will not conceal from you, it also prevented me from being startled the other day, when a German tried to prove to me that our book of Daniel was not written by that pious and wise patriarch of the Jews, whom Hezekiel names between Noah and Job, but by an equally pious and wise, and therefore patriotic and courageous man, who, in the midst of the tyranny of Antiochus Epiphanes, and of

the horrors of idolatry, when every word was watched by the spies, every patriotic writing persecuted as a crime, chose this form in order to instil holy courage and undying faith into the hearts of his suffering and almost despairing countrymen. "Well," I said, "I cannot enter now into this discussion: I must first learn Hebrew, and Hebrew criticism, and the later vernacular idiom of Palestine, which they call Chaldee; and all that I intend to do at one of your or the English universities as soon as I have leisure. But I do not mind at all, if you prove to me that the thing is so. For truth has after all in itself a paramount value; and if you do not deny that the book is the same as that which our Saviour read, and if you admit also that this intellectual Daniel was a pious and truthful man, speaking out the truth which was in him by the same spirit which spoke through the holy men before him, that he acted out of self-sacrificing love to God and his brethren, and if you acknowledge as prophetic what he says of the final victory of justice and holiness, I do not see why we should be losers, and not infinitely gainers in every respect."

I find that I am interrupted in my defence by some voices of indignation or of surprise. As far as the tumult allows me to understand what is meant, I believe I can reduce it to questions like these:

"Will you invent and then justify pious fraud? Should we not give up altogether the character of the Bible as a sacred and inspired book, if we admitted such a hypothesis?"

Now, my friends, do not forget that I have declared my readiness to submit my case to your judgment also in this point, as soon as we both shall have studied the matter together. But, at present, let me only ask: Would it be fair to exclude entirely the free discussion of whether the late origin of Daniel is a hypothesis or a fact? Certainly it would not. But still ask your own conscience whether you do not in fact exclude a fair discussion, if you set down beforehand as a starting point, that it cannot be a fact, because you suppose that it would prejudge the sacred character of the book and dishonour the Bible. I cannot see the difference between such a proceeding and that of the Roman inquisitors against Galileo, which you always quote against Rome. They maintained that the honour of Scripture depended upon assuming as certain that the philosopher's system must be false: for, they asserted, as the Scripture evidently supposes the sun to move and the earth to stand still, it would be impiety to admit that such a hypothesis could be a fact. You ought at least to go as far as the Jesuits did in the seventeenth century, when they edited your Newton's "Principia" as a model of ingenuity for rendering plausible a hypothesis which a

good Christian, of course, knew beforehand to be wrong. Now it is easy to see that whoever starts from the assumption, that to admit such a hypothesis is impiety, will never find the truth. For there is no historical truth and no philological fact, against which theological obstinacy cannot raise many objections. Many of your people think themselves justified in asserting against an alleged historical fact its improbability : without considering that nothing is true or untrue in the eyes of history, because it is probable or improbable, but simply because, assuming its general logical possibility, it can be proved to be or not to be a fact. This is a sad subterfuge of Jesuitism or of ignorance. As long as there shall be critical and honest inquiry of truth-seeking minds, and courage to believe in truth, historical facts seem to me as much capable of demonstration as mathematical truths. Of course, in both cases, such a demonstration supposes a certain knowledge and a certain critical faculty. But as we cannot enter now into such a demonstration, let me for a moment beseech you to ask yourselves the question: What reason have you to suppose that, if the book is found to have been written under Antiochus, it was ever meant by the author as an imposition, and not as a poetical form, imperiously prescribed by the dreadful circumstances of the time, and rightly understood by the faithful for whom it was written out of the purest

motives. You must be aware, that your supposition is quite a gratuitous one. On the contrary, if you look to the state of things, and if you consider the place which the book of Daniel occupies in the Hebrew canon, at the very end of which it is placed, separated from all the old prophetic works, you cannot be surprised that I declare myself not at all to be startled by that hypothesis, which appears to me even now all but proved in spite of my feeble knowledge of the Hebrew and of the Chaldee. On the contrary, I feel now much more strongly the truly sacred and prophetic character of the book, when I take all the account of the histories of the Ptolemies and the Seleucides before Antiochus Epiphanes to be a historical introduction under the form of a vision, as the character assumed demanded it. I then am struck more than ever by the strength of faith in the pious mind of the author, to behold the light of salvation, when the clouds were blacker than ever, and when nothing but extermination or apostasy seemed to remain to God's chosen people. As I find this belief in the political salvation of his people the more sublime and holy, because it is in his mind identified with his faith in God's eternal kingdom of truth and justice on earth, this fact gives me strength to believe that the prophecy respecting the end of human destinies will at last prove substantially true. So much now of Daniel.

Considering all this, I confess I feel only the more strongly the imperfection and the presumption of what I wrote in my book about Antichrist. But allow me to repeat to you, my Christian friends, what I said to the English divines, when justifying myself before them. In judging me respecting this point, you ought not to forget the times in which I lived. I did not write for my amusement. When I composed my book about Antichrist, containing comments on Daniel and the Apocalypse, in the reign of the emperor Severus, the people had not yet recovered from the panic, caused some years before by the ridiculous calculations of Judas, the unenlightened Christian writer, who had endeavoured to prove, that, according to St. John, Antichrist must come, and the world must perish, in the tenth year of that emperor, by which, I suppose, he meant to designate the end of the second century after the birth of Christ. I was opposed to that interpretation, although I felt all the weight of those terrible times, as my words sufficiently prove. You may read them in that book, where, explaining the seventh chapter of Daniel, and speaking of the fourth monarchy (which I took to be that of the Romans, and the last), I say: "Already the iron reigns: already it tames and crushes everything: already it subdues all who are unwilling: already we see these things." That same feeling of a great catastrophe about to happen in the known world was so much in the hearts of all our people, that I

could not avoid expressing an opinion about it. But see what I said when entering upon this subject: "We are obliged to say that which we ought not to say, because we are forced to do so." And then I hesitatingly bring forward a guess, which is based upon a conjecture adopted and taught by my venerable master, Irenæus, that the world's having been created in six days seems to imply that it would last six thousand years, "one day being with the Lord as a thousand years, and a thousand years as one day." Now, as I had in my "Chronicle" adopted the scheme which seemed to me the most probable, that our Lord was born in the 5500th year of the world, I ventured to say that it would not improbably come to an end after five hundred years more, therefore about three hundred years beyond the time in which I wrote.

It certainly seemed impossible to us that the Roman empire, and therefore the world, should last much longer. Broken and shaken as it was, that empire became more and more divided between rival commanders of legions. There was no nation or national life left within, and none without, as far as we short-sighted mortals could see. But, moreover, in the eyes of a Christian, there was such a depravity and rottenness in the state, so demoralizing a system of government, such contempt for laws human and divine, so unblushing a purpose to govern by force and terror only, under the simulacrum of republican forms. It

was a military government, with a double army; an army of police to watch and denounce, and one of prætorians to crush every aspiration after lawful liberty, and to punish even the appearance of resistance or dissatisfaction. The spies, called *delatores*, under cover of the law entered into all the private relations of life and preyed upon the people. The Christians, who were almost incessantly vexed and persecuted and tortured and slaughtered for defending the only liberty of mankind not yet extinguished, that of not worshipping idols, could least of all believe that God would tolerate such a state of things much longer, and not perform an act of divine justice, which to the elect would be one of mercy. Do you think, that because they made no revolution they did not execrate tyranny, and did not pray for the speedy end of it? We never ceased to be Romans and Greeks, and we never praised arbitrary rule as a divine institution. If we had done so, we should have been unworthy to be the disciples of Christ. Our belief in the approaching end of the world was an error: so it was with the blessed Apostles themselves, at least during a great part of their lives. But, in looking back, I think there was some truth in that foreboding, the result both of despair and of faith, both of moral indignation and of divine love. A world was indeed at that time crumbling to pieces, and Christianity was, in the hands of Providence, a powerful element of its dissolution. For let nobody overlook

this truth, the elements of life become elements of death to those who reject them. We were right in our forebodings of the imminent fall of the world which we saw. We were heard when, in the hours of persecution and of prayer, we exclaimed, "O Lord, how long!" The world which we knew did terminate: what we were ignorant of was, that a new world was already beginning, while we thought all lost on this earth.

When, therefore, I now hear of such forebodings, I do not at all scorn and deride them. There must be some feeling of decay, some looking for a necessary change, which makes people listen, not only to wild dreams, and to old and new prophecies, but even to such dull books as those which they have made me read. But that they, as Christians, should believe that the world is to come to an end, because, perchance, they are at an end with their theological systems and wisdom, that seems very strange to me. It certainly is much more absurd than that we should have come to a similar conclusion, when we were at the end, not only of our wisdom, but also of our hopes. What am I to think of their Christian faith? Do they not believe (and even preach) that Christianity must cover the face of the earth, even as the waters cover the great deep? And do they not see that very gradually, but still unmistakably, it has begun to penetrate the civil and social relations of life, after having for many centuries merely varnished over the surface of a barbarous society? And do

they not see by the side of the elements of destruction (more effects than causes in themselves) many elements of life? Are there not nations? is there not national life? Is there not a general yearning for Christ's religion, for the simple truth of the Gospel? At all events, if on this point Irenæus and I were so hasty and such fools as many of you may think, your people seem scarcely to show the great wisdom I expected to find in you.

Now when I did not conceal this my opinion from my kind interpreter, a colleague of his, a man of plain speech, and very undoubting and authoritative, observed, I had not fallen upon the right books: he gave me others, and "Look here," he exclaimed, "and then say whether you can see the progress we have made, if you compare with these good and sober books all those queer and useless things you have written about the Creation, in explaining, or rather obscuring, the first chapters of Genesis, which are so clear to us, and in short, if you look back to all your useless speculations which are prying irreverently into the secrets of God's nature. For, my Christian friend," he added, in a most solemn tone, "do not take it ill, but I have very serious doubts whether you are after all correct in your doctrine, and really orthodox."

You see, we thus came from the exegetical question to the chapter of theological orthodoxy. I soon found

that my new friend tested this orthodoxy principally by certain metaphysical formularies. He did not accuse me flatly of heterodoxy, but he condemned me for having raised philosophical questions on revealed things, which, he said, were to be believed without being inquired into, whenever they were unintelligible. "Look," my new friend said, "how shortly we treat all these mysteries, how reverently we abstain from prying curiously into them! Enough has been said of them in the creeds and in the formularies of the later councils, who have so well settled all these matters for us and for the whole Christian world, that we do not think about them any more. Alas for you, that it was done after your time! This is an excuse as far as it goes, although I am startled to hear that you were on this score so much more ignorant, and so much less clear and precise, than I supposed you to have been. At all events, I am sure you will now accept these formularies thankfully, subscribe to them unconditionally, and in future keep your peace; or if you must go on putting questions, express yourself more correctly and guardedly, and be satisfied with our short and reserved answers."

"My good friend," I answered him, "does it not strike you that such language must be, if not humbling, at least startling to me, who am called one of the Fathers, and who was thought the first author of my time in the Roman, if not in the whole of the

Western, Church. I must begin to learn; and I will carefully read those books of yours, to which you refer, both of interpretation and of doctrine: they must be quite wonderful, to have inspired you with such a confidence in the wisdom of your party."

When I had read them, my old idea returned. These learned people, I said, have certainly, however they deny it, a private and esoteric, as well as a popular and exoteric, doctrine and system of interpretation. For those formularies are full of what appear to me fragments and remains of the speculations of our time. I perceive very plainly that there can have been no more Gnosticism and Gnostic acuteness to combat when they were framed, but rather questions which the divines of the Church themselves raised upon conceits of their own, and decided all their own way. Still, however that be, what connection is there between these metaphysical formularies and your own books? There is no harm in those books: we used to tell something like their contents to our children before they were of full age; but as to explaining those formularies, or leading to an insight into the great questions which arise in the mind intent upon divine things, and the relation of the immortal soul to God and to the universe, they do not even attempt it. So that here is a great puzzle for me. If indeed there is not this secret learning and interpretation which they conceal from me, I am driven to a startling dilemma. Either

they believe in those formularies, and in the passages of the Bible to which they refer; and then the thinking men do not believe in that (to speak plainly) materialistic and sensual view of those homely books, in which the Creation is treated as a process of manufacture, and the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, as three historical personages. Or these people really express what they understand of Christianity in those dry, empty, and shallow doctrinal works; and then they do not really believe in the formularies of the ancient Church, but maintain them only out of superstition, and from a political respect for what is established. But what becomes then of their evangelical faith in the Scriptures? St. John's prologue, and Christ himself in the most important speeches reported of him in that Gospel, speak a metaphysical language; so do St. Paul's Epistles: and, besides, the whole Christian faith stands upon this, that there is a moral and holy government of the world. What is there of either in these books, if you compare them even with what the heathens, whether poets or philosophers, have said of things divine and human? Now, I said to myself, this is a most serious dilemma, and I must satisfy my mind at least to a certain point on this all-important subject. As for myself, since they are becoming aggressive, I shall never be able to defend myself successfully, unless I occasionally take the offensive. And as for them, they will never derive any advantage from these disputations,

unless some thought be stirred up in their minds, which will be done more easily when they perceive how they would appear to us if we were to have judged them at Rome or Alexandria.

With these ideas in my mind, I agreed to have a conference with my new friends, and having met them accordingly, I said: "You have conferred a double benefit upon me; for, having promised me one set of books, as expressing your religious system, you have given me, most distinctly, two. What embarrasses me is this, that these two appear to me to be very loosely, if at all, connected with each other: I mean the ancient creeds, and your own meditations on Christianity. You must therefore extend your kindness still farther, and help your guest, that he may know in what way you unite the two in your minds; for I am sure you must feel the want of bringing into harmony elements which appear so very heterogeneous. Otherwise, I am afraid, this entire want of connection between two things, both of which you receive as expositions of your faith, must end either in distracting you, or in making you give up the one or the other, if not Christianity altogether. Now, as to your creeds, the one on which I understand the bishops agreed at Nicæa, about a hundred years after I left this world, comes in many points very near my own mind, only that it seems to say either too much or too little on philosophical points. Above all, it appears to me strange that the Word should

have so merged in the Son, that it has entirely disappeared. This I must consider rather a departure from Scripture; and I cannot help thinking that it has led to an unphilosophical identification, not in substance but in form, of the divinity and humanity of Christ, or the Logos and the historical Christ. The speculative Christian mind will always have a great reluctance to identify one with the other so entirely without distinction, as to merge the eternal idea entirely in its temporal manifestation. We found that in our disputes with the Gnostics. But as to the formulary named after Athanasius, he who made it, and those who adopted it as an expression of the consciousness of the Church, must have entirely lost sight of the principal object and the very starting point and origin of our speculations. It treats one subordinate question alone, and this not only more peremptorily than Scripture authorizes us to do, but also less philosophically. Above all, what state must the human mind have been in, either to demand or to yield implicit adhesion to such formal subtleties under pain of damnation! I do not wonder now that the false prophet and his followers destroyed Christianity in half the world; and I am comforted about that incredible saying of a learned bishop of New Rome, styling himself a patriarch, who, as my German friend has told me, having read a theological book of mine which the copyists had attributed to Jo-

sephus, wondered how the Jew could speak about Christ 'almost as if he were a Christian.' There must be, I think, something very wrong in those formularies, if the primitive consciousness of the Church respecting God, the Word, and the Son, became so entirely obscured to those who had only just completed a system of divinity out of those formularies.

"All this, my friends," I continued, "I say in self-defence; it is the impression which those old formularies make upon me when I am summoned to correct what I have said of Christ, and what the whole Church said in my time. I feel there is something in those creeds which connects itself with my own thoughts, but also something which I cannot connect well with what we had been taught, and what we ourselves taught, sixteen or seventeen hundred years ago. Such, then, is my difficulty with the old formularies. But as to your modern books, what is there in them of the Infinite or the Absolute, of the first principal Cause of the Universe, with the confession of which all those formularies begin? Not one syllable. What is there in them of the Self-consciousness of God, the eternal Word, being God Himself, by whom all things were created, in whom all created things have their life, and mankind their light, that is to say, the understanding of things divine? Absolutely nothing. And as to the modern philosophers to whom you

refer, those who pretend to preach what pure reason teaches, they seem to me to be downright materialists."

Here they stopped me, and said: "Stop, stranger, you Germanize. Where is any thing of this modern philosophical mysticism either in Scripture or in the formularies you speak of? Let us reason and speculate upon purely scriptural and catholic ground, on the words of the Bible and of the creeds."

"Well," I said, "you agree, then, to enter into a philosophical discussion upon this basis?" "We do," they exclaimed.—"And you will allow me now, in my turn, to ask you questions, starting from some point which we both think self-evident, and therefore a safe beginning?" "We will," they replied. — "I rejoice in this, and have only to ask one single preliminary question, which may appear very strange to some of you. Are you convinced that you exist, and that you know you exist?" "What do you mean?" they exclaimed.—"Do you believe that you yourselves are a reality?" "If not," one replied, "what should we believe in at all?"—"I am exceedingly obliged to you," I said, "for granting me so much. Well, then, you will have no difficulty in believing that you are thinking and reasoning beings, not by accident, but necessarily, because it is only by believing reason to be a reality, that you are conscious of existing yourselves." "We do not doubt such a reality," they exclaimed.—"Well, I rejoice at that ex-

ceedingly," I replied, "for if you really do so, you will feel yourselves obliged to follow whither our common reasoning will lead us of necessity, unless we disbelieve ourselves. And, besides, I think that, knowing reason cannot be in contradiction with itself, you will do so willingly, and thus relieve me of much pain and trouble. I then start from this your faith in reasoning; for, as to the creeds, I know already that you believe in them.

"You, therefore, in the first place, confess the Father to be the Creator of all things, visible and invisible?" "We do." — "What is visible is the material world?" "So it is." — "The invisible things, therefore, do they not mean the immaterial?" "How should they not?" — "Now what is immaterial may be infinite or may be finite, as you say our soul is, as having been created." "It may." — "But God cannot be finite, and must therefore be infinite." "Who doubts that?" — "Is not that which is infinite called so because it has no limits in its being?" "It is." — "Which of the two, then, is the positive, and which the negative? I mean, which of the two asserts something affirmative, — that which is without bounds, or that which has certain bounds and limits?" "We do not know." — "Well," I replied, "I think you do, my Christian friends. I see your difficulty. If you look to the formation of the word, the Infinite seems to be the negation of the Finite. So is the being immortal the negation

of being mortal. But would you be affirming something, if you were satisfied with asserting that to be immortal is nothing but the negation of being subject to death? Must there not be some positive substance of reality, which exempts God's existence from being limited as to time?" "It is so, undoubtedly." — "Well, but then you can scarcely mean to deny that Indivisible and Infinite are expressions implying something in the highest degree positive. Now, if we take away all limitations of Substance and Being, may that which remains not be called the Absolute?" "It may." — "Now, if God is the Absolute, and the spirit of man is the Relative or Limited, of two things one must be true. Either the Absolute and the Relative are different from each other in kind, and then, of course, there can be no inward and substantial, but only an outward and accidental, connection between them. Or they are different only in degree, by the accident of existence by which the Finite is affected; or, in other terms, only as far as the one is without limitation, and therefore not bound to time or space, and does not exist in them nor according to the laws of either, as you allow that our spirit and reasoning do?" "Certainly, one or the other," they answered; "but we do not see what could decide us to affirm the one or the other."

"Indeed!" was my reply; "but you do believe the second article of the Nicene Creed?" "We should not

think ourselves Christians if we did not." — "Well, then, let us look at the first words of that article. Much as I regret that the language of St. John's prologue is rather obscured or slighted in the expressions of the Nicene Creed, and entirely neglected in what is called the Athanasian, this much is certain, the Son is here declared to be equal to the Father, because he is taken to be the embodiment of the eternal Word. At all events, you will allow me to use this term instead. Now, is the Word a manifestation of God or not?" "Of course it is." —"But the Word is itself originally God?" "So the text clearly says." — "What originally exists in the Absolute must substantially, and therefore eternally, be the same. Must it not?" "We do not see how we can gainsay this." — "Now, if the Word is both the manifestation of God's own substance and the adequate expression of his Reason, and, at the same time, is called the Life of created things and the Light of mankind, both created nature and created mind must have a divine substance and life in them, only with this difference, that the mind alone is conscious of it, and therefore has the knowledge of it. Indeed, this saying of the Evangelist seems to me to be borne out by the fact that Gravity and Light, and other phenomena of matter, are manifestations of the life which is in matter, and the laws of these phenomena can be found out by the strength of Reason which is in the mind. These are the very laws which your

old and new natural philosophers have so marvellously investigated and explained by mathematical calculation, which is the lowest degree of philosophy, but a very important one. This proves that Nature and Mind partake of the same divine substance, Reason being consciousness of existence, and the Word being God's own consciousness of Himself, manifesting itself in the mind as Light, which is Reason. At all events, the expression of St. John clearly indicates that the same Word is, in created things, both Existence and Consciousness, and we may therefore, as Christians, safely adopt the saying, that Mind is conscious nature, and Nature unconscious mind. Indeed, I do not see how we can interpret the prologue otherwise. Now, if the mind partakes of the divine substance, how can you deny that the understanding of things divine is in us, and that this is the real knowledge of ourselves? It appears to me, that we cannot help agreeing; only we must take care not to lose sight of the difference between the Finite and the Infinite."

To this they replied, they did not see how to deny this consequence; but the terms I used did not convey to them a clear philosophical idea; and they therefore asked me whether I would not use another term for marking this difference between God and man. "Let us see," I replied; "perhaps Plato will help us in this, together with St. John's genuine, that is to say, well divided text. Should you understand

me better, if we turn the phrase thus? Every thing that exists really and absolutely, not being subject to any limits, cannot be subject either to time or to space, or to any division or change of existence." "Doubtless." — "Is not time divided into past, present, and future?" "Every body knows that." — "Now it is generally allowed that there is a change implied in this, so that what is past is not, but has been; what is future is not, but will be; and what is present is such that it neither has been exactly as it is now, nor will be so in future; otherwise there would be no division. But at all events there is a division in time; and the Infinite cannot be affected by a division: therefore God is rightly called He who is above time, or timeless. And you will certainly also allow that there is change in the things which have a finite existence, and that change cannot exist in the absolute Being?" "How should it?" — "Now, if there cannot be change, there cannot be development either, which is the change of one and the same thing from one state of existence into another; of which, change in time and in space is the form. Is it so?" "We affirm it."—"And at the same time you see that here lies the difficulty. For the Infinite cannot be subject to change, and still we acknowledge it to be the cause of that changeable existence which we know to be a reality. Here then seems to be a contradiction, and it seems the most natural method to start from the difference

between what exists unchangeably, and what is in a continual transition from one state to another. Shall we then call this transition of existence from one state into another, that which is evolving, the Evolving? endeavouring thus to express the *Genesis* of the Greek, the *Fieri* of the Latins, or the *Werden* of the Germans, in opposition to the *Esse* or the *Sein*. Very well; shall we then say that the Infinite is the Being, and the Finite the Evolving?" "We cannot think of a better term, so let us adopt that English word."—"Well," I continued, "if we allow this, our former argument seems to oblige us also to say, that as the Infinite is different from the Finite only in that the one has limitations, the other not, the Evolving (or the limited existence of mind in time) does not differ from God's Being but in this, that the one is an ideal, the other a real, existence. We must now see what we understand by an ideal and a real existence. I presume, then, that we take real in the sense that it means what exists in time and space, and ideal in the sense that it signifies the creative thought of the same, that which in all these changes constitutes the unity of the evolving existence. This thought is an existence, yea, the only true existence in the highest sense, because it not only does not change, but we have declared it to be the cause of all changeable existence. We may therefore say that the Thought, identified with Will, and animated by Love, is that which must be called the Being,

that which *is*, in the eminent sense, and that this Being is eternal, and not subject to time, therefore not subject to the change from past into present, and from present into future."

"I see," said one of them, an elderly man, "what you are driving at: but what becomes of the difference between Jesus and the believer, between Christ and the Christian?" — "Why, if I answer that the difference is that between the Infinite, not deteriorated in substance by the connection with the Finite, but substantially expressed by it within the limits of the evolving existence and therefore also of time and space, on the one hand, and of the Infinite inadequately expressed (as all believers find in themselves it is) on the other, I think I follow closely the argument which has led us safely to our former conclusions. And, in doing so, I find also we arrive exactly at a view of the matter, without which you, I will not say cannot accept, but cannot even understand, one word of our creeds, any more than of our prologue."

"Well," exclaimed my elderly friend, "do you not see that there is great danger in such a juxtaposition?"

"Instead of answering you directly," I replied, "let me ask in my turn: Do you think there can be any real danger in truth, as truth?" "No, certainly not," he answered; "I cannot allow that."

"Well, indeed, I do not think you can, without denying our second and our first articles, Christ and

God himself. For you know that you are flying in the face of the most positive and solemn expressions and assurances of Christ himself. I do not see how, if you are not really children of God, you can believe him to be the child of God.

"If the danger then is in the abuse of something good, as of truth and godliness, and if the measure of that danger is in the measure of the importance of the object abused, will there not be found the greatest danger in the greatest good, and, therefore, in the greatest truth?" "So it would appear." —"But that danger is not in truth itself, but in the misunderstanding of it?" "It must be in the misunderstanding."—"Might we not therefore say, there is no greater danger than in the misunderstanding of the truths taught by Scripture and Reason respecting the highest, that is to say, the divine things?" "We might."—"But is not the final consequence we have to draw herefrom this, that we ought to take the greatest care to understand well the truth?" "Assuredly."—"And who, think you, will understand it best, he who does not think about it, or he who makes it the object of his earnest thought? It appears to me impossible it should not be the latter; as ignorance of a thing which is allowed to be good, is worse than all misunderstandings of the same.

They kept silence. But I felt moved in the spirit, and said: "Having then come so far, let us go

straight to the third article; for I am afraid it is your ignoring that article which makes you still doubtful about the rest. Do you really believe in what the formularies say in it?"

"We think we do," they answered, "because we are sure it is scriptural."—"Well, then, you believe in what St. Paul says of the Spirit, that it 'searcheth all things, yea, the deep things of God'?" "How should we not? But is that not the Spirit which we confess to be God?"—"Undoubtedly the Holy Spirit must be in the Being, if it is in the Evolution; but then we may also turn it and say: How should it not be, finitely and relatively, in the Evolution, if it is, infinitely and absolutely, in the Being?" "But may we indeed turn it so without irreverence?" asked my elderly friend.—"Look to it yourself," I replied. "Can you otherwise explain those words of the Apostle? Can the Spirit, as far as he is the Infinite Being Himself, search the deep things, that is, the hidden nature or substance of God?" "It would appear not."—"Well, then, the Apostle must have understood it as referring to that divine Spirit which is in the mind of believers." "But then I ask," he replied, "where is the standard of truth, considering the great divergence of opinions and assertions respecting truth?"

And here I could not help smiling, and I said: "Well, do you not see now that I was not quite wrong when I expressed my doubts respecting

your belief in the third article? For that which follows, that you believe in the Universal Church, seems to me to give the answer required." "How does it?" asked my friend, with somewhat of astonishment.

"I have spoken of the Holy Spirit as being in the believers, not in the believer. Now let us inquire of that argument which has brought us so far; perhaps it will yield us the answer we seek. The Spirit and the Church are put together, here and in all evangelical and Apostolic writings. The Spirit is in the Church, and the Church is all the believers. If you have a doubt upon this point, I am ready to discuss it with you thoroughly, even if you will force me to descend to discussions like that of Apostolic succession. For we are here arrived at the very cause of much confusion and of much trouble, present and to come." "No," exclaimed a younger friend, "that would be what you would have called in your language an 'aprosdionyson,' or something uncongenial with thoughts of things divine and intellectual. I certainly should like you to tell us afterwards something about the sacraments and baptismal regeneration. But at present let us keep to the main argument, and I may assert that we who are here present agree to the proposition."—"Generalizing, then, this proposition," I continued, "will not the relation of the Spirit to the Church, as to the believing universality of mankind, be analogous to the relation which the Word, and its

embodiment in Jesus, bears to the believing individual?—so that there would be, respecting man, two co-eternal manifestations of the Infinite, the individual and the collective. Certainly, as we have taken ourselves to be a reality, God cannot have thought man except in a double capacity, as an individual and as a whole. For the realization of the Infinite by the finite human mind, moving in time, is necessarily a double one; that by the individual mind, and that by the whole human race. It is self-evident that one cannot think of mankind without thinking of man: but see whether we can think of man without thinking of him also as an integral part of many? God did not create man, but men, man and woman.

"In order to understand the proposition now under discussion, you may begin with what is the most self-evident necessity of the human existence, the domestic relations, and proceeding thence, you necessarily will arrive at the great society of mankind, divided into families, tribes, and nations, and exhibiting itself in the succession of generations, through ages and ages. The Evolution here, is it not the same as in the individual, only on a larger scale? Is it not a continued change, and undoubtedly the most complete development of the idea of humanity?"

"It is."

"Such an evolution may last hundreds and thousands of years; it always will remain finite, as that

which is evolving within the limits of time and space, and never will become that which really and truly *is*, the Being, because the Being allows of nothing divided, and, therefore, not of time and change. Eternity is not accumulation, but extinction, of time. Therefore, nobody can say that our argument makes mankind God, any more than that it makes man God. Still less can any one say that it gives God no ante-mundane or extra-mundane existence. On the contrary, our argument shows the logical absurdity of letting the Being grow out of the Evolution; which last is a division of existence, and, therefore, presupposes the totality of existence, or the absolute Being (uniting absolute Will with absolute Reason and the complete consciousness of their Unity), fully as much as the effect presupposes the cause, or the material object expressive of thought and reason presupposes that immaterial thought and reason."

"But," asked my inquisitive young friend, "if we agree to this, must we then not consider the Spirit a Person, as much as the Son? And you seem to have had a great reluctance in allowing this."

"This is a difficult question," I replied; "but I thank you for adverting to this point. I think I can satisfy you by two positions. First, I called the Word as much a Person as the Father. The Son is conscious Reason united with Will, as the Father is conscious Will united with Reason. For a Person not affected by Finiteness can mean nothing but a conscious Being,

uniting both Will and Reason. The Subject in the infinite Being implies no more limitation than its adequate Object: both are infinite. In the second place, I agree with you, of course, that whatever is in the Evolution must be in the Being, except the Finiteness, and what belongs to Finiteness; for that is the Creation, flowing out of divine Love. I therefore think, the line of argument which we have hitherto followed would oblige us to say something like the following. The element of the Spirit, as the general feeling by which different individuals are united in thought and in action, manifests itself practically more or less in every society, as distinct from the sum of positive and negative elements of individuals which compose it, when referred to the common object which unites them. And still, whichever of those component members is moved by the general Spirit to identify himself with the object of the association, and with whatever of reasonable and good is manifested by its other members, finds this general Spirit of the association overpowering, but not destroying, his own individuality, on the contrary purifying and strengthening it. Now this could not be the case so generally, unless there were in the nature of the mind, and therefore also of the infinite Mind, an element of the eternal substance which manifests itself exclusively in the collective humanity, and not in the individual as individual. He who should gainsay this, would be obliged to maintain that the

difference implied is identical with the difference between Finite and Infinite, which is absurd, for both belong to the Finite. The unity of language, of society, of church, of mankind, is therefore a reality, as well as the individual person is one, and inherent in the idea of man. This too must be the reason why people united in one way or another can feel, and speak, and act together as they do; and this will be the real explanation of the fact which we are daily witnessing, that people are seized by the Spirit, as by an invisible current of a higher, all-pervading element. I think you will also agree with me, if I add that this is the only explanation worthy of thinking men, of the very origin both of speech and of religion among mankind. What therefore is called, with more or less truth, the common or public spirit, has its origin in God's eternal substance, and not in that which unthinking theologians have called the divine economy of the world, as having its root only in the Finite or in the Evolution. But, on the other hand, you will allow that there is a difference. The existence of this unity is and remains an ideal one in the Evolution, for it never appears embodied in the individual. It was not even so in the Apostles. The Spirit was in them, but never in one alone; and it was fully poured out upon a congregation of one hundred and twenty individuals, who were seized by it, the Apostles being an element only, although the most prominent part, of that society. We might per-

haps say that the Spirit is both the ideality of the real existence of the human mind, and the highest finite reality of God's own thought of mankind, that is to say, of the totality of the human development. Or, so it be clearer to you, we may express the same idea thus. As the Word, having become the Son in the Evolution, is the adequate expression of God's consciousness of Himself as of the One Being, and of man as individual; so the Spirit, become finite, is God's complete consciousness of Himself, both as Will and as Reason, both as Infinite (in Himself) and as Finite (in the Evolution), and finally as cause both of individual and of collective mind. I have no objection, if you will call this link between the One and the Many, in the Infinite as well as in the Finite, Love; for how could manifoldness be One, but by Love?"

"I think this is clearer to me," replied my young friend, who seemed to me much relieved by what had been said.

"Well," I continued, "it appears you are inclined to absolve me now from any heresy against the Spirit. But I am afraid I must now in my turn express a great anxiety for yourselves."

And here a great excitement became visible among my learned friends. For no sooner had I pronounced a few words than almost all of them began to cry out against my temerity. And indeed, even now, some

kind friends near me make me signs to pass over that part of our conversation, giving me clearly enough to understand that they are afraid you will not hear me patiently, or at all events will not become or remain impressed in my favour, if I relate to you all I said. But as the Spirit moved me to speak then, so does it now; and knowing that I have your interest at heart, not my own, except as far as truth is concerned, I will withhold nothing from you, firmly relying upon your fairness and the Christian spirit within you.

What I said was something like the following: —

"My dear and learned Christian friends, I cannot quite get over my apprehension that you are heretical in your ideas respecting *Inspiration*. We thought, in our time, the holy men were inspired; you seem to think the sacred books are inspired. This is a heresy, and one which I had often to combat when arguing with the Jews. Still in them I could understand it: for they having no word for Person, and consequently none for personal existence, could never, in their metaphysical speculations, rise above the abstract notion. But what pains me infinitely more is, to find such antichristian tendencies among you."

"Surely, you do not mean to say seriously," exclaimed my friend, smiling, "that there is so enormous a difference between the two formulas? Will an inspired man not write an inspired book?"

"No, my friend," I felt obliged to reply, "unless

you have the lowest of all ideas of what we used to call Inspiration at Lugdunum and at Rome, as well as in Alexandria. Inspiration works on the Spirit, therefore on Reason; for Spirit is Truth, and Truth is Reason. Certainly, a mind so inspired, that is to say, divested of Self, and driven to speak out what is Reality in him, of which Self is the negation, will speak and write as an inspired reasonable being, not as an unconscious organ, like a clairvoyant. Otherwise he would not be elevated to the divine region of thought, but lowered to the region of unconscious matter or nature. Not that I believe that the prophetical writings, from the most ancient parts of the Old Testament to the Apocalypse, can be reasonably explained without admitting the reality of vision and divination, as entirely distinct from reflective consideration and argumentation. I designate by those words an intuitive insight into the world of the spirit: and I believe that we see a shadow of that intuition upon the domain of unconscious nature in the state of such possessed persons as the Montanist women were. As this is intuition of things and events external, so the other is an immediate insight into things and events internal, connected with the development of the Divine Spirit in humanity. It therefore necessarily centres in that great incorporation of mankind, by which all faithful and pious men are members of a community of Truth, Justice, and Virtue, of which God is the

eternal cause and realizer. The existence of such a power of spiritual vision is as much a fact as that of the other, if we interpret faithfully and rationally the prophetical books. But then the prophetic vision requires as much a medium of communication with the outer world as does Demonism, or whatever you will call the state of natural vision. Words are wanted, and words are expressions of the reflecting mind. Now, this mixed state between vision and reflection, which we might call the hypophetic (in contradistinction to the prophetic), is subject to the natural finiteness and limitation of the individual, as of a rational and self-responsible being. Man in that state will speak in intelligible words, not in those convulsive sounds breaking forth from the lips of a man who is overpowered by the sudden pressure of the Infinite; a phenomenon this latter as old as mankind, but by which I find people among you (and some very shrewd ones) are strangely deluded in these days. Man in that state, I say, will speak in his own language, and, as to all things not directly expressing the vision, within the sphere of knowledge and information in which he as an individual, and his nation and age, are moving. That state must therefore necessarily be affected with all the limitations and imperfections of finiteness, and this in the same measure as the communication enters more or less into the real world. The divine nature of the vision does not consist in a magical disappearance

of these divinely constituted unchangeable limits of humanity, but simply in this: that the essence of divine truth is not injured by those imperfections; that what is said by such inspired persons respecting their visions is true in the Spirit, in which alone there is truth. All interpretations of the prophets of the Old Testament and of the Apocalypse, which do not take this factor, that of vision, into account, must be imperfect and even philologically untenable, however elevated and sublime they may be. For these prophecies are not reducible to reflected wisdom, and even the most sublime ethical view, applied to them, will be found insufficient.

"But on the other hand the finite element, the element of pious and enlightened consideration of the things and events of this world by the reflective faculty of the mind in its normal state of finite consciousness of cause and effect, must be also fully acknowledged and done justice to in those prophetical writings. This part is not less inspired than the other, but differently inspired, and that it constitutes the immensely prevailing element of those writings is not derogatory to their prophetic character, but their most sublime and divine privilege. Here the substratum is the historical world in its whole reality. Persons, nations, and events of the real world, generally of the very age and time of the writer, are brought forward and judged, but as members and instruments, or as adversaries and impediments, of the

great kingdom of God upon earth, and therefore in what I have called their intellectual or ideal capacity. As to all such parts, the more the prophetical writings can be explained historically, as originally and directly applying to historical persons and facts of the writer's past or present, the greater will be the progress in understanding, not only the prophetic writings, but also the very nature of inspiration: for the real world, the ordinary history of the Jewish people, will be the more elevated to the expression of those eternal ideas, to realize which is the highest destiny and everlasting value of all history.

"You will now not misunderstand me, if I say that the inspired man will speak or write according to his human capacities, and not according to those of another individual; in his own language, and not in a tongue he has never learned; on a subject he lives in, not on things unintelligible and foreign to him. You will not take it ill, if I say that the contrary view is a degrading one, and that, in truth, unbelief lurks at the bottom of it. For, as soon as you allow any such degradation of the working of the Spirit, you deny that Spirit is Reason, and consequently that Inspiration is Truth. Now, as to real inspiration, it cannot be considered separately from its subject. As, therefore, the measure of the inspiration must not only be in proportion to the truth in the man, but also commensurate with the greatness of the object, we call inspired writers

properly those who have delivered to us the mysteries of God. There are necessarily also among them differences of degree, and the highest degree will have to be reserved to what is delivered to us of Christ's words and life, and, above all, of what he said of himself, and of his relation to the Father and to mankind. The first place of all, consequently, will belong to what we read on this central subject of Christian faith in St. John's Gospel. Most of the rest in the Apostolical writings is occasional, in part even relating to transitory and external circumstances. Still in all there is one and the same Spirit, and that forms the unity of the canonical works. And this Spirit is eminently that of Truth. But there could not have been truth in them, if they had been machines, automata; if, on subjects foreign to their inner life (as astronomy, or any part of science, or historical learning), they had talked or written anything but what they knew and believed, as good honest Jews or Christians, and as children of their parents and their country. And this is the real mischief which lies at the bottom of that view: it is as demoralizing to the mind as degrading to the intellect. I advise you, on the contrary, to look to your own experience and observation, in order to perceive the analogy which other phenomena of human nature show with prophetic vision and writing, and to understand the relation of the ecstatic state to the ordinary state of the mind. First of

all look to the difference between the man who has formerly acted upon the selfish principle, and now acts upon the principle of moral responsibility, of duty and love to God and his brethren; in short, to the difference between what Scripture calls the natural, and the new or regenerate, man. Here the individual knows that he is the same man, but he feels a new principle of life in him, which can be so little explained by what he thought and did before, that it forms, on the contrary, the most striking contrast with it. But even in ordinary social life, have you not often seen a man say and do things far beyond his ordinary way of thinking and acting, and, as it were, out of his whole habitual existence? Why, the man has truth and reality in him: the inmost of his being, the mystery of his existence, is touched, a struggle for life and death ensues in him; and that which is in him of the divine nature, the infinite factor of his mental and intellectual life, overpowers all the dictates, warnings, misgivings of habit and ordinary prudence, and he will speak out and act as, we may well call it, an inspired man. Such analogies will not degrade your view of scriptural inspiration, but, on the contrary, elevate it from empty phrases, liable to be given up one day as vain superstition, into a feeling of reality and truth, which you did not know before.

"Nor will it be necessary now for me to add to my defence a word about the hackneyed phrase, that such

a view spiritualizes away the idea of revelation and inspiration; that it is safer to keep to the letter. Now, abstracting from the great Apostolic word, that the letter killeth, would to God those men, and they who preceded them, had only respected the letter of the prophetic writings! If they had, first of all they would have made greater efforts to understand it; and, secondly, they would have been ashamed to torture and distort the poor letter into their formularies, which are not only lying themselves, but which make the Bible lie. I say, on the contrary, my Christian friends, respect and study the letter, exactly as every letter in an author you respect, and more than any other. For, indeed, 'the place whereon thou standest is holy ground.' That letter forms part of the spiritual centre of the history of mankind, of God's own history, showing the development and future destinies of his kingdom of truth, justice, and love upon this earth.

"I rejoice to see," I concluded, "that you signify your assent to that: but are you aware of the necessary consequences and corollaries?"

"I do not understand what you mean," replied my friend.

"I mean this," I said in explanation: "If Spirit is Reason, rational interpretation is the spiritual, and irrational is the materialistic; the one ministers to the Spirit, the other to the spirit-killing idolatry of

the letter. If you have any thing to say against this, I am ready to reply to it."

Here our conversation on the three articles of faith seemed for the present exhausted. I asked indeed my young friend, whether he still wanted to know my opinion respecting the recent controversy on baptismal regeneration. But he replied:

"I see, you there would raise the previous question against them as they did against you; and I myself think, after what we have discussed, you would have a perfect right to do so. You might also say, you do not belong to our branch of the catholic Church: and," he added smilingly, "according to the philosophy of some of us, truth is of a local nature, subordinate to authority; therefore, what is truth here, may not be truth elsewhere, — at least, if Law makes truth. So we shall be satisfied with whatever you may feel disposed to say on the subject."

I cannot express how thankful I was for this liberal concession of my Christian friend's, and how much I felt relieved; for, of all things, that controversy has given me more trouble to understand than any other. So I said: "You are very kind indeed, and I shall simply state how the whole controversy would have appeared to us, in our days. We, in our days, never defended the baptism of children, which in my time had only begun to be

practised in some regions, unless it were as an exception and an innovation. Baptism of infants we did not know. Much less did we ever imagine that such an act could have any of those words of our Saviour applied to it which I see some attach to the external act of a simulacrum of the symbolical immersion, accompanied by the promissory act of third persons, which together they call Baptism. We, the old Fathers, should have considered such an opinion heretical, and any pretension to make it an article of faith an unwarrantable tyranny. But understand me well: I do not blame that arrangement of infant baptism in itself, unless it be in this point, that it seems to me to have given rise to superstitious notions of magic influence, such as I have combated in refuting certain heretical sects which believed in sorcery and practised witchcraft. But if that so-called immersion is to be justified, it ought to be followed by what I, a bishop and a teacher of the Church, have considered, and do consider now, the principal part of that rite according to Christ's institution and to the Apostolic practice: I mean the solemn Christian pledge, not of other persons, but of the responsible Catechumen: a pledge, preceded, first by instruction, then by solemn examination in the faith, and finally by the public confession of the same before the whole Church, that is to say, his own congregation. I am not indisposed even to go further, and to praise such a change:

there is nothing of such an act in the Bible, but I see in it an act of that Christian liberty, which the Spirit sanctifies and even encourages. Why should not the original order of those acts, the totality of which constitutes that baptism which the Apostles and their disciples taught us, be inverted wherever there are Christian families and Christian schools for the young? But, beyond that, every thing appears to me perfectly unintelligible, and I am sure would have been so to all Fathers in the East and West in our time, and still more to those before us. Knowing thus my view on this subject, I hope you will not urge me to enter into such an unpleasant and untoward discussion, which certainly would oblige me to move previous questions on both sides. For I should of all things dislike to be uncivil; and still, how can I say that sprinkling with water, followed perhaps by imposition of hands, without Christian examination and solemn pledge before the Christian congregation, is Baptism?"

Here my young friend, who had followed my words with beaming eyes and an intelligent smile, took my hand and said: "No, my good bishop and Father, I do not want you at all to enter into our controversies or squabbles, or whatever you may call them. But, to be sure, you cannot, after what you have said, expect us to go away without having been released from the last difficulty which we feel respecting the Apostolicity of your doctrine; pray, what did you mean by

those words in the book of the Antichrist respecting the Eucharist and the Sacrifice?"

"Well," I replied, "I see I shall not escape here. You touch a point of great intricacy and sacredness. But I do not know how to resist any challenge coming from you. Only tell me exactly what is the passage you refer to."

"Here it is. Explaining the second verse of the ninth chapter of the Proverbs, and in particular the words, 'And she (Wisdom) prepared her own table,' you add, as mystical explanation: 'That is to say, the knowledge of the Holy Trinity which was promised, and His precious and pure Body and Blood which are daily celebrated on the mystical and divine table, and offered as sacrifice in memory of that ever memorable and first table of the mystic Divine meal.'"[13]

"Well, and what is there in this passage to shock your feelings or your orthodoxy?"

"You a sacrificer, my revered Father!" exclaimed my young friend; "you an abettor of transubstantiation!"

"Be a little more patient, my young friend," I replied; "and above all do not employ, in speaking to me, terms which I never heard, and which I have so much difficulty in understanding. But as to sacrificing, do you not sacrifice whenever you meet? I am sure you do; for, in the Book of your Church, I was struck by one very beautiful prayer in the celebration of the Holy Eucharist, where a pious father of

yours says: 'Accept this our sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving.' And then he goes on to say: 'And here we offer and present unto Thee, O Lord, ourselves, our souls and bodies, to be a reasonable, holy, and lively sacrifice unto Thee.' I am afraid you have never meditated much upon what sacrifice means, and that is a great pity. For how can you comprehend what we, the old Christians, understood by sacrifice, and how can you really know what prayer and worship in spirit and truth is, unless you search diligently yourselves? and how can you search profitably without philosophy? Is not sacrifice an act of him who sacrifices?"

"Of course."

"Well, all the better, if you are clear so far. But to sacrifice, is it not to offer the life of a living being to God?"

"So it appears."

"To a Christian, can such an act be anything but a symbolical act?"

"It certainly cannot mean suicide or human sacrifice."

"But you do not think the symbol grew out of nothing? A symbol is the expression of a reality."

"Undoubtedly it is."

"Well, then, can the reality, in the present case, be anything else but the act of the mind, by which a man gives up Self-will? Is Self-will, as such, anything but the power of disobeying God's

will towards us and within us? and does not the conscious exercise of this Self-will constitute in our conscience an antagonism to, and a separation from, God, the native centre of our existence? Finally, must not the giving up of that Self-will be the spontaneous act of a self-responsible believing man; and, if it be expressed in the common worship, will it not be eminently his act, as that of a member of Christ's Church?"

"I do not see how it can mean anything else, for it must have an objective reality."

"Look, now," I continued, "what a rich mine we seem to have opened. If it be certain, that in the real act of sacrifice subject and object are the same, the formula of real sacrifice will be this: It is man sacrificing man, that is to say, himself; the priest and the victim being the same, to speak symbolically. Such indeed is the case, and the crime of human self-sacrifice, the greatest aberration of the misguided human mind, viewed in this light, turns out to be the most natural act of all false, that is to say, of perverted, religion. The abomination of parents sacrificing their children to Moloch, is only explicable by the depth of the idea thus perverted. Human sacrifices are nothing but the unmitigated natural reflection of the instinct of worship, in a mind driven to madness by despair or by vice, or by disordered fanaticism about divine things. For, discarding images and symbolical language, as philo-

sophers ought to do, must we not say that sacrifice is adoration, and that the Christian sacrifice is the Christian worship? I understand by adoration that distinctive act, which is the direct expression of the feeling or consciousness of the eternal relation of the soul to the all-pervading immortal Cause of the Universe. This act is man's direct language to God, his speech to the living author of his existence; an act, not of habit or of tradition, or ever invented by wise men for the rest of mankind, but the very primitive native impulse and manifestation of the mind, directing itself, by inward irresistible power, to the magnetic centre of all Spirits; the pulsation of the eternal life of man during his pilgrimage through the valley of time, the divine witness of his connection with, and dependence upon, his Maker. There is besides in worship the demand of something: there is thanking for something, there is also the building up of the many into one in the spirit by doctrine and exhortation. All these ingredients are congenial to adoration, and necessary for rational and complete common worship, but they are not essential to worship. In one word, as there is no religion without worship, so also is there none without sacrifice, and therefore without priesthood and priests. Is it not so?"

"So it would appear."

"Now, having cleared up this point, the course of the argument will faithfully lead us to a full

understanding of the matter, as far as our present conversation is intended to go. What, then, is unphilosophically called sacrifice of thanksgiving, would better be termed among divines, the thankful offering which the believer makes of his Self-will to God, resigning it to His holy will, and aspiring to be thus reunited to God."

"What else should it be," exclaimed my young friend, "if we discard symbolical language, and try to understand the real meaning of Scripture, of language, and of ourselves!"

"The Christian sacrifice, therefore," I continued, "could never have been anything but this; and indeed never was, as in particular my blessed teacher Irenæus endeavoured always to impress upon us."

"But," asked my friend, "would the true Christian sacrifice be an act independent of the Communion?"

"This question," I replied, "must be answered according to the sense you attach to it. Evidently, it is so in itself. For the sacrifice is an act, and the receiving of the Communion is the contrary. They are connected only as the two opposite poles, the one of the highest activity, and the other of the highest receptivity. But that, certainly, well considered, says much. Tell me, could we offer ourselves up to God as thankful children of his, if Christ had not lived and died for us?"

"Certainly not as children, and therefore not willingly, nor intellectually."

"Now, consider this," I said; "all the nations before Christ offered sacrifices, the Gentiles as well as the Jews, did they not?"

"So we read."

"And were not their sacrifices either those of atonement, intended to propitiate the offended Deity, or those of thanksgiving, destined to express thankfulness for benefits received from the propitious Divinity?"

"They were."

"But do you think this intention could ever be perfectly realized? Must not the dread of punishment, inherent in the feeling of sin and of wrong, have been a hindrance to perfect thankfulness? And again, could they really find relief in acts of propitiation, however often repeated, as long as that feeling of thankfulness was not perfect?"

"Undoubtedly not."

"So far, then," I continued, "Jews and Gentiles stood upon the same ground of an unsatisfactory and unsatisfied religious feeling. But Christ did offer himself up to the Father, in perfect love of God and of the brethren?"

"That is the foundation of our faith, as we have seen."

"This, then, was the first perfect sacrifice, or the first satisfactory act of self-devotion."

"Such it was, as being the great fact of the world's mental history."

"Well, if that be conceded, I must ask a further question. Is it not most natural that the vow of self-sacrifice should be made when we remember that Christ died for us, which we do in the Communion?"

"It certainly is; for otherwise we should show ourselves unmindful of the cause of our religious peace, and of our consciousness of being children of God."

"This is precisely what we thought in our time; and as we were very anxious to express this most solemnly, we used always to connect this eucharistic act, or act of thanksgiving, with the celebration of the Lord's Supper, which consequently was itself called the Eucharist or the Thanksgiving. But if the act of the self-sacrifice of the Church (of the united worshippers) cannot be undertaken and consummated without a thankful remembrance of Christ's sacrifice for her, it does not at all follow, that this act cannot be performed in the service except when the Communion is celebrated, that is to say, when there is a congregation of communicants. I confess that seeing what an incredible confusion has flowed from this inseparable connection, and, to use a pathological phrase, what a metastasis of the centre of religious consciousness has been the final consequence, I cannot help thinking it would have been better to express and to celebrate that act of thanksgiving not only in the

Communion, but also separate from the same, quite by itself, as the real act of worship, the action in the eminent sense, the acme or culminating point of our common devotion. But certainly, in spite of our having given some colour and pretext for such a perversion by the arrangement we came to, you will soon find out the truth, if you only study the most ancient records of our holy worship with a little more philosophy than that excellent antiquarian work contains which you are used to consult on the subject. For the act of thanksgiving begins clearly with that old solemn exhortation, 'Lift up your hearts,' and the words which follow have absolutely nothing to do with the Communion as such. Moreover, the ancient liturgies are full of evidence to show that this act was quite distinct from the commemoration of Christ's death of atonement, which is the Communion. But what I am certain of is, that the fathers of your doctrine, however well they asserted the truth negatively against Callistus' successors, remained, without being aware of it, in the bondage, and, as it were, within the magic circle, of later Rome, in consequence of the method they themselves employed in proving the true doctrine of the Eucharist from Scripture and from the Fathers."

"This is a hard saying," replied my friends, "against such men as Luther and Calvin and our own Protestant divines, and how do you justify it?"

"You shall soon see, and, I hope, say the same," I

replied. "Did not the whole controversy of your fathers with the Roman Church turn upon the question, what the consecrated elements (as you call them) become, or do not become, by certain words being spoken over them? I must be strangely mistaken, if that was not, and is not, the controversial point: for everybody, at Lugdunum as well as here, asks me that question, and I for my life cannot give any answer to it."

"How! you say that you cannot answer it?" exclaimed the elder friend, horrified.

"Indeed, how should I? Nobody in our time ever put that question to himself or to his neighbour. We offered up, at the celebration of the memory of the Lord's Supper (as the Jews of old did at their daily meals), the fruits of the earth and the produce of the vine as symbols of the sacrifice of ourselves; but then we considered two of them, bread and wine, according to Christ's command, as the representatives of the body and blood of Christ, that is to say, of the willing sacrifice of Him who died for us, to make us children of God. This second view became more and more the predominant and then the exclusive one, the material meal being gradually dropped in the service. The destruction of Jerusalem showed the Christians that the temple-worship was over, that the world was to last longer, and that the sacrifice was destined to become, and was becoming already, a reality in mankind, as it had become one in Christ, that it was

growing in the thanksgiving, as it was consummated in the atonement. What had always been understood was now therefore expressed. The Church, that is to say, the congregation of worshipping believers, offered up herself; but she did so in thankfully remembering Christ's death, as the foundation of her prayer to the Father.

"Keep to this, and I have no doubt you will at once understand all that the Fathers have said. For, however they may have expressed themselves, they must have spoken from this consciousness of the self-sacrifice of the Church as a sacrifice of thankfulness. But this sacrifice was offered up to God through Christ as the High Priest, in the very act of the commemoration of His willing death of love, which is the sacrifice of atonement. We are therefore also entitled to say that the body and blood of Christ, that is to say, the Church, was offered up: but by whom? by Christ as the head of his Church: and as what? as thanksgiving. Thus, later Fathers may have said that there was the real presence of Christ in the celebration of the Sacrament; but how else than in the minds of the faithful united into one by the Holy Spirit, and offering their prayer and vow of thankful self-sacrifice? In all this we and our followers never dreamt of speaking of the perishable elements, which have no more objective reality than subjective. For in excluding this consideration, we were not one-sidedly taking a subjective view;

nor could we guess that later dark ages would so entirely lose sight of the centre of Christian consciousness as to mistake matter, subject to corruption, destined for food, for the only objective reality which exists in religion, the incorruptible God.

"The most sober way of stating our view historically would be something like this. There are in truth only two real sacrifices in the world's history: the Sacrifice of the historical Christ, offered through a life of holiest action and a death of purest love; and the Sacrifice of the Church, that is to say, of faithful humanity in the succession of generations, offering up itself in childlike thankfulness through life and death, and expressing this as the Christian vow in the act of common adoration. Now, as the one sacrifice, the sacrifice of atonement, which the nations before Christ, disturbed in their consciences by sin, and by their consequent estrangement from God, and not initiated in the mystery of eternal love, had vainly and madly endeavoured to achieve, was accomplished by Christ; so the other, which neither could they accomplish, not having in them the feeling of children of the all-loving Father, is in the way of accomplishment, as the great sacrifice of thanksgiving, or of thankful self-devotion, during the course of ages. It is the sign of the growth of the mystical (that is to say, spiritual) body of Christ, of the advancement of the kingdom of God upon earth, of the ever-continuing incorporation of mankind in God. The

Church in the spiritual and intellectual sense of the word, more or less imperfectly represented by the congregations of the faithful, is both the sacrificing priest and the victim offered up. For she is the ideal sacrificer, the acting person, acting by the Spirit of Christ in her; and by her reality, by all the individuals worshipping together and making the common vow with individual responsibility, she is equally the object offered up.

"But, if all this be certain (and it is certain), however differently expressed, we the Fathers, having enacted and tried this sacrifice, and knowing by experience that it was, and must ever be, the centre of Christian religion, in life and in worship, might well be tempted to use the most symbolical phrases in speaking on this mystery of Humanity uniting itself to Divinity. For who, contemplating these mysteries of divine love, this intercommunion between God and men, this continued and uninterrupted pulsation of divine life upon earth through worship in spirit and truth, would not feel elevated, and, as it were, carried away by so divine a sight? Or who, perceiving, as it were, in his mind this intellectual harmony of the spheres, and joining in the perpetual hymn of mankind which they are offering up as their generations pass through the dark valley of time, enlightened from above, who, I say, would not feel tempted to use high and mysterious language?

"Only one thing is as impossible as that the Spirit of God should not be the Spirit of Truth; the organs of the life of the ancient Church could never think of the Church offering up Christ, who suffered death upon the cross. This would in her eyes have been an absurdity, a contradiction, and a blasphemy. She in Christ, through his Spirit, offered up herself: this was and is, and (mark that well) this ever will be the reality, the great reality, of all life, all history, and all religion. This is the worship in the Spirit, and in truth. This is the reasonable service recommended by the Apostle.[14] As this act was accomplished in the midst of the celebration of the Lord's Supper, in commemoration of Christ's death, very strong expressions indeed might be used, in the commemorative service, respecting the bodily food prepared for our maintenance, in what may be called the Grace, or the dinner prayer, of the Church. Bread and wine were offered to God objectively, as gifts from His gifts, and subjectively, as symbols of the worshipping faithful, offering up their heart and will. At the same time, too, Christ's sacred words of institution were remembered in the Communion service: 'This is my body,' and, 'This is my blood.' Now, with respect to these words (of which the latter is parallel with 'This is the new covenant in my blood'), the offered gifts were also called 'The body and blood of Christ.' Still in this there is no sacrifice, because sacrifice is

action, while here is historical commemoration first, bodily receiving afterwards. Pray observe that this difference is an essential one, decisive for the whole character, not of the service only, but of religious thought and action also. If the Church had ever thought that in her act of sacrifice Christ was the victim offered up, she would have lost the sacrifice intrusted to her — her life, and the manifestation of her life — thankful self-devotion. To suppose that by such an act she performed a repetition of the sacrifice of Christ, once and for ever consummated, is to misunderstand her completely. Nothing was ever farther from her thoughts. She would have felt as if she denied Him, the efficacy and perfection of whose atonement she would thus have assumed to re-enact, as it were, by a dramatic representation. Indeed you cannot substitute the receiving for the acting, passiveness for activeness, without losing activeness and the act.

"Certainly, of all the pains and difficulties I encountered at Lugdunum, none were equal to the bewilderment which seized me when I heard them say that the doctrine of the Church had always been, that the Eucharist was a sacrifice of propitiation: whereas I knew, first, it was no sacrifice whatever, but that its celebration was connected with the self-sacrifice of the Church; and then, that the propitiation having been made (the feeling of the love of God having been established once and for ever by the propitiatory

act of Christ's sacrifice of Himself), the impulse of the Church was, to the end of days, the uninterrupted offering of self out of thankful love to God and the brethren. Strange discussions followed. At first we did not understand each other at all. Afterwards I found that the prayers of consecration, or the prayers preceding the Communion, had in the wane of the life of the Church, gradually become the principal part of the celebration of the service; the service being more and more celebrated, though without a communicating congregation, exactly as if there were a real Communion of the congregated faithful. Thus at last I could understand how, in the course of centuries, that preparatory act of the commemorative celebration of the Lord's Supper appeared to the reflecting mind, taking this to be a divinely established ordinance, as the central thought of the Church, and as the culminating point of her worship. Thus that complete metastasis, or change of the centre of consciousness, can be historically explained.

"The Apostolic Church consecrated by prayer the communicants, who devoted body and soul to the Lord: the later Church consecrated the elements, bread and wine. And it was evidently out of this misplaced centre of consciousness that their bishops, assembled in the last great council of the Latin Church, made that awful declaration, which sounds to me like a sentence of death for poor Christianity, or rather like the bell tolling for the

dead, as far as the effect of speculative doctrines and liturgical ordinances can go to pervert the indestructible element of truth which is in that solemnity and in the religious feeling of the Christian mind.

"Now, do you not see that the whole question of transubstantiation or no transubstantiation, of real presence or no real presence, is an 'aprosdionyson,' something uncongenial to the sacred subject? It does not touch the centre of the controversy at all. Looking then on these terms from that consciousness which I had in me, when praying at the altar and receiving or administering the Communion, and which I feel too at this moment as strongly as ever, I say: 'O yes, there is the real presence, the only reality in the spiritual world, Christ is there with and by his Spirit; and there is a change of substance, of natural will and life into the divine will and life, a change of Self into God. But it is in the faithful worshipper of God in Christ, whether the Sacrament be celebrated or not.' Nor is this a sentimental phrase descriptive of individual feeling, or a materialized symbolism forgetful of the reality, but the great act of God in the life and consciousness of the generations of mankind. As to the elements, elements they are and remain, as the water prayed over remains water in the baptismal bath. Can you imagine that we, the Fathers of the Apostolic Church, who had heard the divine Apostle calling upon us to cast off the beggarly elements of the

world in the full consciousness of the liberty of the children of God, that we, I say, ever thought of such vain speculations, or of combating any such late imaginations? or will you continue, yourselves, in that low view, merely because your fathers were not quite clear on the philosophy and history of the doctrine of the Sacrament, at the epoch when they returned, divinely inspired, to the evangelic ordinances? What have you to do with scholastic speculations respecting conventional ordinances, generated out of misplaced consciousness, and resting altogether upon misunderstandings?

"But, I repeat, I never will enter into your controversies. You are, or you ought to be, the prophets and teachers of your time, — not I. I may be your mirror; I speak as, what I lived and died, a witness of the life of the Church, in the centre of the ancient Western world, one hundred years after the last Apostle died. Let me then sum up what I have said in defence of what appeared to you startling. You must not expect me to defend the positive part of your eucharistic and of your sacramental doctrine altogether, for I cannot help considering that as merely accidental: nor is the Lutheran view in particular so much that of Luther himself as of his dogmatizing and scholasticizing followers, he himself having in his earlier writings, on the contrary, expressed better than any one else the real nature of the Christian sacrifice. But if the con-

troversy about the elements was three hundred years ago an imperfection; it is now in every respect an anachronism. Your fathers, in combating the Latin Church, placed themselves in that very false centre of consciousness out of which the error had sprung. You cannot mean to do any such thing. Know that if you do, you will be driven into the nets of Rome. But throw away all dispute about the elements, and seize the ever-living, the Christian, and Apostolic idea of the everlasting sacrifice of the Church, the real expression of the great mystery of life, and the key to the understanding of Scripture and of the world's history."

A solemn pause followed. We felt we were brethren, but we also felt that our conversation had reached the point where it ought to stop. Meditation and inquiry were necessary before we could proceed.

After a while, the younger one of my friends, who had an inquisitive mind, and seemed more advanced in his meditations than appeared at first, asked me a question of which I do not quite understand the drift, but which I could not decline answering.

"We will consider," he said, "maturely what you have spoken to us so solemnly on this sublime subject. But I am sure you will not think I ask questions out of idle curiosity, if I request you to conclude this our

conversation by one word respecting a certainly very startling, and perhaps most important expression of yours, which relates to what we passed over when touching upon the second article. In some writings, and also in particular in the book the authorship of which you are come to vindicate, you say that the resurrection is, as it were, one of the sufferings, or at least one of the passive states, if I may say so, of Christ. Do you attach any importance to that opposition between the death and the resurrection?"

"One word," I replied, "may indeed suffice to answer that question. I am not aware that I did attach any importance to that distinction. Still, on reflecting upon the subject, I do not think it was merely a rhetorical figure. I was right, I am sure, in distinguishing between what are Christ's actions, his own deeds, the manifestation of his free-acting will and mind, and whatever happened to him or about him, and wherein consequently he was passive. This last may be a confirmation of our faith, or a symbolical expression of some ideal truth, but it ought not, I think, to be identified with his life-working, ever life-creating, and regenerating spontaneous actions. They alone have, under the immediate working of God, effected our salvation, as far as it is the act of Jesus: their power continues by the sanctifying agency of the Spirit, through saving faith. We are saved by what Christ did, not by what was done to Him: but what He did, the Father did in Him.

What saves us is his free resolution to work our salvation, his actual life of holiness, and, above all, his death of self-sacrifice; and here again his holy resolution to die, more than all the pains he endured."

My enlightened Judges, I make a pause here, for I see the time allowed to me is past. I therefore ask whether you will grant me permission to go on for a few minutes longer, and whether you will hear me on my defence respecting my Christian temper and my exclusiveness? And besides, whether you have yourselves some questions to put to me before you give your verdict?

I perceive that you will be kind enough to allow me some minutes more to complete my defence, and I have just heard a remark, which will give me a good opportunity of passing on to what I have still to say before I conclude my Apology.

Somebody near me observes, that there is a general impression among you, that I have introduced into the discussion, if not German philosophy, at least German terminology, and that I am considered as one who has himself been bewitched by the siren song of one of those philosophers and philosophical theologians. I know that this suspicion will create a strong prejudice against me in this country, but

this must not prevent me from speaking to you with the utmost frankness on this subject also. Let me say first, that they who have hitherto written against those men in your country have evidently either not studied them at all (and that indeed I believe to be the case with the greater number), or not understood the subject-matter of all such speculations: at least if we, the Fathers and the Apostles, ever had any philosophy in us. On the whole, your judgment of these people seems to me strange. You allow that those extraordinary men have reasoned well on many other subjects, and have discovered undoubted truths, both in history and philosophy. But whenever they treat of the highest speculative questions, such as the laws of the human mind, you say you do not understand them; which, I find, is a polite English expression implying that you will not listen to them, because you think them mad, or, at least, because you do not care to know anything about the subject itself. And when they begin to reason on divinity, you call them, if very polite, Enthusiasts, if plain-spoken, Pantheists, which with you means Atheists. Now has it never struck you, that what makes the speculation on things divine so unpalatable to you may be your own materialism? This indeed is what other people very generally think. As to myself, I believe I can say with a good conscience that I have essentially told you no more than what I find in myself, and of which I can render you account by my own writings. But as you

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mention the subject, I will not conceal from you, that I have seen on my way to you some good and pious learned men in Germany, who excited my deepest interest by asking me questions which no one else asked me either before or afterwards. I confess to you also, that those men appeared to me to be men caring most anxiously for Christ and for divine things, since they sacrificed evidently all worldly considerations for their studies; and their zeal, and their profound knowledge of the ancient schools of philosophy in the second and third centuries after Christ, struck me the more, when I considered that the successor of my venerable master Irenæus, at Lugdunum, and all his clergy, did really know very little of the Greek Fathers, and understood nothing of the language in which the glorious martyr of their town had taught and written.

But, on the other hand, I am free to confess those German Christians puzzled me much in another way. Many of them would never give me a clear and distinct answer, when I put a positive question to them, as to what final consequences they drew from their premises, and as to the connection in their mind between theoretical speculation and the organization of their Church, and in general the wants and demands of their own people. At first I thought they were not in earnest with their convictions. But then I found they considered that scientific thought alone belonged to them, and the consideration of applying these results

practically belonged to others, or to other times. Yea, in spite of the evident confusion of their ecclesiastical as well as political affairs, those very persons seemed to think least of all this who devoted their lives to attempting the solution of the most important inquiries into the past. No doubt, there were others, whom I found intent upon carrying out practical and useful Christian ideas; but then they were generally men of rather narrow minds, and little spirit. Those who pleased me best would sometimes puzzle me incredibly, by endeavouring to make me believe that, as a dogmatic philosopher, I ought myself necessarily to have arrived at, or at least ought to adopt now, those conclusions and that terminology which, they showed me, the councils had made out about that very time when, as I had interpreted the prophecies of our blessed Apostle, Antichrist would build up the Jewish temple. After all, was I quite so wrong in this guess? But however that be, I told them they would not, after all, when they came to the end, know what to do with those formularies of the later councils. It was all very well when they had found out and demonstrated that there was a thread in all the disputes and formularies following upon the council of Nicæa; and, having raised certain questions on the relation of the divine and human natures in Christ, they were very naturally driven to decide on their logical consequences, as long as any attempt was made to break through the

barrier thus interposed between the consciousness of the earlier Church and that of the later age. There was in the history of those controversies a logical connection, which did not however prove that the final result was any thing but what, in our old chemistry, we used to call *caput mortuum*, or that the formularies were not tombstones of once living ideas. At last I said this: "My Christian friends, I have quarrelled so much in my former existence, that I have no mind to quarrel even with the successors of Callistus, much less with you, who love Christ so truly, and who show such deep Christian feeling and philosophy, and so much sympathy for the thoughts of the ancient Church about the revelation of things divine in and through Christ. But this I will say: till I see more clearly than I can at present, that the terminology of the councils does not obscure to my mind what the prologue of John's Gospel and the glorious passages in Paul's Epistles teach me respecting Christ and the Spirit, I shall abstain from adopting it in preference to my own expressions, and to those of my blessed master Irenæus."

One lesson I received from them, for which I hope I am thankful. I felt deeply humbled before them. There was no one, either catholic or heretic, about whom they knew and cared so little as about myself. Some of them had restored most faithfully and successfully the old genuine text of the New

Testament which we once read, I as well as Origen: but while they give all the quotations occurring in Origen, they give none of mine. As to my person, they believed I was a man of the West, it might be of Portus: but about my further doings, and in particular, my doctrinal writings, they with few exceptions cared very little, saying they must wait till it was more authentically known what I really did say and do. One had made out that I did not write the treatise against Noetus; another that I was an Alexandrian! Indeed I think they might have found something better.

Still these men of sober research and Christian thought were by far the best among the Germans I met on my way. For there were others in the South, who seemed to me to be seized with some peculiar mania of overturning Christianity without openly and frankly saying they had given it up, or at least its records. According to them, John's Gospel had been written shortly before Irenæus wrote; whereas I know so well from Hegesippus and Irenæus, that it was edited by the bishop and elders of Ephesus, who were present at the writing of it, themselves read it through, and then published it with some remarks of their own. Have I not read and discussed the observations of Basilides and Valentinus upon it, written almost a hundred years before my time? But still I soon found that the leaders of that school were not only very serious philosophers and deeply learned,

but also conscientious men, anxious to find the truth, and that I was quite mistaken when I first thought they would make a fool of me, or were frivolous and irreligious people. Certainly I pitied them for plaguing themselves and their readers with suspicions and guesses about deep-party schemes and intrigues in the old time, which never existed among the simple, good, old Fathers. But they (and still more their followers) had made a sort of novel or romance of all that, and whoever did not believe in it was a fool or a Jesuit. Altogether they were difficult to deal with. For, being both learned men and philosophers by profession, they would not hear of anything which was against their theory, whether of argument or fact. When I humbly ventured to observe to them, that they certainly must be wrong in their chronology of the second century, for those were things which I ought to know better, and upon which, besides, I had studied and written expressly, they said, with a smile which seemed to me less Christian than it was forbidding, and in phrases which certainly were neither Apostolic nor Attic: "You had better be quiet, for there is a great doubt whether you ever existed; and if you have, whether you are not a confirmed papist, and travel now as a disguised Jesuit, which indeed your coming from Lugdunum is almost sufficient to prove." So I left them with the impression that they were not very civil, but exceedingly confident: as philosophers,

they appeared to me men proceeding upon the principle of placing, for the sake of experiment, every thing on its head, in order to set it right. The fact is, they were anxious to get rid of an old system, and thought they could not succeed without entering upon their inadmissible hypotheses, and thus they fell into uncritical hypercriticism. That Christianity is not a system for speculation, but a message for life, and that knowledge is to be tested by life, and religion by an humble feeling of our own imperfection and deficiency, and of the sinful nature of Self, of all this they seemed to have entirely lost sight, some even of the reality of sin.

Thus you see, whatever may be the merit of my speculations, they are not borrowed from the Germans, but are my own. If I have, with your own approval, here and there adopted their terminology, I have done so because it appeared reasonable: and, at all events, nobody among you knew how to propose a better, which we might have adopted in preference.

I think I have succeeded in apologizing in some manner for what you were disposed to deride as my fanciful interpretations, and in justifying what you suspect was not correct in my doctrine and terminology. But now I understand you doubt of my being a good Christian for another reason, and that is one which goes very near my heart. I have

heard some of you say that, if indeed I have written that book, I must have been an ill-tempered man, I having made use of very strong and angry words against my own bishop. Others say that in my controversies I am much too exclusive: an objection which is indeed already implied in the former one. Allow me to defend myself against such charges. And I would say, in the first place, that I spoke not against Callistus, as the bishop of Rome (I myself being, by the by, a bishop as well as himself), but because he was a tyrant and an oppressor of our presbytery; and that I judged him so severely, not simply because he was a heretic, but because he was dishonest. As to the others, let us consider a little what we mean by heretic. The successors of Callistus (as I understand) take every man to be a heretic who will not acknowledge as true, in point of fact and in philosophy, every thing that they have made into doctrine: even though such a man should accept, or be ready to accept, what in those old councils the majority of bishops have laid down as true, and as necessary to be believed under pain of eternal damnation. As for those who will not acknowledge the supreme authority of the bishop of Rome over all Churches (of which even Callistus did not dream), they are called by the bishop of Rome, as I hear, schismatics, and are looked upon as equally separated from the body of the Church. Now I certainly never went so far, although I am aware

I extended the ancient notions of heresy in my own controversies. But the ancient heretics were men of a very different sort. They placed in jeopardy not speculations, but the very existence of Christianity; for either they did not acknowledge at all the authority of the evangelic and apostolic writings, introducing instead false books of their own making, or else they mutilated the Scriptures, interspersing them with extracts from other books in support of some speculative scheme of their own. Their sole intention was to substitute for the whole community of believing people (which we at that time used to call the Church, and which you now call a Christian nation), a philosophical sect, privileged on account of their superior knowledge. Instead of our simple worship, our short prayers, our plain and popular homilies on evangelic and Apostolic texts; instead of our symbolic baptism, preceded by solid Christian instruction and by the evidence of a Christian life, conferred after a solemn and public confession of faith; instead of our brotherly feasts of love, and our humble sacrifice of thanksgiving and of self, that ever-continuing sacrifice of redeemed mankind, offered up and to be offered up in remembrance of Christ's atoning death; —instead of all this, those men introduced unintelligible formularies, full of superstitious words; they invented fanciful baptisms, and used orgies borrowed from heathen mysteries, which soon degenerated into

the most impure and the most abominable practices. Thus we and our fathers had not to fight either for our own speculations, or against mere systems of pantheism and mythological fancies; nor did we defend our power and jurisdiction only; we fought simply for the existence of the Christian Church. I confess at the same time that my more recent adversaries, the Noetians, and still more the Montanists and the poor unmanageable Quartodecimans, certainly stood with us on evangelic ground. So that all I have to take blame for to myself is, that I have treated as heretics some men and parties of my time or the age immediately preceding me, who were indeed not separated from us by any truly essential point. I plead guilty at once. I own I was wrong: I ought not to have done so.

But, my dear brethren, let there be truth between us. Will you pardon me, if I remind you of what the Saviour said respecting the beam and the mote in the eye? Are you sure that you are not doing the very same thing, and perhaps worse? Do your laws not exclude all your foreign Protestant brethren from the use of your churches? and do you not (so far as you identify yourselves with the majority of your clergy) exclude, or at least assume the right of excluding, from the universal Church (which is the communion with Christ), all the Protestant Churches on the Continent, even those from which your fathers gloried that they received their principles, and whose tenets they

adopted when at last they took courage to declare openly their religious opinions under the tyranny of a wicked prince? And why? Because those nations have not adopted that episcopal form of government which is yours, a form disliked by the others exactly because you make an idol of it, and because it renders you so superstitious and exclusive. Are you not, in doing so, or in allowing your clergy to do so, more tyrannical than even Callistus was, or his successors are? For they are consistent, you contradict your own principles; they are exclusive from necessity, you by choice; they never accepted the paramount authority of Scripture, you do.

I correct myself: you laymen do not think and feel so. I never found one in a hundred of the laity who really did: most of them, on the contrary, lamented, as much as I do, that one half of your clergy are come to so narrow a view of Christianity, and that your laws themselves are so imperfect and insular. Therefore against their intolerance alone have I spoken these words: and even against them only in my defence.

And now I leave my case in your hands. Whatever you may think of me and of my equals and betters, know that we were frail and imperfect beings, such as you are. But do not forget one thing. Whatever we knew or knew not, and whatever were or were not

our faults and our sins of commission or omission, we did not talk Christ and Christianity, but we lived them.[15] And when the liberties of the world were gone, when Stoic despair was all that seemed left of belief in self-responsibility and of faith in the moral government of human affairs, we the Christians resolved not to do what we thought against our conscience. We sought no subterfuge when the men of power said we must sacrifice to the idols, in obedience to the laws of the state: we said those laws are unjust, because they are against the light of the Spirit and the law of God, which is in Scripture and in us. We said so, knowing such conduct was death, even in the eyes of a Pliny and a Trajan: and we died. So I too lived and died for the saving faith; and, in doing so, I then felt, and I have known since, that I was blessed.[16]

I died for our common faith in Christ, I died to satisfy my conscience, and in the hour of death I looked up to my heavenly Father, and to his eternal kingdom of truth and of liberty. But I now see, as you might know, that, by my confession and martyrdom, I have contributed my share towards laying the foundation of that civil and religious liberty which you in this land are enjoying, and for which, I hope and trust, you are, and ever will be, sincerely thankful.

For remember, and such shall be my parting prophetic word to you, remember that you would not

possess this liberty, if the Christian martyrs had not rendered to humanity that self-respect which is founded on respect for the truth in God, and for the divine dignity of his image on earth; nor unless they had given the example of that courage, which springs from love for mankind as our brethren. By that faith and by that courage we educated you and the whole Germanic race, when you entered, youthful but ignorant, upon the stage of the world, the face of which you were destined to renew. Remember also, that you would not have been able to secure to yourselves, and to the world, the liberties you now enjoy, unless your fathers had risked their lives and shed their blood for the maintenance of these same principles, three hundred years ago.

And now, be worthy of your fathers and true to yourselves, and fear not the issue of the great religious and social struggle which is drawing near. The enemies of liberty of conscience, who wish to use the civil liberties you have so dearly gained, for introducing again sacerdotal encroachment and tyranny, are impotent, if you combat them with the weapons of the Spirit and of Light. Their days are numbered. The history of the world runs against them like a mighty spring-flood of heaven. Their failure and their judgment are written with letters of blood in the history of the world down to this your day. They have no living root in the past and present, and none therefore

in the future. The present state of that world which they have taught and swayed cries up to heaven against them with blood and tears and sighs; and the confusion around them becomes every day more and more confounded. They sowed the counter-reformation three hundred years ago, and they have reaped revolutions wherever that seed took root: they lighted up civil war and kept it up for one hundred and fifty years; and now, wherever they reign, there is rebellion, anarchy, or tyranny: they are at this moment sowing a bloody counter-revolution, and they will reap destruction. They suppressed or spoiled the first Reformation, which was compelled to fight them with only the scanty light that they had provided, and with the crippled resources that they had left to the human mind. Thus, the first Reformation itself remained crippled and maimed, with you and everywhere. Since that great event, the European nations have been occupied in forming a free polity out of the traditions of Byzantine and modern despotism, into which they had been gradually sinking: for with the present world, as with the ancient, despotism is new, and liberty old.

But the times are changed. The apostles of darkness cannot stand the second Reformation, which draws near in the armour of Divine Light, and with the weapons of eternal conscious reason; which is fortified by science, philosophy, and authentic history; the approach of which is anticipated and hailed by

the universal longing of nations, yearning after Christ and evangelical truth and liberty. The second Reformation advances, not by revolutionary infidelity as they pretend, but in spite of that universal scepticism and unbelief which their unholy impositions, forgeries, and frauds have prepared and fostered in the finest countries of the world. The second Reformation will conquer, not by exciting wars or fomenting revolutions, but peaceably, and in spite of the bloody disturbances grown out of the infidelity sown by its enemies; not by flattering the popular mind, but in spite of the reaction called forth by late revolutionary movements in many noble, but timid minds, ready to catch at anything which promises them the support of religious authority.

Fear not any of these obstacles. The history of the world advances under laws as eternal, positive, and unchangeable, as those by which the heavenly bodies move, but more sublime and divine; because they are the direct and conscious expression of that mind which is eternal reason and love. Neither fear ye the apostles of irreligion and antichristianism, who go about preaching to the nations the emancipation of animal life as the liberty and happiness of man and of woman, and mad pantheism as the religion of the future. They are already sinking under the weight of their own wickedness and folly, and beneath the indignation and contempt of all nations. Show yourselves faithful, by believing that there is

no wisdom but in Christ, and that no one has the Spirit of God and its power, except him who calling Jesus Lord and Master is an humble follower of His holy life. Those who deify sinful humanity are the worst of idolaters, because they not only blaspheme the name of God, but profane besides the image of the most Holy on earth: they will have the fate of all idolaters; doomed by their own consciences, they will perish in madness or idiotcy.

But ye, the children of light, go fearlessly onward. To imagine a return of mankind to that infantine state, in which tradition and revelation are received as things external to man, is like seeking in the wilderness for Christ, who is near you and in you. Such a return is neither desirable nor possible. You have not to choose between faith and reason, nor between superstition and irreligion. But you have to make your choice between light and darkness. On that side are indifference, scepticism, servitude, and all the other attending nightmares of humanity; on this side, self-responsibility, faithful inquiry, liberty, all the attending genii of light.

The first natural day of reformed theology and Protestant Church government is gone. Children of light! sit not in darkness and sleep not the sleep of death. Light your torches at that intellectual sunbeam in Scripture and within yourselves, which both nature and universal history majestically reflect; and

awaken the dawn of the young day of the earth by intellectual hymns of praise, responded to by a life of self-sacrificing love for the growth and advancement of truth and justice among mankind, the only, but the indestructible, foundation of social union, of political freedom, and of all earthly happiness.

And with these words, I bid you farewell.

NOTES OF THE EDITOR

TO

THE APOLOGY OF HIPPOLYTUS.

Note to Title.

THE IDES OF AUGUST, THE DATE OF THE DEPOSITION OF THE REMAINS OF ST. HIPPOLYTUS.

The Ides of August are the day on which, in Rome, from very ancient times, the memory of Hippolytus, the bishop of Portus and presbyter of Rome, was celebrated. We must only in this case, as in many others, not urge the expression "dies natalis," which originally means the day of martyrdom or confession. For very often, and particularly in the primitive times of the Church of Rome, the day celebrated was the "dies depositionis," or the day when the bones of the martyr and confessor were deposited in one of the Christian cemeteries of the city, and therefore principally in those "ad Catacumbas," afterwards called Cœmeterium Callisti, on the Appian road, near the present church of St. Sebastian. I have shown, in the "Description of Rome" (vol. ii. Description of the old basilica of St. Peter), that as to the two princes of the Apostles, St. Peter and St. Paul, this results from the explicit evidence of bishop Damasus himself, and the

collateral reports. The proof, in our present case, is contained in the very words of the old Roman Martyrologium (Fabric. i. p. xx.): "Idibus Augusti (13. Aug.) Romæ, natalis Sanctorum *Hippolyti Martyris, Pontiani Episcopi*, Cornelii," &c. The old Calendars published by Muratori in his Liturgia Romana all give the same date.

We know from the most ancient authentic record of the Church of Rome, the "Catalogus Liberianus" of the year 354 (in the passage of which I have given the text, Vol. I. p. 213.), that Pontianus died an exile in Sardinia, on the 28th September, of the first year of Maximinus, which corresponds to the year 235 of our era. Now, the very circumstance that one and the same day is mentioned as "dies natalis" for a number of saints, shows that this expression is incorrect; but not at all that it is in every case mythical and a fiction. Possibly there may have been an earlier deposition in the Catacumbæ, for an ancient Martyrologium has the following:

"8. Id. Aug. (6. Aug.) Romæ cœmeterii Callisti via Appia, natalis Sixti Episcopi, et Felicissimi Agapeti, Donatiani, Fausti, Pretextati, Laurentii, Hippolyti."

Still, the authority quoted is not sufficiently weighty to remove all doubt of its authenticity; whereas the deposition in the cemetery in the Ager Veranus, on the Tiburtine road, where the basilica of St. Laurentius stands, is attested already fifty years before Prudentius, as we have seen, by the Calendarium of the year 354.

The date now fixed for the festival of St. Hippolytus by the Roman Catholic Church, the 21st of August (xi. Kal. Sept.), is consequently quite arbitrary. Indeed, it is of very late date, and perhaps only supported by the authority of Baronius. The prayers relating to St. Hippolytus, not only in the Gregorian Sacramentary, but also in those of Gelasius and Leo (or Felix III.), are all for the Ides of August. It is, therefore, quite accurate, that the

day of commemoration ought to be the 13th of August. And, indeed, this date has been adopted in the official Christian calendar of Prussia, which, for the first time, has realized the idea of Luther as to the names and lives of the saints in the calendar. There the Christian reader will find Nicolaus Count Zinzendorf by the side of Hippolytus, and the days of the demise of William Wilberforce and of Elizabeth Fry by the side of those of St. Benedict and Sta. Scholastica. Dr. Piper has added to these names of Christian heroes and heroines popular but critically sifted accounts respecting their lives, substituting for the charm of fable the holier one of true history. So much for German infidelity on this score!

NOTE 1. p. 10.

THE THREE HIPPOLYTUSES WHOM THE CHURCH OF ROME HAS MADE OUT OF THE ONE.

THIS curious fact is proved by the comparison of the account of Prudentius with the official documents of the Church of Rome. The "Martyrologium Romanum" (edited by command of pope Gregory XIII., and revised by order of Urban VIII.) has the following three articles, in which we distinguish by italics the circumstances occurring in the account of Prudentius:

"1. Tertio Kal. Febr. (30. Jan.) Antiochiæ passio beati Hippolyti Presbyteri, qui *Novati schismate aliquantulum deceptus*, sed operante gratia Christi correctus, ad unitatem Ecclesiæ rediit, pro qua et in qua postea illustre martyrium consummavit. Hic rogatus a suis, quænam secta verior esset, execratus dogma Novati, *eam fidem dicens esse servandam, quam Petri cathedra custodiret*, jugulum præbuit

"2. Idib. Augusti (13. August). Romæ beati Hippolyti martyris qui pro confessionis gloria, sub Valeriano Imperatore, post alia tormenta, *ligatis pedibus ad colla indomitorum equorum* per carduetum et tribulos *crudeliter tractus, toto corpore laceratus* emisit spiritum.

"3. Undecimo Kal. Sept. (22. Aug.) In *Porta Romana S. Hippolyti Episcopi eruditione clarissimi*, qui *sub Alexandro Imperatore* ob præclaram fidei confessionem manibus pedibusque ligatis in altam foveam aquis plenam præcipitatus, martyrii palmam accepit: cujus corpus a Christianis apud eundem locum sepultum fuit."

The account of the mode of martyrdom is taken from the Greek legend published in the "Acta Martyrum sub Claudio Gothico," which I have had so often to quote in the First Volume. There may have been no harm intended by all this: such confusions happen continually, not by fraud, but by the insufficiency of knowledge, and the injury of time. But there certainly is harm in the tyranny, first of canonizing legends into truth; and secondly, of declaring infallible the canonizing authority; for, if legends are made truth, truth will, sooner or later, be thought a legend, and historical belief superstition. And that is the case in Southern Europe.

NOTE 2. p. 15.

THE PRESENT SUCCESSOR OF ST. IRENÆUS.

HIPPOLYTUS evidently alludes to the present Cardinal de Bonald, bishop of Lyons, son of the celebrated De Bonald, who was a peer of the Restoration, and author of many theocratic and hierarchical writings. The cardinal-bishop is known by his Pastoral Letter or Mandement, of 1842, about the Immaculate Conception of the Virgin

Mary, and her worship; and by another of 1848, recommending the willing acceptance of the Republic. It is at Lyons, since the Restoration, that the central committee of the Roman Catholic Missions in France resides, which, according to some published accounts, disposes yearly of some millions of francs.

NOTE 3. p. 15.

THE DEAN OF THE SACRED COLLEGE.

THIS evidently must have been meant in the sense of "Doyen d'âge:" for the "Decano del Sagro Collegio" is always the cardinal-bishop of Ostia. Different passages of the Liber Pontificalis prove that the bishop of Portus was one of the three suburban bishops who assisted the bishop of Ostia in consecrating the elect bishop of Rome.

NOTE 4. p. 16.

THE WORKS AND MONUMENTS OF PROTESTANTISM.

THE reproach here made against Protestantism is very hackneyed in the whole school of the French hierarchical authors, as De Maistre, in his book "Du Pape," and the elder De Bonald. The same song has been sung, *ad nauseam*, by the English converts to Romanism. Their leader is Mr. Pugin, an ingenious architect, who has humorously ridiculed the pigtail style, only forgetting that the decay of good taste in the churches and monuments, during the last 250 years, had its origin in Italy, through the influence of the Jesuits; and who, upon honest inquiry, would have discovered that the spirit of restoration has, in architecture as in music, come everywhere

from Protestant Germany, and likewise that movement which, fifty years ago, led to the revival of historical painting.

NOTE 5. p. 17.

CICERO'S PROPHECY OF THE ENGLISH CONSTITUTION AND OF ITS HISTORY.

CICERO (De Re publica, lib. I.), after having established that there are three kinds (genera) of governments, the regal (regium), the aristocratic (optimatium), and the popular (populare), and that each is apt to degenerate and to bring on great convulsions, has the following words, which nobody in our days will read without serious reflections.

(Cap. xxix.) "Miri sunt orbes et quasi circuitus in rebus publicis commutationum et vicissitudinum: quos cum cognosse sapientis est, tum vero prospicere impendentes in gubernanda re publica, moderantem cursum atque in sua potestate retinentem, magni cujusdam civis et divini pæne est viri. Itaque quartum quoddam genus rei publicæ maxime probandum esse sentio, quod est ex his, quæ prima dixi, moderatum et permixtum tribus. . . . . .
(Cap. xxxv.) "Tum Lælius, quid tu, inquit, Scipio? Ex tribus istis quid maxime probas? — *S.* Recte quæris quid maxime e tribus; quoniam eorum nullum ipsum per se separatum probo; anteponoque singulis illud, quod conflatum fuerit ex omnibus. Sed si unum ac simplex probandum sit, regium probem atque in primis laudem. In primo autem genere quod hoc loco appellatur, occurrit nomen quasi patrium regis, ut ex se natis ita consulentis suis civibus, et eos conservantis studiosius quam redigentis in servitutem: ut sane utilius sit facultatibus et mente exiguos

sustentari unius optimi et summi viri diligentia. Adsunt optimates, qui se melius hoc idem facere profiteantur; plusque fore dicant in pluribus consilii quam in uno, et eandem tamen æquitatem et fidem. Ecce autem maxima voce clamat populus, neque se uni neque paucis velle parere; libertate ne feris quidem quidquam esse dulcius; hac omnes carere sive regi sive optimatibus serviant. Ita caritate nos capiunt reges, consilio optimates, libertate populi: ut in comparando difficile ad eligendum sit quid maxime velis. . . . . .

(Cap. xlv.) "Quod ita cum sit, ex tribus primis generibus longe præstat mea sententia regium; regio autem ipsi præstabit id quod erit æquatum et temperatum ex tribus optimis rerum publicarum modis. Placet enim esse quiddam in re publica præstans et regale; esse aliud auctoritati principum patrum adtributum; esse quasdam res servatas judicio voluntatique multitudinis. Hæc constitutio primum habet æquabilitatem quandam magnam, qua carere diutius vix possunt liberi; deinde firmitudinem, quod et illa prima facile in contraria vitia convertuntur, ut exsistat ex rege dominus, ex optimatibus factio, ex populo turba et confusio; quodque genera ipsa generibus sæpe commutantur novis. Hoc in hac juncta moderateque permixta conformatione rei publicæ non ferme sine magnis principum vitiis evenit. Non est enim causa conversionis, ubi in suo quisque est gradu firmiter collocatus, et non subest, quo præcipitet ac decidat." (Text after Osann, without the archaic orthography.) The "quiddam præstans et regale" is evidently the Latin for "the royal prerogative." For the last of these passages Mai quotes Polyb. vi. 3.: but the father of the whole idea is Aristotle, in his "Politics"; see, in particular, iv. 6. 7. (al. 8. 9.)

NOTE 6. p. 26.

THE WIFE AND CHILDREN OF ST. HIPPOLYTUS.

THE particulars here given are, of course, part of the fiction; but that Hippolytus might have had, and probably had, a wife and children, for which he might now be as well ridiculed by ignorant and malicious men as bishop Alexander was in our time, both in France and England, is an indisputable fact of ecclesiastical history; as we have shown in our First Volume, p. 312. I take this opportunity of expressing my conviction that the tradition respecting St. Paul's having been a widower is true.

NOTE 7. p. 26.

THE INSCRIPTION OF HERON BELONGING TO THE TEMPLE OF SERAPIS AT PORTUS, OF THE TIME OF HIPPOLYTUS. (See Vol. I. p. 217.)

UNDER Severus, there lived at Portus a certain Heron, who, in the inscription on a marble pedestal found at Portus, is mentioned as *νεωκόρος* or *ædituus* of the temple of Serapis in that place. This inscription is published in Sponii Miscellanea eruditæ Antiquitatis (Fabr. in Hipp. i. 47.):

Μάρκου Αὐρηλίου Σεουήρου Ἀλεξάνδρου εὐτυχοῦς εὐσεβοῦς καὶ Ἰουλίας Μαμαίας Σεβαστῆς μητρὸς Διὶ Ἡλίῳ μεγάλῳ Σαραπίδι καὶ τοῖς συννάοις θεοῖς Μ. Αὐρήλιος Ἥρων Νεωκόρος τοῦ ἐν Πόρτῳ Σαραπίδος ἐπὶ Λαργινίῳ Βειταλίωνι ἀρχιπερέτῃ καὶ καμαινεύτῃ καὶ Αὐρηλίῳ Φήβῳ καὶ Σαλωνίῳ Θειδότῳ ἱεροφώνοις καὶ καμεινεύταις Χαριτὴ ἱεροδουλεία ἀνέθηκεν ἐπὶ ἀγαθῷ.

Du Cange has endeavoured to identify this Heron with a Heron "confessor et philosophus," who is mentioned with Hippolytus as chronographer. This is whimsical for a historian.

NOTE 8. p. 27.

CALLISTUS' RESIDENCE IN TRASTEVERE.

THE church of S. Calisto at Rome, near to S. Maria in Trastevere, with the Convento di S. Calisto by its side, is given as the place where that bishop, as the legend says, took refuge in the time of persecution, and where he was thrown out of the window. (Beschreibung der Stadt Rom, iii. C. p. 672—677.)

NOTE 9. p. 29.

HIPPOLYTUS ON THE PARAMOUNT AUTHORITY OF SCRIPTURE.

SEE First Volume, p. 252.; and Second Volume, p. 144.

NOTE 10. p. 31.

THE PUNCTUATION OF THE FIRST VERSES OF THE PROLOGUE OF ST. JOHN'S GOSPEL.

ALL ancient authorities prove that the third and fourth verses were written thus:

"All things were made by Him, and without Him was not any thing made. What was made is life in Him, and the life was the light of men."

The present punctuation was made in order to combat the heresy of the Macedonians, towards the end of the fourth century. Thus it has all tradition and ancient authorities against it. A deeper insight into the meaning of those sublime and, to a Christian philosopher, perfectly intelligible words, will show to the Christian reader that the internal evidence is as great as the external. The first words ("In the beginning was the Word," &c.) speak of the immanent eternal existence of the Word as God (as God's Thought of himself). Then comes the demiurgic or world-creating function of the Word, in the beginning of the third verse. It remains, therefore, to speak of the agency of the Word in the created universe. Here the Apostle says, first, that it is the principle of life in the outer world (the infinite factor in nature); and equally was (originally) the intellectual principle in man (the infinite factor in the mind), enabling man to understand (when born anew) things divine and his own origin.

NOTE 11. p. 33.

THE CANON OF THE NEW TESTAMENT IN THE ROMAN CHURCH IN THE AGE OF HIPPOLYTUS.

SEE the proofs in the second chapter of the Second Volume, p. 133.

NOTE 12. p. 37.

THE BELIEF OF HIPPOLYTUS IN THE FACTS OF CLAIRVOYANCE, AND HIS WISE JUDGMENT UPON THIS SUBJECT.

OF the Montanist prophetesses Hippolytus speaks in his great work. As to his belief in the facts connected with

what is now called magnetism, I have shown it to be more than probable (Vol. II. p. 242.), in my chapter on the Treatise on the Charismata, or Gifts of the Holy Spirit, that the Essay with which both texts of the eighth book of the "Apostolic Constitutions" open, represents substantially the introductory part of a book of Hippolytus on the Apostolic tradition respecting the Charismata. In this extract, his opinion on such points is distinctly stated (p. 246.).

NOTE 13. p. 81.

THE PASSAGE OF HIPPOLYTUS AS TO THE SACRIFICE IN THE EUCHARIST.

THE original text runs thus (Hipp. Opp. i. 282.): Ἡτοιμάσατο τὴν ἑαυτῆς τράπεζαν· τὴν ἐπίγνωσιν τῆς ἁγίας Τριάδος κατεπαγγελλομένην, καὶ τὸ τίμιον καὶ ἄχραντον αὐτοῦ σῶμα καὶ αἷμα, ἅπερ ἐν τῇ μυστικῇ καὶ θείᾳ τραπέζῃ καθ' ἑκάστην ἐπιτελοῦνται θυόμενα εἰς ἀνάμνησιν τῆς ἀειμνήστου καὶ πρώτης ἐκείνης τραπέζης τοῦ μυστικοῦ θείου δείπνου.

NOTE 14. p. 93.

THE CHRISTIAN'S ONLY SACRIFICE THE SPIRITUAL.

I HAVE given in the Second Volume the striking passages in the Fathers, from Justin Martyr and Irenæus down to St. Augustin. I cannot refrain from transcribing here the beautiful words of the "Octavius" of M. Minucius Felix, a younger cotemporary of Hippolytus (ch. 32.):

"Putatis autem nos occultare quod colimus, si delubra et aras non habemus? Quod enim simulacrum Deo fingam,

cum, si recte existimes, sit Dei homo ipse simulacrum? Templum quod ei exstruam, cum totus hic mundus ejus opere fabricatus eum capere non possit? et cum homo latius maneam, intra unam ædiculam vim tantæ majestatis includam? Nonne melius in nostra dedicandus est mente? in nostro immo consecrandus est pectore? Hostias et victimas Domino offeram, quas in usum mei protulit, ut rejiciam ei suum munus? ingratum est; cum sit litabilis hostia bonus animus et pura mens et sincera sententia. Igitur qui innocentiam colit, Deo supplicat; qui justitiam, Deo libat: qui fraudibus abstinet, propitiat Deum: qui hominem periculo subripit, optimam victimam cædit. Hæc nostra sacrificia, hæc Dei sacra sunt: sic apud nos religiosior est ille qui justior."

Note 15. p. 112.

THE ANCIENT CHRISTIANS DID NOT TALK CHRIST AND CHRISTIANITY, BUT LIVED THEM.

In reading the "Octavius" over again, I find that this phrase expresses, almost verbatim, the concluding words of his peroration. He says (ch. 39.): "Nos non habitu sapientiam sed mente præferimus, *non eloquimur magna sed vivimus*, gloriamur nos consecutos quod illi (Græcorum philosophi) summa intentione quæsiverunt nec invenire potuerunt. Quid ingrati sumus? quid nobis invidemus, si veritas divinitatis nostri temporis ætate maturuit? Fruamur bono nostro, et recti sententiam temperemus, cohibeatur superstitio, impietas expietur, vera religio reservetur."

NOTE 16. p. 112.

THE MARTYRS DIED FOR THE LIBERTY OF MANKIND.

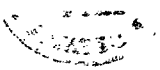
THIS is what Minucius Felix preaches in his "Apology" (ch. 36, 37.): "Sit Fortis Fortunæ (eventus): mens tamen libera est, et ideo actus hominis, non dignitas judicatur. . Ceterum quod plerique pauperes dicimur, non est infamia nostra, sed gloria; animus enim ut luxu solvitur, ita frugalitate firmatur. Et tamen quis potest pauper esse qui non eget, qui non inhiat alieno, qui Deo dives est? Magis pauper ille est, qui cum multa habeat, plura desiderat. . . . Igitur ut qui viam terit, eo felicior quo levior incedit, ita beatior in hoc itinere vivendi qui paupertati se sublevat, non sub divitiarum onere suspirat. . . . Ut aurum ignibus, sic nos discriminibus arguimur. Quam pulchrum spectaculum Deo, cum Christianus cum dolore congreditur! cum adversum minas et supplicia et tormenta componitur! cum strepitum mortis et horrorem carnificis arripiens inculcat! *cum libertatem suam adversus reges et principes erigit, soli Deo, cujus est, cedit!* cum triumphator et victor ipsi, qui adversus se sententiam dixit, insultat! Vicit enim qui quod contendit obtinuit. . . Rex es? et tam times quam timeris, et quamlibet sis multo comitatu stipatus, ad periculum tamen solus es. Dives es? sed fortunæ male creditur, et magno viatico breve vitæ iter non instruitur, sed oneratur. . . Nos igitur qui moribus et pudore censemur, merito malis voluptatibus et pompis vestris et spectaculis abstinemus, quorum et de sacris originem novimus et noxia blandimenta damnamus."

PART II.

THE GENUINE LITURGIES

OF THE

ANCIENT CHURCH.



GENERAL INTRODUCTION

TO THE

LITURGIES OF THE ANCIENT CHURCH.

It is impossible to enter into the sanctuary of Christian devotion, and undertake a historical review of the sublime thought of worship through eighteen centuries, without feeling overawed by the magnitude and holiness of the subject. I approach this sacred task not without a long preparation, nor without a deep feeling of responsibility; but without fear. For I am conscious of entering into the precincts of that sanctuary with unfeigned reverence, and with no other object than that of pointing out the world-historical importance of that idea of Christian worship, the picture of which I have attempted to draw in the preceding volume. I do so, moreover, with sincere charity towards all Christian creeds. From that point of view, all party animosities appear as senseless as they are culpable. It is as untrue and unmeaning, as it is unworthy and odious, to attempt to explain by outward circumstances,

or to attribute to base personal motives, great spiritual movements and liturgical forms, which have exercised, and are exercising, a supreme power over millions and millions of civilized people, and which are objects of respect and awe to nations, and spiritual guides to noble and holy minds. Finally, I believe that the true Christian philosopher cannot but discern, through all the deviations and all the aberrations in that history of the religious mind which he has to observe and to record during fifteen centuries, and through all the bitter contention and conflicting anathemas of priests and theologians which assail him on his way of peace, the fundamental Christian idea of the reunion of the mind of mortal man with God, by thankful sacrifice of self, in life, and, therefore, also in worship. The critically sifted and restored documents which I subjoin speak that language with touching simplicity and irresistible energy. In presenting them and these outlines of their history, I trust that the views here expressed are fully borne out by the facts; and I am sure that whatever defects may be discovered in the following sheets, they are not the offspring of party spirit, but owing to general human imperfection, and to my own personal inability of doing full justice to so grand a subject, never yet treated with philosophical criticism, as a part of history.

INTRODUCTORY REMARKS.

THE collection of documents contained in the "Reliquiæ Sacræ" exhibits all the ancient sacramental texts of the East, and the few relics respecting the Eucharistic Service of the Churches of Africa, Gaul, and Spain (with which those of Alemannia, of Great Britain, and of Ireland were identical), of the second, third, and fourth centuries, and of the early part of the fifth. As to the Church of Rome, they naturally go down to the end of the sixth century, or the time of Gregory the Great. The general principles of historical criticism, according to which this collection has been framed, will be sufficiently explained in the following pages. Having made them the basis of an extensive "Codex Liturgicus Ecclesiæ universæ," as long as thirty-five years ago, I have found them constantly confirmed by my subsequent studies; and I feel sure that I cannot be wrong in the principal points, because philological facts, historical criticism, and philosophical research have all led me to the same result. Whoever follows the method I have adopted will be able to find his way through the sixty or more Liturgies of the East. He will be able to explain the genuine and ancient texts, without corrupting or mutilating them: to understand the passages of the Fathers, without per-

verting them: and, finally, Scripture itself, without misinterpreting or nullifying its sacred words. By this critical process, the origin and development of the sacred forms of our worship are cleared up. We see what caused them to be misunderstood in the dark ages, to be corrupted by ritualists, and perverted by scholastics; and finally, why the writers of neither of the two great parties, during the last three centuries, have been able to make them agree with their systems. Whatever defects there may be in this first attempt to apply the acknowledged principles of general historical criticism to the ancient Liturgies, they cannot be corrected but by following the course which I have pointed out, and by the adoption of the method of the critical historical school, which I have employed in order to discover the truth. That method will itself correct the errors committed by those who adopt it.

The genuine Liturgies of the ancient Church which have come down to us exhibit the order and mode in which that mystery of the Christian faith, the Eucharist, was celebrated. They are not speculative inventions, but the sacred voices of the Christian people spread over the globe, who are using them still, although in a corrupted state, in their worship. The most ancient and the most numerous of them belong to the Churches of Syria and of Egypt, and are the organs of the majority of all Christians throughout the world. They are the sacred

books of noble tribes and nations whose biblical knowledge and Christian wisdom are mostly concentrated in what those rites inculcate, whose only remaining sanctuary is the Lord's table, and whose only fellowship left on earth, beyond their domestic ties, is the communion which unites them round that altar. These Liturgies, for upwards of seventeen hundred years, have proclaimed, in the most solemn manner, an uninterrupted faith in the holiest truths of mankind, from the once blessed shores of the Mediterranean to the coasts of India, and from the hills of Palestine and the plains of Syria to the mountains of Assyria and of Abyssinia. They are the heirloom of the sixty millions of that Slavonic race to whom the future of the world must sooner or later come in Asia and Europe, whenever the Germanic nations shall cease to hold there the balance. Their origin is a deep mystery to the people who use them, and even to their priesthood; for, in spite of numberless additions and considerable changes, none of their theological systems exactly correspond with those sacred words and rites. They are held sacred as the inspiration of holy men, who received them from the lips of Christ's disciples themselves, and who developed them under the guidance of the Spirit of God, which is given to the Church.

The various national Liturgies of the East were gradually suppressed by the Byzantine Church, and those of the West almost destroyed by the Latin Church of Rome, from a love both of uniformity and

of power. The Reformation found the Latin Liturgy almost as much involved in fables as were the Eastern. Scholasticism had besides constructed out of the ritual books, as it had out of Scripture, a system incompatible with the text, and irreconcilable with history. The reformers approached this system with evangelical faith, and with the torch of biblical criticism and ecclesiastical history. This great movement of the sixteenth century led, therefore, to controversies, which were at the beginning met by a remorseless repetition of old fables, and by an indiscriminate defence of all the interpolations and forgeries. The Romanist divines, in the seventeenth and the earlier part of the eighteenth century, feeling that this ground was no longer tenable, set up a new system of defence, and instituted some really learned, and to a certain degree critical, researches. An immense but crude mass of documents, and a much greater one of commentaries, were brought forward, in order to show that the ancient Churches were right, on the whole, against the Protestants. These texts, united in one work, would occupy at least six quarto volumes, and the commentaries about sixty. The historian who looks with a critical eye at the state of those texts and their boundless varieties; at the mysterious obscurity of the comments, and the absolute groundlessness of their assumptions; will at first sight see no hope of ever unravelling that confusion, and of being able to throw light upon that utter dark-

ness, which most of those writers seem to have intended rather to increase than to dispel. In the first place, almost all the names which these Liturgies bear are entirely fabulous, from those of the Apostles down to those of Basil and Chrysostom, if it be meant to represent them as the authors of the texts as they now stand. The confusion, indeed, is so great, that even Liturgies bearing the name of the same author differ entirely from each other. The consequence is, that one school of the last century has declared them unworthy of any historical authority whatever, even for the fourth and fifth centuries; while the other professes to be able to trace them back to the second, and even to the time of the Apostles. In our days, gross ignorance having come over the Gallican clergy, once the most learned and enlightened, and general indifference to this subject having pervaded the Protestant divines and critics, a medieval reaction has sprung up (and that not among Romanists alone), the representatives of which, half credulous, half hypocritical, and always uncritical, ask very naïvely: "Why should these Liturgies not have been written by the Apostles?"

When the continuator of Arnauld's remarkable work on the Perpetuity of the Faith of the Church in the Eucharist, Renaudot, the most learned and critical among the Romanist writers on the Oriental Liturgies, but a very prejudiced and bitter

controversialist, abandoned the hopeless task of maintaining ancient prejudices, he took his stand upon the middle of the fifth century, and established a principle which, as far as it is founded on facts, is an undeniable critical truth. He says, that, as the Oriental communities who did not accept the decrees of the Councils of Ephesus (441) and of Chalcedon (450) use essentially the same Liturgies as the orthodox Churches of those countries, it is natural to conclude that these Liturgies must be anterior to the respective epochs of their separation. This is so true in the abstract, that it is almost a truism. But the historical critic must move the previous question: How far do the rituals of both parties really agree? And here we find, first of all, that we must discard the whole of the first half of the Liturgies, as they now stand. For in that part of the rituals which precedes the "Sursum corda," or the Preface of the Eucharistic Prayer of Thanksgiving, the Liturgies in question do not agree at all. The claim upon us to admit the identity, and consequently the antiquity, of those Liturgies is, therefore, confessedly reduced to the second part, the Missa Fidelium, beginning with that solemn and primitive mutual exhortation, or form of Apostolic blessing. Renaudot has left us in the dark upon this point. He asserts the substantial identity, but takes care not to put his assertion to the test by showing their identity in detail, which can only be

done by comparing the corresponding texts placed in parallel columns.

Whether therefore, that principle be a truism or a fallacy, the general view from which Renaudot starts, as to the age of those as wonderfully analogous as strikingly different Liturgies, is that of a startling scepticism, which, if honestly followed up, resolves itself into a demand upon us to believe in a miracle of which Renaudot's assumption creates the necessity. He assumes that the Prayer of Consecration, the nucleus of the whole Liturgy, was not committed to writing at the time of Basilius, about 370. If such were really the case, it would be impossible to explain this wonderful analogy, and in part really literal agreement, amongst the Liturgies; and the boast of the ancient Fathers, as to the Apostolicity of the Liturgies of their Churches, would become an empty sound. No Protestant critical writer ever said anything half so sceptical, and no uncritical Roman writer ever drew more largely upon our credulity. But on what does that startling assertion rest? On a celebrated passage in the treatise of St. Basilius on the Holy Spirit, a passage which I have given *in extenso* in the "Reliquiæ Liturgicæ," at the head of the testimonies respecting the Liturgy of St. Basilius. Any one who reads this passage with the context will see at once that the words in question are nothing but a part of one and the same argument. The argument is, that the universal Church holds many cus-

toms to be Apostolical, sacred, necessary, and binding, although they are not recorded as being Divine precepts. "Where," he asks, "is it written that the Catechumen is to be immersed thrice? And where is the Invocation prescribed which we use at the celebration of the Eucharist? Nobody can cite the name of the person who wrote it down." This argument, therefore, does not imply that an Apostolical formula of Invocation was transmitted to the Church universal (which would be an absurdity in itself, inasmuch as no such identical formula exists), but simply that the universal custom of using the Invocation Prayer before the Communion was not based upon any written precept of Christ or of the Apostles: and still, says Basil, it is never omitted, but considered as a necessary part of the Eucharistic Service.

Thus Renaudot's whole system rests upon two fallacies, and his only merit consists in two points: first, in his having brought together a great mass of Oriental Liturgies from their native sources, not from the "corrected" texts of the Propaganda; and, secondly, in his having endeavoured to class them according to the Patriarchates. But his collection has not exhausted all the texts existing in manuscripts, nor does it even give faithfully all that is printed: for instance, it omits (on purpose) the most ancient Ethiopic Liturgy, published by Ludolf. Nor has his historical classification been very

successful. It must, nevertheless, be admitted that he contributed with Bona and Lebrun to put a stop to the falsifying system of the Roman writers, and to their ludicrously absurd assumptions.

His work appeared in 1716, five and twenty years after the great Ludolf had opened the treasures of Abyssinia (1691). About the same time, Bingham, a Protestant divine, and a man of learning, judgment, and Christian candour and moderation, undertook, in his great work on the "Origines," to establish a sounder method for the historical criticism of the earliest Liturgies. Bingham is the most distinguished Christian antiquarian, and, on the whole, not only the most learned, but also the fairest of all apologetical writers; but he certainly is neither a philosopher nor a historian. He was struck by Renaudot's bold idea of the Liturgies not having been committed to writing before the end of the fourth century, and speaks of it as a "not improbable" assumption, because he finds it a useful weapon both against Nonconformists and against Romanists (xv. 5. 3.). But in his own work he takes care not to follow the French priest on his dark and adventurous road, and confines himself to single positive researches. By this method he certainly has established for ever the antiquity of the principal parts of the ancient Liturgies, and proved that the important elements of the Eucharistic Service were already, at a very early period, considered to be of Apostolic origin. Unfortunately,

he took for the basis of his learned commentary an imaginary Liturgy, the interpolated text contained in the eighth book of the Apostolical Constitutions. In doing this, he deviated from the strictly critical method which he generally applies with so much success. Still his researches on the single parts of the Christian worship, and his faithful although undigested collection of the passages relative to the Liturgy which are found in the works of St. Chrysostom, are to this day the best groundwork for historical criticism.

This historical method has been for the first time adopted, though timidly and imperfectly, by the German Bingham, Augusti, the learned Protestant antiquarian, in the twelve volumes of his honest and highly instructive "Denkwürdigkeiten" (1817—1831); and followed, although with great prejudices, by the Romanist Binterim, in his "Denkwürdigkeiten" (14 volumes, 1825—1833).

As to the texts of the Liturgies, Joseph Aloysius Assemani (the nephew) published in the years 1749 to 1755 his huge collection, which made confusion worse confounded. During the remainder of the eighteenth century, no Romanist or Protestant writer carried on any critical research worth mentioning into the Eastern and African Liturgies, the texts of which have thus been left incomplete and crude, and their criticism at the same point as at that early stage.

It is only within the last twenty years that two

English writers have taken up the subject with great earnestness: the Rev. William Palmer, in the first volume of his "Origines Liturgicæ" (1832); and the Rev. John Mason Neale, in the first two volumes of his "History of the Holy Greek Church" (1850). The former of these works, in particular, is full of learned and ingenious remarks on the connexion and families of the ancient Liturgies. The author proves that many of them contain the same liturgical elements, and sometimes in the same order or almost so. But when from these coincidences he draws the conclusion, that the text of the Liturgy of a given Church represents on the whole a very early period, because it contains materials and elements of an early date, and that two Liturgies in which certain analogies occur are essentially the same, this appears rather a hasty proceeding, and is not a step in advance in historical criticism. Renaudot was satisfied with making an assertion; Mr. Palmer draws conclusions from it, as if it were proved. His merit is the better establishment of liturgical families according to the leading Churches of Christendom. Beyond this point he is not able to prove anything but what was acknowledged before; namely, that there were liturgical formularies at a very early period, and that there was much analogy between them.

The only admissible method seems to be, to endeavour, first of all, to rise from the indefiniteness of

Renaudot's fundamental thesis to a precise historical statement, from the vague region of probabilities to that of facts. The theory of probabilities is perfectly inapplicable to historical subjects, as long as there are facts to be established upon the merit of evidence. A right step in this direction, therefore, is to place in parallel columns the Liturgies which are assumed to be the same. This has been done, as to some Oriental rituals, by the second writer alluded to above. But such a parallelism implies much previous critical labour, from which he has altogether abstained. We must, in particular, first establish the general epochs of Christian worship, and ascertain the means we possess of restoring and exhibiting a genuine text for a given epoch. An antiquarian research, if it is to lead to any result, must be based upon the knowledge of two points: first, of what the documents now in existence can teach us, and what they cannot teach us; and, secondly, of what is possible, and what is impossible, in a given period of the ancient Church. I shall, therefore, with reference to what has been said in the Second and Third Volumes, first give a sketch of the epochs of the celebration of the Eucharist, as forming the general framework for the epochs of the liturgical formularies themselves; and then go through the genuine Liturgies of the different Churches of ancient Christendom.

THE FIRST PERIOD.

The Age of the Apostles, or the First and Second Christian Generations (33—99).

In the *first* Christian generation, or the age of St. Peter and St. Paul (33—65), as the records of the New Testament prove, the Eucharist was celebrated as part of the Christian supper of the Christian community, a meal to which whoever had the means contributed his portion.

The *second*, or the age of St. John (66—99), and that of the Apostolic missionaries (like St. Luke and St. Mark) who had outlived the Neronian persecution, saw the separation between meal and worship effected. That specific formula of Consecration or Sanctification made out of the second petition of the Lord's Prayer, "Thy Spirit come down upon us and purify our hearts," which we have illustrated above, may belong to the first age, but cannot be later than the second. Probably, also, the use of some of the symbolical verses and phrases which our Text-Book exhibits belong to this period.

THE SECOND PERIOD.

The Ignatian and Polycarpian Age (100—170).

THIS important, and hitherto very obscure, period has its best exponent in the account of the celebration of the Eucharist given by Justin Martyr, in his Greater Apology (139). When describing the reception of the Catechumens in the worship of the congregation (ch. 65.), he says:

"Prayers being over, we salute each other with a kiss. After this, bread and a cup of water and mixed wine are brought to him of the Brethren who presides. He takes it and offers praise and glory to the Father of all through the name of his Son and of the Holy Spirit; and at considerable length returns thanks to God for having vouchsafed to us to partake of these things. When the Bishop has finished the prayers and the thanksgiving, all those present conclude with an audible voice, saying, Amen. Now, Amen in the Hebrew tongue signifies, So be it. The eucharistical office being thus performed by the Bishop, and concluded with the acclamations of all the people, those whom we call Deacons distribute this eucharistical bread and wine and water to every one present to partake of them, and then they carry it to the absent."

And when describing the ordinary service on Sundays, he says (ch. 67.):

"At the conclusion of the sermon we all rise up together and pray; and prayers being over, as I have just said, there are bread and wine and water offered, and the Bishop, as before, offers prayers and thanksgiving in the best way he can; and the people conclude all with the joyful acclamation of Amen. Then the consecrated elements are distributed to, and partaken of by, all present, and are sent to the absent by the hands of the Deacons."

That the Lord's Prayer was the concluding part of a Prayer of Thanksgiving which preceded the Communion, might be divined from the place assigned to the solemn *Amen* of the congregation: but that it was considered as the Prayer of Consecration or Blessing is stated expressly in the celebrated, and so often misinterpreted, passage which is found (ch. 66.) between the two descriptions just quoted, and the meaning of which has already been discussed in the Second Volume (p. 177.):

"For we take these not as common bread and wine, but in the same manner as by the Word of God Jesus Christ our Saviour was incarnate, and took blood and flesh for our salvation, thus we are also taught that the food which, by being changed (into our substance), nourishes our blood and body, is the flesh and blood of that incarnate Jesus, after the Thanksgiving has been said by the Word of prayer which comes from Him."

We have here before us the description of a liturgical order made in the fourth decade of the second century, and written probably at Rome, by that pious

Christian philosopher. We can easily place this order into the frame which our Text-Book exhibits. The people bring bread and wine, but as a sacred offering. This oblation, as we have seen, is a sign of Thanksgiving, and the symbol of the internal act of sacrifice of the believers, and of their vow and pledge to dedicate themselves to God. They invoke His blessing for their sanctification, and in this sense His Spirit is called down upon the elements offered for the commemoration of Christ's death. As to the prayer (and Justin represents the act of prayer before the Communion as one prayer), the greater part was spoken freely by the elder or bishop, "in the best manner he could:" it was longer or shorter, more or less spirited. But the sanctifying conclusion of the whole service before the Communion was the Lord's Prayer, originally the very prayer of consecration. There is no Precatory Prayer mentioned, I mean none like that for the whole state of the Church and all Conditions of Men, which we find in the later Liturgies. If, therefore, such a rite should anywhere be preserved as it was celebrated about the middle or in the latter half of the second century, it would probably begin with the Thanksgiving, and possibly with the same Preface which we find mentioned in the third. It might then give a sketch of a Thanksgiving, not as a fixed formulary, but as a short indication of what was usually said. It probably would not give the Lord's Prayer, for every

body knew that by heart, and the form of saying it between clergy and people was traditional in different Churches. But such an order might already exhibit a Prayer of Invocation of the Spirit separate from the Lord's Prayer, and one in which the Spirit would be called down, not only upon the people, but also upon the gifts. Only the blessing would be directed preeminently towards the people, as a Benediction. They were the spiritual real victim, which was to be blessed and sealed.

Now, I think I can actually exhibit a genuine specimen of a Liturgy of that period. The Alexandrian ritual, preserved in the Abyssinian Constitutions of the Apostles, must belong to the middle of the second century, as we shall show in the history of the Liturgy of that Church. Upon reading it, it will be found at once to contain exactly what has has been thus briefly delineated.

THE THIRD PERIOD.

The Age of Irenæus and Origen (175—254).

THE first part of this period, or the *fifth* Christian generation, which may also be called the age of Clemens of Alexandria, has left us no express document respecting the sacramental rite. But the spirit

of the age tends towards increased solemnity in the rites of oblation and of prayer; and possibly the general Precatory Prayer may have been more intimately entwined with the Eucharistic Prayer. The epoch necessarily implies the formation of the special Prayer of Invocation, in which the reference to the elements was more and more brought forward; the clearest proof of which is furnished in the celebrated fragment of Irenæus, which I have exhibited and discussed in the Second Volume (p. 268.).

The second part of this period constitutes the age of Hippolytus and of Origen, or the first half of the third century. For this period the ritual of the same Alexandrian Church can be restored by the following critical process.

We possess a Greek Liturgy called after St. Mark, undoubtedly the Greek original of the Syriac text known by the name of the Liturgy of St. Cyril, and used by the Jacobite Christians. In the Prayer for Christ's Church and for all Men, which this Liturgy contains, we meet, as Palmer has acutely observed, with a phrase which is quoted by Origen as used in the eucharistic prayers, a phrase relating to the Church-militant here on earth. We find indeed that the whole prayer in which that phrase occurs is original and primitive, with allusion, not only to the peculiar occurrences and wants of Egypt, as the Nile and the Inundation, but also to the times of persecution, so that no proof can be more complete.

The emperor and empire are prayed for, but evidently as heathen.

At the same time, that Greek text, in that very same prayer in particular, contains so many repetitions and palpable interpolations, as for instance, the prayer for the "orthodox emperor," that the only question which arises is, whether it be possible to separate the more ancient elements of the Origenian age from the later, from those of the Athanasian or a subsequent period.

Now this critical operation would scarcely be possible, did we not possess in the Abyssinian collection the original form of the same Liturgy as it stood in the second century. By this link we are enabled, first, to extract from our present text all that corresponds to the primitive groundwork. This being done, the Precatory Prayer, and the prayer and chanting of the "Trisagion," or the "Holy, holy, holy," are found to be the only entirely new parts; all the rest is rather an amplification of a more simple form, than something entirely new. We shall afterwards find, that the "Trisagion" came into general use from and through Antioch, where it was primitive.

In this manner we are enabled, with great safety, to enucleate the Origenian text of the third century, out of that of the sixth or seventh, which has come down to us in one Greek manuscript, and is preserved in the Liturgies of the Jacobites.

THE FOURTH PERIOD.

The Age of Athanasius, Cyril, Basil, Chrysostom, and Ambrose, or the Fourth Century.

THE changes in the Liturgy from the time of Origen's death to the Council of Nicæa are not known. It was an age of transition, a time in which a new period of the Church was preparing. Constantine and the decrees of Nicæa began to establish the Church as dominant, and its Liturgy became the worship of the empire of the world. As to the Liturgies of the fourth century, we have nothing documentary, except the allusions to the rites and the very formularies of the age in the writings of the Fathers. But these are so numerous and so explicit, particularly in Chrysostom and Cyril of Jerusalem, that it requires no great ingenuity to discover which are the earlier elements in our traditional texts of the seventh and eighth centuries. We find in this age the "Sursum corda" as the beginning of the Anaphora or Oblation of the Liturgy in the proper sense. Combining this fact with the circumstance already alluded to, that the preserved liturgical texts, used by sects which separated about the middle of the fifth century, never agree in the parts which precede the Preface, we are evidently

entitled to expunge from the Liturgies of the Athanasian age all the ante-Prefational parts.

We can safely do the same as to any mention whatever of the Virgin Mary, except that of a prayer of supplication on behalf of her soul. As to the impossibility of a prayer having been addressed to her in the Eucharistic Service, it is sufficient to remind the reader of the early African Canon, which we find scrupulously attended to in all the genuine texts, that all prayers during the celebration of the Eucharist were to be addressed to the Father, to the exclusion even of the Son, who was considered in that solemnity as the High Priest, offering up the prayers of his people to the Father.

Indeed, all single passages which appear to run counter to this canon, and still more all which approach to an invocation of the Virgin Mary, show themselves at once to be later insertions: first, by the awkwardness of the place they occupy, which manifestly betrays the interpolation; and then by the infallible documentary proof to which I have alluded before. No such passages ever occur in the parallel texts of the Imperial Greeks, of the Copts, and of the Abyssinians, but only in the one or the other. This completes the proof.

The same arguments hold good on a larger scale. The rituals which can be reduced to one of the two leading Churches of Antioch and Alexandria

have on the whole all the ancient elements in common, although in somewhat different words, and exhibit them, as to the principal parts, in the same sequence: but no two of them ever agree in the later additions.

As to the testimonies respecting the state of ritualism in the Athanasian period (the latest which we have to consider for our purpose as far as the Greek texts are concerned), the most important document is a celebrated canon (can. xix.) of the Council of Laodicea of the year 361, of which Bingham (xv. 1.) has given the text and an excellent explanation. The words are these:

"When the Bishop has finished the sermon, first the Prayer of the *Catechumens* is to be separately prayed: after the Catechumens have left, the Prayer of the *Penitents* is to be said: after these have received the blessing and have withdrawn, the Prayers of the *Believers* are to be read, *three* in number. One, the *first*, is a low prayer: the second and third are to be made by addressing the people aloud."

Bingham has proved that this includes two points. First, a Litany, the deacon pronouncing the objects for which the people are to pray, namely, for the Church, the bishop, the clergy, the sick, poor, and afflicted, and so on; to which the people answer: "Have mercy on us, O God." Secondly, that the presbyter or bishop pronounces a concluding or collecting prayer, called therefore the Collecta super populo.

"This being done, the peace is to be given (the Osculum pacis). After the presbyters have given the peace to the bishop, then also the laymen give the peace: and thus the holy Oblation is gone through, and the clergy alone enter into the precincts of the altar and communicate (there)."

This ordinance gives us also the best opportunity of calling the attention of those who read, and are anxious to understand, ancient liturgical texts, to a circumstance not generally attended to. Our formularies contain, already at a very early period, acts of devotion destined to run parallel with each other. The officiating clergyman has often proposed to himself the form of a private prayer, during the low prayer of the people directed by the exhortations of the deacon, or during the chanting of the people or choir. Then, of course, these parallel services may appear in the copies of the Liturgies as successive services: and it must often have occurred, when troubles came upon a Church, or foreign elements exercised a great influence upon its service, that the meaning of that arrangement was misunderstood. Another source of confusion and of intolerable accumulation of formularies was the fact of prayers, written down for special purposes (for instance, for the commemoration of a departed brother), having crept into the general office. Still, the circumstance by which the liturgical texts, as we now find them, have been mainly corrupted is

this: that the service was changed from a congregational act in which the people took an integral part, into a clerical one with low prayers and "mumblings."

Before entering upon the special examination of the genuine liturgical texts, we must protest against the abuse which has been made, by the two English writers above alluded to, of a supposed authority of the Patriarchal cities in the earlier ages. In the second century, and even in the third, every town of any consideration had certainly its own service, as much as its own constitution; and used, therefore, its liturgical liberty, as we have amply demonstrated and explained in the two preceding volumes. There was an early influence, but no authority beyond the natural limits. Alexandria had a position of its own: Antioch was the mother-Church of Asia (for Jerusalem disappears as a leading Church after the destruction), but even the great Syrian towns around her enjoyed their independence.

FIRST CHAPTER.

A.

The Communion Service of the Church of Alexandria, or the Liturgy of St. Mark.

A documentary Specimen of the Eucharistic Service according to the Alexandrian Church, in the Age of Polycarp, about the Middle of the Second Century.

If the amplification of the ancient Liturgy preserved to us by the Abyssinians was already a received ecclesiastical formulary in the time of Origen, or about the year 230, it is clear that it cannot have been established later than about the year 200. It follows from this, that the origin of the groundwork itself can scarcely have been later than about 150. But the Apostolic beauty and simplicity of the ancient primitive form speaks best for itself. We give it therefore here in an English translation, referring our learned readers to the original text.

THE EUCHARIST, OR THANKSGIVING.

THE Lord be with you all:
And with thy spirit.
Lift up your hearts:
We have lifted them up unto the Lord.
Let us give thanks to the Lord:
It is right and meet.

We give Thee thanks, O Lord, through Thy beloved Son Jesus Christ, whom in the last days Thou hast sent to us, a Saviour and Redeemer, the angel of Thy counsel, the Word which is of Thee, through which Thou hast made all things by Thy will. And Thou hast sent Him from heaven into the womb of the Virgin. He was made flesh and was borne in her womb. And He was manifested Thy Son by the Holy Ghost that He might fulfil Thy will: and that He might gather Thee a people by expanding His hands: He suffered that He might liberate the sufferers who confide in Thee. He was by His will given over to suffer death, that He might dissolve death and break the bonds of Satan, and that He might tread hell under His feet, and bring out the saints and make ordinances, and bring to light resurrection.

He, therefore, took the bread, and gave thanks and said: Take, eat, this is my body, which is broken for you. And likewise the cup, and said: This is my blood, which is shed for you; do this, as oft as ye shall do it, in remembrance of me.

(*Oblation and Consecration of People and Elements.*)

Recollecting, therefore, His death and His resurrection, we offer to Thee this bread and this cup, giving thanks to Thee that Thou hast made us worthy to stand before Thee, and perform the office of priests to Thee: and we supplicate and pray Thee, that Thou mayest send Thy Holy Spirit upon the offerings of this Church, and likewise that Thou mayest give holiness to all those who partake of them; that they may be filled with the Holy Ghost, that their faith may be confirmed in truth, that they may praise and magnify Thee in Thy Son Jesus Christ, in whom be to Thee praise and power in the Holy Church, now and ever, and in ages of ages. *Amen.*

The People: As it was, is, and shall be, in generations of generations, and in ages of ages. *Amen.*

The Deacon: You who stand, bow down your heads.

(*Special Consecration of the kneeling People.*)

Eternal Lord, who knowest what is hidden: Thy people have bowed down to Thee their heads, and have laid down before Thee the hardness of heart and flesh. Look down upon them from Thy established habitation, and bless these men and these women. Strengthen them by the virtue of Thy right hand, and protect them from all evil suffering. Be Thou their guardian, as well of their bodies as of their souls. Increase to them and to us faith and fear through Thy only Son, in whom be to Thee with Him and with the Holy Spirit, praise and power, for ever, and in ages of ages. *Amen.*

The Deacon: Let us look up.

The Bishop: The Holy to those who are holy.

The People: One alone is Holy, the Father:
One alone is Holy, the Son:
One alone is Holy, the Spirit.

The Bishop: The Lord be with you all.

The People: And with thy Spirit.

Hymn (of Thanksgiving).

[The People draw near and partake of the Communion.]

(*Prayer after the Communion of the People.*)

Lord, Ruler of all, Father of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ: we render Thee thanks, that Thou hast vouchsafed to us to partake of Thy holy mystery: may it not be to us to judgment nor to condemnation, but

to the renewing of the soul, of the body, and of the mind: through Thy only Son, in whom, &c.

The People: Amen.

The Presbyter: The Lord be with you all.

[The Imposition of Hands after the Communion.]

(*Final Consecration, or Sealing of the People.*)

Eternal Lord, who governest all things: Father of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ: Bless these Thy servants and these Thy handmaidens. Protect and help and save them by the power of Thy angels. Keep and strengthen them in Thy fear through Thy Majesty; enlighten them that they may think of what is of Thee: and grant to them that they may believe what is of Thee. Give to them concord without sin and wrath: through Thy only Son, in whom, &c.

The People: Amen.

The Bishop: The Lord be with you all.

The People: And with Thy spirit.

The Deacon: Go home in peace.

[This is the end of the Thanksgiving.]

B.

THE PRECATORY PRAYER, AS USED IN THE TIME OF ORIGEN.

THE Prayer for all Conditions of Men, in the Alexandrian Liturgy, was inserted into the preceding Liturgy after the first Prayer of Thanksgiving. It

is alluded to by Origen in the first half of the third century, and therefore cannot have been composed later than the beginning of it. The text of it is as follows:

We most earnestly beseech Thee, O thou lover of mankind, to be mindful of the one holy Catholic and Apostolic Church, which is spread over the face of the whole earth: be mindful, O Lord, of all Thy people, the flocks of Thy fold.

Send down from heaven into our hearts that peace, which the world cannot give, and that of this world also.

Guide in peace the king, the armies, the commanders, the senate, the councils, the people, the neighbourhood, our coming in, and our going out.

O King of Peace, give us Thy peace; keep us in love and charity; be our God, for we know none besides Thee; we call upon Thy name: grant unto our souls the life of righteousness, that the death of sin may not prevail against us, or any of Thy people.

Visit, O Lord, and heal those who are sick, according to Thy pity and compassion; turn from them and from us all sickness and diseases; restore them to, and confirm them in, their strength. Raise up those who have lingered under long and tedious indispositions; succour those who are vexed with unclean spirits. Relieve those who are in prisons or in the mines, under accusations or condemnations, in exile or in slavery, or loaded with grievous tribute; deliver them all, for Thou art our God who loosest those who are in bonds, and raisest up those who are oppressed; the hope of the hopeless, the helper of the helpless, the lifter up of those who are fallen, the haven of those who are shipwrecked, the avenger of those who are injured. Give Thy pity, pardon, and refreshment to every Christian soul, whether in affliction or in

error. And, O Lord, Thou physician of soul and body, heal all our infirmities both of soul and body: O Thou, who art the overseer of all flesh, watch over us and heal us by Thy saving health. Be a guide at all times, and in all places, to our brethren who are travelling or about to travel, whether by land or by water; whatever way they pursue their journey, bring them all to a quiet and safe port: be with them in their voyages and on their road, restore them to their friends, and let them receive each other in joy and health. Preserve us also, O Lord, in our pilgrimage through this life from hurt and danger. Send rain out of Thy treasures upon those places which stand in need of it; renew and make glad the face of the earth by its descent, that bringing forth, it may rejoice in the drops thereof. Raise the waters of the river to their just height; renew and make glad the face of the earth by the ascent of them, water its furrows, and increase its produce. Bless, O Lord, the fruits of the earth, and preserve them incorrupt for our use, that we may sow and reap from them. Bless also, O Lord, and crown the year with the riches of Thy goodness, for the sake of the poor, the widow, the fatherless, and the stranger: for the sake of all us, who put our trust in Thee, and call upon Thy holy name: for the eyes of all wait upon Thee, O Lord, and Thou givest them their meat in due season. O Thou that givest food to all flesh, fill our hearts with joy and gladness; give us always what is sufficient for the relief of our necessities, that we may abound in every good work in Jesus Christ our Lord.

Give rest, O Lord our God, to the souls of our fathers and brethren, who are departed in the faith of Christ: be mindful of our forefathers from the beginning of the world, of the patriarchs, prophets, apostles, martyrs, confessors, bishops, saints, just men, and the soul of every one who is gone before us in the faith of Christ.

Give rest to the souls of all these, O Lord our God, in the tabernacles of Thy saints; dispense unto them in Thy kingdom those good things which Thou hast promised, which eye hath not seen, nor ear heard, neither have entered into the heart of man, which Thou hast prepared, O God, for those who love Thy holy name. Give rest to their souls, and vouchsafe them the kingdom of heaven: but grant unto us that we may finish our lives as Christians, well pleasing to Thee, and free from sin, and that we may have our portion and lot with all Thy saints. Receive, O God, unto Thy holy heaven and to Thy intellectual altar in the heaven of heavens, by the ministry of archangels, the eucharistical praises of those that offer sacrifices and oblations to Thee; of those, who would offer much or little, privately or openly, but have it not to offer; of those who have this day brought their offerings. Receive them as Thou didst the gifts of Thy righteous Abel, the sacrifice of our father Abraham, the incense of Zacharias, the alms of Cornelius, and the widow's mite. Receive their offerings of praise and thanksgiving, and for their earthly things give them heavenly, for their temporal, eternal.

This, then, is the origin and progress of the Liturgy of the Church of Alexandria, in the second and third periods of the liturgical development, in its essential parts. It spread, not only over Egypt, Libya, and the Pentapolis, but was, in the fourth century, also introduced into Abyssinia. At that time it had already received the form of the fourth period. We possess the Abyssinian form as it is preserved in use by that

Church. We have, besides, the Greek text, called the Liturgy of St. Mark, used by those among the Christians of Egypt who are united with the see of Constantinople or Rome. Finally, we have a Coptic text (of which the Arabic translation has not yet been found) used by the so-called Jacobites, that is to say, by the independent Christians of the Church of Egypt, anathematized as Monophysites by an equally one-sided and fanatical majority, which was supported by the strong arm of the emperors of Byzantium. They use the Liturgy called that of St. Cyril, from the fanatical Alexandrian patriarch (about 415), to whose doctrine respecting the unity of Christ's nature the Egyptian priests clung, in violent reaction against the more Antiochene speculations of the Council of Chalcedon.

I have placed these three texts in three parallel columns, leaving out what is found only in one of them. What remains gives us the text of the middle of the fourth century.

SECOND CHAPTER.

Communion Service of the Church of Antioch, or the Liturgy of St. James.

THE Liturgy called after St. James, both in the Greek and Syriac, and in all cognate forms, is fully as much corrupted as that of St. Mark, and unfortunately we have not here the same safe basis for reconstructive criticism which the Abyssinian ordinances have preserved to us of the Church of Alexandria. We cannot, therefore, think of restoring the primitive text of the second century; but we may attempt to reconstitute, in its essential parts, the genuine text of the fourth century, and perhaps that of the Origenian age. And, indeed, we are not without critical resources for restoring the ancient text, by consulting, first, the text itself, and then the testimonies of ancient ecclesiastical writers. Now, if, in the first place, we apply the principle above established, that nothing can be primitive which is not common both to the Byzantines and the national Church, the result is remarkable enough. For what remains, as the common heirloom which they had inherited from their fathers, is entirely connected in all its parts, and presents an organic whole, totally distinct from the senseless agglomerations of forms in the

text which we are condemned to read, and so many dispersed congregations in the East to see celebrated. This restored text may therefore be considered as the genuine voice and tradition of the illustrious Church of Antioch; and, if we compare it with the two ante-Nicene forms of the Alexandrian Church, we find that it exhibits a worthy parallel to the Origenian form, or to the Alexandrian Liturgy of the third century, with enough originality to prove itself an independent offshoot of the Apostolic age. The tradition points to Ignatius, the bishop and martyr of Antioch, as having by divine inspiration ordained the Liturgy of that Church, and in particular its psalmody. Psalmody, indeed, is the striking original feature of the Antiochene ritual, from beginning to end. The Trisagion, or the "Holy, holy, holy, Lord God of Sabaoth; Heaven and Earth are full of thy glory," which at Alexandria is evidently a later insertion, appears here in its original place, and must therefore have spread from Antioch to Alexandria, and probably also to Asia Minor and to Byzantium.

The result we gain by this first critical operation is fully confirmed by that of the second, namely, the examination of the passages in the writers of this age which illustrate our service.

Of these, Theodoretus, bishop of Cyrus in Syria in the beginning of the fifth century, when that district belonged to the patriarchate of Antioch, mentions as the beginning of the Communion Service, the Apos-

tolical benediction taken from the conclusion of the Second Epistle to the Corinthians: "The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, and the love of God, and the fellowship of the Holy Ghost be with you all." The Constantinopolitan Communion Service begins with the same Apostolic blessing, which points to a derivation from Antioch.

As to the singing of the 33rd Psalm during the communion, the custom is mentioned by Cyril, bishop of Jerusalem about 340, as that of Jerusalem, and by St. Jerome as that of Palestine.

Cyril has given us, in the eloquent delineation of this holy rite in his fifth Mystagogic Catechesis (printed in vol. iv. B. of Assemani, and translated in Augusti's Denkwürdigkeiten), a complete catechetical commentary on the Liturgy of Jerusalem, which, according to tradition and history, is identical with that of Antioch. We give, therefore, the substance of his commentary, as a liturgical record of what in his time was the established Liturgy, the voice of the Church, and as securing, at all events, the framework of the Liturgy in the early part of the fourth century:

1. The *Preface.* "Sursum corda . . . Dignum et justum est."

2. The *Thanksgiving.* As to this, Cyril says:

"We then make mention of heaven and earth and sea, sun and moon, stars, and every creature,

rational and irrational, visible and invisible: angels, archangels, virtues, dominions, principalities, powers, thrones, many-faced cherubim, as if we were saying those words of David, 'Praise ye the Lord with me' (Ps. xxxiv. 3.). We also make mention of the seraphim whom Isaiah saw standing around the throne of God, and covering with two wings their faces, and with two their feet, and with two flying, and saying: 'Holy, holy, holy, Lord God of Sabaoth.' We recite this doctrine of things divine which has been delivered unto us by the seraphim, that we may join in praise with the celestial hosts.

"After having sanctified ourselves with spiritual praises, we supplicate our gracious God, that He may send his Holy Spirit on the offerings, so as to make the bread the body, the wine the blood, of Christ. For whatever the Holy Spirit touches becomes sanctified and changed.

"When the spiritual sacrifice, the unbloody worship is achieved, we supplicate God over that victim of propitiation for the general peace of the Churches, for the right ordering of the world, for the emperors, for the soldiers, and . . . for those who are sick and afflicted, and generally we all pray and offer this victim for all who require help.

"Afterwards we also remember those who have fallen asleep: first the patriarchs, prophets, apostles, martyrs, that God may accept our petition through their prayers and recommendations. After which

we also pray for the defunct holy fathers and bishops, and in general for all our departed brethren; believing the greatest help for those souls to be the prayer made at the time when the holy and most awful victim lies there." [An absurd defence of this practice follows, against which many, as he himself avows, remonstrated.]

"This being done, we recite that prayer which our Saviour Himself delivered unto the disciples, calling God, with a pure conscience, our Father, and saying, 'Our Father, which art in Heaven.'" [Then follows an explanation of the single petitions.]

"When that prayer is finished, thou sayest: *Amen*, which means: 'May it be done,' thus sealing all which is contained in this prayer, delivered to us by God.

"After this has been performed, the priest says: '*The Holy to those who are holy.*' Holy are the offerings lying there; holy are ye too, having been thought worthy to receive the gifts of the Holy Spirit. The holy things, therefore, belong to those who are holy. You then answer: '*One is holy, One is the Lord Jesus Christ*' [the conclusion of the primitive Christian hymn]. For One, indeed, is holy by nature; but we are holy also, yet not by nature, but by participation and by the practice of works and by vows.

"Thou then hearest the voice of the Precentor, who with a divine melody invites you to the communion of the holy mysteries, and says: '*O taste and see that*

the Lord is good' (Ps. xxxiv.). Do not let this be judged and appreciated by the palate, but by a faith which knoweth no doubt. For those who taste are bidden to taste, not bread and wine, but the symbols (antitypes) of the body and blood of Christ.

" Therefore, drawing near, do not stretch out the palm or separate the fingers, but place thy right like a throne, as it were, under thy left, and receive the body of Christ with the concave hand, answering, *Amen.* And having cautiously sanctified thy eyes by coming in contact with the holy body, partake of it, taking care that nothing of it be lost. For consider what thou lettest fall as a diminution of thy own members. For say, if any one had given to thee gold dust, wouldst thou not employ the greatest caution and diligence, that nothing of it might perish and suffer any damage? Wilt thou then not take care, with more caution and vigilance, that not a crumb fall to the ground, of what is so much more precious than gold and gems?

" After having partaken of the body of Christ, draw near to the cup, not stretching out thy hand, but bending down the neck as worshipping and venerating, and say, *Amen,* and thou also wilt be sanctified with partaking of the blood of Christ. And when the moisture is still on thy lips, touch them with thy hands and sanctify thy eyes and forehead, and the other senses.

" Lastly, wait for the prayer [the Thanksgiving

after the Communion], and offer thanks to God, who has vouchafed to thee the participation in such mysteries.

"Keep these traditions inviolate, and yourselves without offence. Do not cut yourselves off from the Communion, and do not defraud yourselves of these holy and spiritual mysteries, on account of the pollution of your sins. *And the very God of peace sanctify you wholly, and your whole spirit and soul and body be preserved blameless unto the coming of our Lord Jesus Christ* (1 Thess. v. 23.). To Him, with the Father, and the Holy Ghost, be glory, honour, and dominion, now and ever, and for ages of ages. Amen."

We have given the whole of this passage, because it shows us what the text and interpretation of the Liturgy were at Jerusalem and Antioch.

Upon comparing this Liturgy with the text which results from the collation of the existing Liturgies of the Byzantines and the Nationals (called Nestorians), we find that they perfectly agree, both in order and tenour.

The allusions to the Communion Service in the works of Ephrem Syrus, deacon of Edessa about the year 350, confirm all this without adding any new feature. He defines the Prayer of Invocation thus: a prayer that the Holy Spirit may descend and sanctify the offerings laid out on earth.

The eloquent and spiritual passages in St. John

Chrysostom, who was some time presbyter of Antioch, respecting the Communion Service, have been so carefully extracted by Bingham, that little more can be gleaned from his writings. We reserve such of these passages as bear directly upon the text, for the historical commentary on the Liturgy which bears the name of that great man, and is now the leading form of worship in the East. But, as to the Church of Antioch, we have a learned commentary, written about the middle of the seventh century by James, bishop of Edessa, one of the most learned Syrian writers, who himself composed a Liturgy.* This work, printed in the "Bibliotheca orientalis" of the elder Assemani, is the only rational liturgical commentary on the Eastern Liturgies which exists: it is short, historical, and philosophical. The author points out very clearly the differences between the rituals

* Bibl. Orient. i. 479. Jacobi Episcopi Edesseni Epistola ad Thomam Presbyterum de Ritu Missæ Syrorum. The text is given from the Expositio Missæ of Dionysius Barsalibæus, a late Syrian writer of the 12th century Cf. p. 520 and tom. ii. 176. The long and mystical exposition of Barsalibi, in which it is found incorporated, is falsely ascribed to John Maro, the supposed father of the Maronites (about 700), and has been edited in a Latin translation by the (most uncritical and not very honest) younger Assemani (Liturg. Orient. lib. iv. tom. ii. 227—397.), in fifty chapters, of which chap. iv. and chap. v. to the words towards the end, "liturgiæ pars censeantur," are the old treatise. That mentioned in Bibl. Orient. ii. 176. is in twenty chapters. The Liturgy composed by James of Edessa begins with "Deus universorum pater et Dominus dominantium." (Bibl. Orient. i. 476.)

of Antioch and of Alexandria. I have given in the edition of the Liturgy of St. James, all the important passages bearing upon the text. I have, besides, shown in the Notes, that this Liturgy betrays signs of having gone through the process of incorporation into the Antiochene Constitutions of the Apostles, just as we find has been the case with the most ancient Liturgy of the Church of Alexandria.

The Liturgy inserted into the eighth book of the Greek Constitutions is itself most evidently an attempt to embody into the ancient traditional Liturgy of the Church of Antioch one of the two theological systems respecting the person of Christ, which, in those eventful seventy years between Origen and the Council of Nice, strove for the mastery in the Church. It is neither Arian nor Athanasian, but, on the whole, nearer to the first. For this reason I have given the corrected text of this Liturgy as an appendix to the second chapter of the Reliquiæ Liturgicæ.

The Church of Antioch must, of course, have had its complete form of traditional Liturgy at the time of Justin Martyr and of Polycarp, as well as the Church of Alexandria. But unfortunately this form is lost, if we look to the texts preserved to us. The style of the most ancient part of the Liturgy of St. James, such as we have restored it from the concordant parts of the Greek and Syriac texts, bears

upon it the mark of the beginning of the third century, or of the earlier part of the age of Hippolytus. It is written with art, but yet not rhetorically. Still we can only by a critical process separate that part from the rest. The Liturgy called after St. James is a genuine Liturgy; that is to say, it is the one used in the Church of Antioch in the seventh century: it is an ancient Liturgy enlarged, but not rewritten. But, as our text stands, its ancient portions must, on the whole, be considered as the expression of the fourth century.

The traditional Liturgy, however, of the Church of Antioch must have been committed to writing in the form of an Apostolic composition; and I believe we have a corruption of it still extant in that Liturgy of the corrupted text of the eighth book of the Constitutions of the Apostles. It bears, in its present shape, the unequivocal signs of a rhetorical rewriting of that lost traditional form. which must have been the groundwork of our Liturgy of St. James. It is the production of a learned ritualist of the same school which gave us the second interpolation of Ignatius. It presents in a liturgical form a theological system of that Subordinatianism which afterwards verged into Arianism, foisted upon a simple traditional text in order to claim the authority of Apostolic tradition. It is intolerably diffuse and prolix: but its component parts are very few. It has not the Lord's Prayer with the introductory (and often also subsequent)

Liturgical Prayer, which the Liturgies of the third century all exhibit. Not (as Bingham, xv. 3. 28., conjectures) as if the Lord's Prayer at any time in the first four centuries could have been omitted in the celebration of the Eucharist. But the ancient ritualistic documents suppose its place to be known: it was omitted in them, exactly as the words of free prayer in the Thanksgiving were not consigned to writing. The whole scheme of that Liturgy of the eighth book is as follows:

Præfatio: Sursum corda.

Gratiarum actio: Vere dignum est justum est. (Beginning with creation, ending with Christ's doings and sufferings.)

Words of Institution [Memores igitur]: In nocte qua, &c.

Invocation: Mitte Spiritum S. ut faciat hunc panem, &c.

Commemoration of the Church triumphant and militant, concluding with Doxology.

(Here the Lord's Prayer came in.)

Communion: Sancta sanctis! Unus Sanctus, &c. Ps. xxxiv.

Thanksgiving for Communion.

Blessing.

The Commemoration is the only element which the traditional Liturgy of the Apostolic age of the Church of Alexandria has not in common with this remodelled Apostolic text. But the Liturgy to which Origen and Hippolytus listened had already

this Commemoration as an integral part. That our text is not derived from the Alexandrian ritual is proved by the very fact of the Commemoration having been inserted, not before the Thanksgiving as in the Alexandrian rite, but after it as in the Antiochene and Greek Liturgies; a difference already pointed out by James of Edessa, in the seventh century. Indeed I believe that all the Liturgies of the East belong to one of the two primitive families hitherto considered, the Alexandrian and the Antiochene.

We may therefore say, that as the Liturgy of St. Mark represents for Alexandria the legitimate development of the lost traditional Liturgy of the second century, so that of the eighth book exhibits its illegitimate and later *rifacimento* for Antioch. The one is the voice of the Church in the beginning of the age of Hippolytus; the other is the work of a learned falsifier of old texts, who lived in the latter part of the century, shortly after Malchion had formulized at Antioch the orthodox doctrine against Paul of Samosata, the bishop in the years 260—274. (See his fragments in Routh, Reliq. vol. iii.)

In short, I believe the author of this Liturgy was a rhetorical divine like Malchion, some ten or twenty years later. He has Malchion's phraseology almost literally, and intends to represent it as Apostolical. The Liturgy has none of the shibboleths of the Arian

school. It is based upon the Johannean doctrine of the Logos, developed as Monarchianism throughout. Its evident intention is to identify this development with the Apostolical doctrine. Cyprian's time engendered both the baptism of new-born infants and the communion of children in the arms of their mothers. Our text alone, of all extant Liturgies, supposes such children to be regular communicants.* The abuse remained, and was of course justified by theologians: but the genuine liturgical texts kept clear of it.†

We may add that, whether the author was an Antiochene or not, his work was based upon the traditional Liturgy of that primitive and influential Church.

I have marked in this diffuse text the passages which correspond verbally, or almost verbally, with

* In the Exord.: Τὰ παιδιὰ προσλαμβάνεσθε αἱ μητέρες. Before the Communion τὰ παιδιὰ are mentioned in the rubric after the women.

† St. Augustin, in order to justify the rite and its unqualified approbation, yea recommendation, by Cyprian, attempts with African sophistry to prove that children cannot be saved without it, *because* Christ says in the Gospel of St. John (vi. 53.): "Except ye eat the flesh of the Son of Man, and drink his blood, ye have no life in you"; his cotemporary, pope Innocent I., says the same. The Council of Trent abolished this unhallowed abuse, but condemned those who maintain that the Fathers said it was necessary for salvation; which is exactly what they do say, as Bingham most patiently has proved (xv. 4. 7.). That condemnation is undoubtedly, if not an Apostolic, certainly a very emphatic mode of silencing people, but it cannot alter the facts. *E pur si muove!*

the Liturgy of St. James, not as being a derivation from it, but as proofs that both rested upon the same traditional and ritualistic basis. The corresponding passages occur in the same sequence in both, and belong to the original stock of the Antiochene Liturgy of the fourth century, such as I have restored it.

But I believe there exists still a very curious positive proof that our text not only represents the Antiochene Liturgy, but preserves even some parts which disappeared when, in the course of the third century, the simple rude form of tradition was fashioned into the language of artistic composition. Chrysostom, in his Homily on Eustathius, the bishop of Antioch about 330, says that great and pious man thought the very Liturgy of the Church clearly taught him that it was his duty to include the whole Church in his solicitude. For (Chrysostom's words) he says thus: "if we must pray *for the Universal Church which extends itself from one end of the inhabited globe to the other;* it is much more our duty to show that we care for the whole of it." The words marked have all the appearance of being the words of the Liturgy, and therefore of that used by the bishop of Antioch, who is introduced speaking. They do not express simply the idea, but a sacred form, and part of the formulary. Now they do not occur in the Liturgy of St. James: but they are the very first words of the Commemoration Prayer

for the Universal Church in the Liturgy of the eighth book of the Constitutions.

Now I wish to state expressly, that I do not mean to say there was only one fixed form in the Church of Antioch during the earlier part of the second century, and that this was literally the text which our impostor had before him. The free element predominated so much at that time in the whole Church, that what was written down as the ancient tradition, could express only one of many collateral rites used within the same province or district.

Thus there are in the Liturgy of the eighth book certain formulas which we meet with in the Liturgy called after St. Basil; that is to say, in the more ancient form of the Liturgy adopted in Byzantium.

When in the course of the fourth century a consolidation of the sacramental Liturgies took place, by or through the leading men of the Eastern Churches, the peculiar type of the particular Church, as of that of Alexandria or of Antioch, was preserved: but within that framework ancient formulas were also received from other parts of Christendom, where they had been preserved as traditional, or, as it was then called, Apostolical.

The Liturgy of Byzantium owes its peculiar form to this eclecticism. It is derived from the Antiochene rite, as to the general framework and most of the primitive materials: but it has been enriched by that hierarchically judicious process of eclecticism,

which rendered the Liturgies of Constantinople and of Rome in some respects superior to the provincial, but more traditional, Liturgies of the other Churches.

The Antiochene form is certainly the principal groundwork of the Constantinopolitan Liturgies, which have exercised so decided an influence upon Eastern Christendom, and perhaps, through Asia Minor, upon the Western Churches.

But there is no doubt that it possessed besides a considerable influence, and subsequently a decided authority, over a considerable portion of Asia, and in particular over a part of Asia Minor. The existence of an original Liturgy of Asia Minor, distinct from the Antiochene, is a mere conjecture; we have no quotations or other evidence to support it. Historical criticism, therefore, can take no notice of any such conjectures. What we know is, that a learned Syrian bishop, only fifty years later than Gregory the Great, expressly states that there were but two great classes of ancient Liturgies, and that the "provinces inhabited by the Greeks" agreed in the distinctive part with Antioch.

The hope of finding a pure text in Assyria, among the Syrian Christians, called Nestorians by the Byzantines and their followers, has been sadly disappointed by the work of the Rev. G. P. Badger on those unfortunate victims of Kurdish cruelty, Turkish double-dealing, Roman intrigues, and Romanizing blindness. (See Note at the end of this Introduction.)

THIRD CHAPTER.

The Sacramental Liturgy of the Church of Constantinople.

As the Imperial Court took so much care of the Church and the Liturgy, from the days of Theodosius down to those of Justinian and Justin, we must not expect to find here a ritual of very high antiquity. The Byzantine ritual marks a new period in Liturgical composition, an eclectic refinement upon traditional and provincial forms; in short, what the Roman Liturgy is in the Western Churches.

Although a certain school in this country seems to despise historical criticism, to such a degree as to disdain even the timid criticism of the Romanist writers of the seventeenth century, and to adopt the exploded errors of Baronius and Bellarmine, I think it unnecessary and unworthy to go back to such elementary discussions, and to prove what requires no proof in the eyes of any scholar; namely, that the two remarkable and world-governing Liturgies of St. Basil and St. Chrysostom are *not* the work of these Fathers, nor two essentially different forms, but that the one is a slight modification, and on the whole an abridgment, of the other. Unfortunately we have as yet no palimpsest manuscript of an early date (fifth or sixth century), which would

give us a genuine text, and consequently begin with the Anaphora or the Osculum Pacis. All I have been able to find is an ancient diptych of the end of the eighth century, and therefore nearly cotemporary with the Barberini MS.* Thus the

* It is impossible to say what treasures of general literature, and of ancient Liturgies, may be hidden in the palimpsest manuscripts of such libraries as obstinately refuse permission to examine them by the (now perfectly safe) application of chemical reagents: and I am sorry to be obliged to say that some of the great European Libraries are still among this number, although in the Vatican Library no such prohibition exists. The most precious relic of liturgical antiquity which I have been able to discover is a consular diptych (consuls of the year 526) once in the collection of M. de Fejervari, now in the possession of M. de Pulzski, who has kindly allowed me to examine it. This diptych has been used for engraving upon it (most incorrectly) the beginning of the Greek Liturgy:

Στομεγ καλος
Στομεν ευλαβος
Στομεν μετα φοβου
Προσχομεν τι αγια αναφοR (Latin r.)
Εν ιρινη τω θεω προσφεριεν
Ελεως ειρινη
Θυσια αινεσεως
η αγαπιτου θεου και πατρος
και η χαρης του κυριου και θεου
και σωτηρος ἡμῶν Ιησοῦ Χριστου
εφ ημας

Then follows the indication of the eleventh year (ΙΑ ΕΤΙ) ΑΔΡΙΑΝΟΥ ΠΑΤΡΙΑΡΧ ΠΟΛ (Hadrian I. pope, 772-793).

Μνησθητι κυριε τοῦ δουλου σου Ιωαννου
ελαχιστου πρεσβυτερου μονης της αγιας Αγαθης. Αμην.

only documentary form which we can make the basis of our criticism is the text exhibited by the ancient Barberini manuscript. This text is here given for the first time. In order to enable every one to judge of the relation of these two Liturgies to each other, their texts have been placed in parallel columns.

I have added the text of the Liturgy of the *Presanctified* (of the preconsecrated elements), ascribed to Basil, and intended to be used (as it is used throughout the East) in the season of Lent. This form is peculiar to the Eastern Church from an early period, and rests upon the custom of not making offerings in Lent, except on Saturdays and Sundays. The Alexandrian Constitutions seem to prove that the custom, at this period at all events, did not extend to that Church and its dependencies.

The idea of the spiritual self-sacrifice of the congregation, and its act of consecration, by the Invocation and the Lord's Prayer, in the sense explained above, is still strongly and clearly expressed in these texts.

I shall be best able to make this clear to the

The church or parish of St. Agatha belongs, probably, to Calabria or to Sicily: both were under the patriarchate of Rome, and used, predominantly at least, the Greek service. The orthography agrees perfectly with the time of Hadrian I. (Hadrian II. reigned only five years, from 867 to 872), whose name is mentioned at the bottom again, as "Ποιμένος ἡμῶν."

general reader by exhibiting a view of the whole tenour of this important Liturgy:

In the first prayer of the Believers (introductory prayer of the person offering) it is said:

> "Lord . . . . . make us strong *by the power of the Holy Spirit* for Thy service, in order that we, standing uncondemned before Thy Holy Majesty, may offer Thee the sacrifice of praise."

And in the second prayer of the Believers, which is its continuation, destined to be said in silence during the arrangement of the offertory and the singing of the choir:

> "God . . . . . give us strength, through the power of Thy Holy Spirit, for this service, *and give us speech when we open our mouth to call down the grace of Thy Holy Spirit* on the gifts which are now to be offered."

And in the third prayer of the Believers, to be said after the gifts are set in order, and the Hallelujah sung:

> "Give us the grace, O Lord, to be the servants of Thy new covenant, dispensers of thy Holy Mysteries, in order that we may be able to become worthy to offer *this reasonable and bloodless sacrifice* . . . which Thou wilt accept, and

send down on us, therefore, *the grace of the Holy Spirit.*"

And in the fourth prayer, to be said after the Preface, during the singing of the Trisagion:

"It is truly worthy, O God our Lord, ... to thank Thee, to praise Thee, the only truly existing God, and *to offer Thee*, with downcast hearts and humble spirit, *this our reasonable service.*"

As the quaternio (fasciculus of sixteen pages) which contained the proper prayers of consecration immediately before and after the words of Institution has been torn out, I have devised a method of supplying the part that is missing from a comparison of the official text (which has been dilated into a considerably larger mass) with the genuine text of the so-called Liturgy of St. Chrysostom, as given in the same MS. This Liturgy, which is the foundation of the service usually adopted in all the Greek Churches, is in most parts shorter and more concise, in others however more detailed and ornamented. It exhibits throughout not only the same type, but, on the whole, employs the same expressions. For instance, it says, before the prayer which corresponds with the above second prayer:

"Look upon our prayer, and *cleanse our souls and bodies* from all impurities of the flesh and spirit."

And in the succeeding one (after the oblation):

"Lord, make us *fit* to offer to Thee *gifts and spiritual sacrifice . . . and let Thy Holy Spirit come upon us and upon the gifts which lie before us, and upon Thy whole people.*"

The prayer after the "Holy" is much shorter and more original than the one the end of which is wanting in the Basilian Liturgy of our MS. It runs in its complete form thus:

"With these Heavenly Hosts, we also cry, O merciful Lord, and say: Holy art Thou and All-Holy, Thou and Thine only-begotten Son, and Thy Holy Spirit: Holy art Thou and All-Holy, and glorious is Thy Name, Thou who so lovedst Thy World, that Thou gavest Thy only-begotten Son, that every one who believeth on Him might not perish, but have eternal life:

Who, after He came, and had fulfilled for us all the ordinance of salvation, in the night in which He was betrayed, took bread in His holy, and unspotted, and guiltless hands, and gave thanks, and blessed and brake it, and gave it to His holy Disciples and Apostles, and said: (here follow the words of Institution.)

Answer of the people: Amen.

"*In remembrance now of this Thy redeeming command,* and of all that has been done for us, the Cross, the Grave, the Resurrection on the

third day, the Ascension into Heaven, the Sitting at the right hand of God, and his second and glorious Coming, we offer Thee *Thine of Thine*, and in all and through all we sing to Thee (we praise Thee, we thank Thee, and worship Thee, our God).

"*We offer Thee this reasonable and bloodless service*, and call on Thee, and supplicate, and entreat: *send down Thy Holy Ghost upon us*, and on these gifts which are spread before us, and (breaking the bread) make this bread into the precious Body of Thy Christ, changing it through Thy Holy Spirit: Amen! And what is in the cup into the precious Blood of Thy Christ, changing it through Thy Holy Spirit: Amen! And that they may become to those who partake of them a *cleansing of the soul*, a forgiveness of sins, a communion of the Holy Spirit, a fulfilment of Thy Kingdom, a joyful confidence towards Thee, a judgment not a condemnation.

"*We offer Thee this reasonable service* for the Fathers who have fallen asleep in Faith, the Patriarchs, the Prophets, Apostles, Heralds, Evangelists, Martyrs, Confessors, Abstainers, and every just one who has finished his course in Faith: especially for the Holy, unspotted, all-glorious, blessed, Our Lady, the Mother of God and perpetual Virgin, Mary."

(Followed by the prayer for the Universal Church of Christ and all conditions of men.)

After these preparatory petitions and thanksgivings comes the real Consecration Prayer, the Prayer for the Consecration of the worshipping People, or the Prayer of Sacrifice:

"*To Thee, O gracious Lord, we devote our whole lives and our hopes,* and call on Thee, and supplicate, and entreat: make us worthy to partake of the Heavenly and awful Mysteries of this Thy Holy and Spiritual Table, with a clean conscience, for the remission of sins, for the forgiveness of our omissions, for the communion of the Holy Spirit, for the inheritance of the Kingdom of Heaven, for joyful confidence towards Thee, for judgment not for condemnation; and vouchsafe to us, O Lord, with joy to make bold to call upon Thee, the God and Father in Heaven, and to say:

(THE CONGREGATION.)

Our Father, which art in Heaven:
Hallowed be Thy Name:
Thy Kingdom come:
Thy Will be done, as it is in Heaven so upon the Earth:
Give us this day our daily Bread:
Forgive us our Debts, as we forgive our Debtors:

And lead us not into Temptation:
But deliver us from Evil:

(THE CLERGYMAN.)

For Thine is the Kingdom and the Power and the Glory for ever and ever.

(THE CONGREGATION.)

Amen."

Then the Communion takes place, preceded by the Salutation of Peace and the Blessing.

It is evident that the culminating point, the acme, is the prayer which immediately precedes the Communion, and that this concerns the real sacrifice, and is consequently to be considered as the true Consecration Prayer. We therefore subjoin here the corresponding form of this prayer, according to the ancient text of the Liturgy of St. Basil:

"O our God, Thou God of Salvation, *teach us to offer Thee worthy thanks* for Thy goodness which Thou hast showed us. Thou art our God, and acceptest these gifts. Purify us from all blemishes of the flesh and spirit, and teach us to practise holiness in Thy fear, that we may receive in pure testimony of our conscience the portion of Thy blessings, and *may be made clean* by the holy Body and Blood of Thy Christ, and worthily receiving them in us, may have *Christ dwelling in our hearts, and become a*

temple of the Holy Ghost. Yea, our God, let no one become guilty by these Thy awful and Heavenly Mysteries, nor weak in soul and body through the unworthy partaking thereof: but grant to us to be worthy, so long as we live, to receive the hope of Thy blessings as the food on the way to Eternal Life, and as an acceptable justification before the fearful judgment-seat of Christ, that we, with all Saints who have been acceptable to Thee from the beginning, may be partakers of the eternal good things which Thou hast prepared for them that love Thee; and make us worthy, O Lord, sincerely and uncondemned, to be bold to call upon Thee, the Heavenly God and Father, and to say:"

(The Lord's Prayer as above, salutation of Peace and Blessing.)

The general type of the worship, as based upon the custom of the third century, and fixed by standing formularies, with amplified ceremonies, in the course of the fourth, is consequently the following:

Preparatory acts:

The symbolical Oblation, ending with the words of Institution.

The general Petition and Thanksgiving: based upon the Invocation of the Holy Spirit, as above explained.

The real Sacrificial act:

The Prayer by which the congregation consecrate themselves (by a vow of thankfulness) to God through Christ: concluding with the Lord's Prayer.

The Communion, in commemoration of Christ's propitiatory death.

The Liturgy called after Basil is, therefore, very likely the bridge of the Antiochene rite to that of Byzantium.

As to any further conjecture, historical criticism must move the previous question: On what document does it rest? For instance, it certainly is a very ingenious remark of Palmer's (i. 192. and following), that the Armenian Liturgy might be essentially that used in the Church of Cæsarea in Cappadocia at the time of Basil the Great, and connected with the name of Theodorus or of Gregory the Illuminator. But if we test this conjecture by the critical method discussed above, and assume as the original text of the fourth century what is common to the Greek Liturgy of St. Basil according to the Barberini MS., and the genuine Armenian text, we find nothing but a general analogy between them. Nor can we venture to throw out the conjecture, that, because the Armenian text has come down to us only through the suspected channel of the Roman Propaganda, that connexion has therefore been obscured. Thanks to the Russian researches of the Rev. J. M. Neale

(i. 318. seq. and vol. ii.) we have since obtained a a faithful English translation, made by the Rev. R. W. Blackmore from the Russian version of the Armenian archbishop Dolgorucky, published at St. Petersburg in 1799. Having compared this text with my Greek one of St. Basil, I find that they agree only in a very few inconclusive passages; whereas, whenever the groundwork is identical, the ancient elements strictly and constantly harmonize.

The most important point is, that the Byzantine Liturgy was preferred to the Western, when, in or about 987, the Grand-Duke Vladimir, Olga's grandson, sent an embassy to Constantinople, in the reign of Basilius Porphyrogenitus, in order to become acquainted with the worship in the imperial church of Sancta Sophia. The accounts, both of Nestor and of a Greek chronicler published by Banduri, mention on this occasion*, that the Russian ambassadors

* La Chronique de Nestor, traduite par Louis Paris; Paris, 1834; chap. viii. (i. p. 129.):

(987, Vladimir.) "Nous allâmes de là (des Bolgares) chez les Allemands: nous vîmes leurs églises et leur manière de prier; mais il n'y a là non plus ni ornemens ni beauté. Enfin nous arrivâmes chez les Grecs: on nous conduisit dans les lieux où se célèbre le service divin: nous ne savons pas trop si nous n'étions pas dans le ciel; car, en vérité, sur la terre il est impossible de trouver tant de richesse et de magnificence. Nous ne pourrions vous raconter ce que nous avons vu: tout ce que nous pouvons croire, *c'est que vraisemblablement on se trouve là en présence de Dieu*, et que le service divin des autres pays y est totalement éclipsé. Nous n'oublierons jamais tant de grandeur,

were particularly struck by the sight of people falling upon their knees when the deacons and subdeacons

Quiconque a gouté d'un si doux spectacle, ne trouvera plus nulle part rien qui lui plaise; aussi ne voulons-nous plus demeurer ici."

The account of the Byzantine writer in Banduri (Imperium Orientale, tom. ii. Animadversiones in Constantin. Porphyrog. p. 122.) is thus faithfully extracted by Karamsin (Histoire de la Russie, t. i. note 214. (to page 258—264.): "Le sage Prince expédia à Constantinople quatre ambassadeurs: ils exposèrent à l'Empereur Basile, le Macédonien (mistake for Porphyrogenite, compare Neander's History of the Church, iv. 117.), qui regnait alors sur la Grèce, la cause de leur voyage. Ce prince se fit un plaisir de les confier à quelques gens instruits, qui leur montrèrent les curiosités de la ville, et répondirent à leurs questions. Les Russes arrivèrent enfin dans la célèbre église de Sainte Sophie au moment ou l'on y célébrait un service solennel; j'ignore si ce fût le jour de Saint-Jean-Chrysostôme, ou celui de l'Assomption de la Sainte-Vierge. Les ambassadeurs considérèrent avec curiosité le temple et les cérémonies religieuses. La multitude des lumières et le chant des hymnes saintes les saisirent d'étonnement. Ayant entendu, après vêpres et matines, la liturgie, les Russes voulurent savoir ce que signifiait la petite et la grande entrée (ἡ μικρὰ καὶ ἡ μεγάλη εἴσόδος), pourquoi les diacres et soudiacres sortent du sanctuaire avec des flambeaux, et pourquoi le peuple tombait à genoux en s'écriant: 'Kyrie eleison.' Les payens regardaient tout cela avec indifférence, quoique avec attention. Mais le Dieu de miséricorde leur désilla les yeux, afin qu'ils vissent un grand miracle, et qu'ils connussent la vérité. . . . . étonnés de ce phénomène extraordinaire, ils prirent leurs guides par la main, et leur dirent: 'Tout était ici effrayant et majestueux, mais ce que nous venons d'apercevoir est surnaturel. Nous avons vu de jeunes hommes ailés, vêtus de robes éclatantes, qui, sans toucher à terre, chantaient dans les airs, "Agios! agios! agios!" et c'est ce qui nous a le plus

rushed out with torches, or as they said, young men with wings, clad in brilliant robes, scarcely touching the ground, and singing, Holy! Holy! Holy! The sly Byzantine grandees, or the interpreters who served as guides, said that mystery was easily explained: for, when their priests celebrated the divine service, the angels themselves descended from heaven." Now, this account seems to me to receive a striking illustration from a passage in the Homily on the Prodigal Son, printed in the works of St. Chrysostom, but the author of which was probably Severianus, bishop of Gabala in Syria, a cotemporary of Chrysostom. This passage, which, as far as I know, has never been adverted to in connexion with the account of that important embassy, most clearly states that the choristers of the Holy, Holy, Holy, had on their shoulders flying wings of linen, in imitation of the angels*; which proves that the expression in

surpris.' 'Comme vous ignorez tous les mystères du christianisme,' leur répondirent les guides, 'vous ne savez pas que les anges eux-mêmes descendent du ciel, et se mêlent à nos prêtres pour célébrer le service divin.' 'Vous dites vrai,' repliquèrent les Russes; 'nous n'avons pas besoin d'autres preuves, car nous avons tout vu de nos propres yeux. Renvoyez-nous dans notre patrie, afin que nous rapportions tout ceci à notre prince.'"

* Homil. de Filio prodigo, Bingham, XIII. 6. 6.: Ἐπίστασθε τὴν πνευματικὴν εὐφροσύνην, οἱ ταύτης γευσάμενοι καὶ μεμνημένοι τῶν φρικτῶν μυστηρίων, τῶν λειτουργῶν τῆς θείας ἱερουργίας, τῶν μιμουμένων τὰς τῶν ἀγγέλων πτέρυγας ταῖς λεπταῖς ὀθόναις ταῖς ἐπὶ τῶν ἀριστερῶν ὤμων κειμέναις, καὶ ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ περιτρεχόντων

the Liturgy of St. Chrysostom, respecting those choristers, "they who mystically imitate the cherubim," is to be understood literally.

The philosophers of the eighteenth century would undoubtedly have been delighted with this anecdote, as being one of those facts which go to prove that great events are often decided by very small circumstances, and not unfrequently by fancies, and pious or impious fictions. I believe in the substantial truth of the Byzantine account, because the principal part of it is borne out by Nestor, who must have known men of the age of Vladimir, and because that peculiar trait of Slavonic enthusiasm and cool Byzantine imposition bears upon it the stamp of truth. But the whole is a proof that Olga had anticipated the instinct of her nation. The Slavonic tribes embraced the Byzantine worship (thus prophetically attaching their faith to Byzantium and the Sancta Sophia), because it suited their Oriental native character better than the Occidental rite. Besides,

καὶ βοώντων· μή τις τῶν κατηχουμένων! μή τις τῶν μὴ ἐσθιόντων! μή τις τῶν κατασκόπων! μή τις τῶν μὴ δυναμένων θεάσασθαι τὸ οὐράνιον αἷμα, τὸ ἐκχυνόμενον εἰς ἄφεσιν ἁμαρτιῶν! μή τις ἀνάξιος τῆς ζώσης θυσίας! μή τις ἀμύητος! μή τις μὴ δυνάμενος ἀκαθάρτοις χείλεσι προσψαύσασθαι τῶν φρικτῶν μυστηρίων! εἶτα καὶ τῶν ἀγγέλων οὐρανόθεν εὐφημούντων καὶ λεγόντων· ἅγιος ὁ πατὴρ ὃ θελήσας τυθῆναι τὸν μόσχον τὸν σιτευτὸν, τὸν μὴ γνόντα ἁμαρτίαν, καθὼς φησιν ὁ προφήτης Ἡσαΐας, ὃς ἁμαρτίαν οὐκ ἐποίησεν, οὐδὲ εὑρέθη δόλος ἐν τῷ στόματι αὐτοῦ· ἅγιος ὁ υἱὸς, ἅμα καὶ μόσχος, ὁ ἀεὶ θυόμενος ἐκὼν καὶ ἀεὶ ζῶν· ἅγιος ὁ παράκλητος, τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον, τὸ τὴν θυσίαν τελεπουργῆσαν.

Byzantium was, from the time of the Exarchate till the tenth and eleventh centuries, the real centre of art, of taste, and of fashion, particularly in whatever regarded solemnity and magnificence of ceremonies and of dress.

Some Sicilian bishops maintained in the time of Gregory the Great, that in his reform of the Liturgy he had followed throughout the rite of Byzantium. Gregory denies that scornfully. I think he was right as to the letter, although I believe he followed it here and there in the spirit; at least he found the Liturgy established at Byzantium when he revised that of Rome.

As to a connexion between the Liturgies of Byzantium and Rome in the fourth century, we know nothing. But the primitive Roman Liturgy of the first part of the second century was either Greek or connected with Greek sources: it bears a strong resemblance to the Liturgy of Antioch, but it has the Precatory Prayer in the same place as that of Alexandria; which seems to me to prove that it was coeval and substantially identical with that form which is preserved in the Abyssinian Church. The Precatory Prayer was at that period still left a free one, and therefore the Roman bishop might afterwards insert the formulary for this prayer in the same place where the Church of Alexandria has it in the second century, although the groundwork of the Liturgy had come to Rome from the elder Church fo Antioch.

FOURTH CHAPTER.

The Sacramental Liturgies of the African Church, and the Ambrosian, the Gallican, and Mozarabic Liturgies.

THE really critical and luminous book on this subject is "Mabillon de Liturgia Gallicana" (Par. 1729); with which, however, Muratori's "Liturgia vetus," the learned work of the good Prince-Abbot of St. Blasius, "Gerbert de Liturgia Alemannica (S. Blas. 1776)," and Lorenzana's edition of the Mozarabic Liturgy (Rom. 1804), must be compared.

Of the African Liturgy we only know that it was thoroughly Latin and original, presenting in its principal features the general type of the other liturgies. I believe I have restored the complete order of the Service, as it was celebrated in the age of St. Augustin, and substantially in that of Cyprian.

As to the Liturgy of the Church of Milan, commonly called the Ambrosian rite, which was prevalent in a great part of Lombardy up to the time of Charlemagne, its canon is generally supposed to be lost; the Gregorian Canon, in taking its place, having swept away all the corresponding parts of the original liturgy of that ancient and illustrious Church. This, however, is an error. Not only can the whole order of the Consecration Service of the

Ambrosian rite be restored, but the very words of the Consecration Prayer, as used in the seventh and eighth centuries, are preserved in our texts, of which that of Pamelius (1571) is the most genuine.

When the Roman Canon was introduced at Milan, about the time of Charlemagne, the sacerdotal Offertory and the words of Institution (already, in the dim mind of the Western Church, inseparably connected with the real act of the Church, the sacrificial centre of worship) had thrown the ancient Prayer of Consecration into the background. The decisive difference between the two rituals was, that the Ambrosian Prayer of Consecration was ever changing according to the occasion, and had continued since the fourth century to be the subject of liturgical composition, whereas the Roman Prayer of Consecration, *Unde et memores*, was immutable, and had on the whole retained the ancient Greek type. When the Gregorian Canon was introduced at Milan, the Ambrosian form was preserved, as an innocent remnant of antiquity, for the peculiar services on festival days; and thus those forms of the Prayer "Post oblata," which correspond with the Gallican "Post secreta," have come down to us.

As to the relative antiquity of these Ambrosian formularies, we can, I believe, ascertain it only by a comparison with the corresponding prayers of the Gallican and Spanish *Sacramentaria*, and their prototype, the ancient Consecration Prayer of the East.

The Gallican and Spanish Liturgies we possess make no pretensions to have any higher origin than the time when the Goths ruled over Spain and the South of France. They are called Gothic Missals, and the Spanish Liturgy is expressly ascribed to Isidor, bishop of Hispalis, and his elder brother Leander, both the cotemporaries of Gregory the Great. This period (c. 550—650) was the most fertile one for compositions of Sacramentaries of a rhetorical character. They preserved the general type of the Church, but gave a new, and generally more concise, form to parts which had originally been extemporized, but since the end of the fourth century had been extremely lengthened and overloaded. Now the Prayer of Consecration was originally that of the Invocation of the Spirit, for the blessing of the people and their gifts. The next stage of development presents to us a more vague and general prayer for the divine blessing according to Christ's promise and behest. In the last stage we find it dwindled into a form which proves that it appeared to the people almost as a supererogatory prayer, after the sacerdotal Offertory and the words of Institution then already identified with the act of consecration. It derives its tenour merely from the peculiar occasion of the service, a part of Christ's life, or a Saint's day, and founds upon that the general demand of divine blessing. It is not surprising then, that in this stage the prayer should sometimes be addressed to Christ,

although this is against the constant practice and the express law of the Church of the third and fourth centuries.

Now the so-called Ambrosian Liturgy exhibits, with very few exceptions, only this very last stage; whereas the Gallican and Spanish rituals, published by Thomasius, Mabillon, and Muratori, still preserve many formularies of the second epoch. If, therefore, we cannot ascribe to the compilation of these Sacramentaries, a higher age than the seventh century, we shall be obliged to put that Ambrosian, which is before us, to the end of the seventh century or the earlier part of the eighth, in short, in the very last days of the Milanese Liturgy.

So far the texts lead us which were known hitherto. Two palimpsest discoveries, however, constitute a new era for the history of the Communion Service in Western Europe: Niebuhr's St. Gall fragments of 350, and the Carlsruhe palimpsest of the early part of the sixth century, published by Mone in 1850. The Consecration Prayer of St. Gall runs thus:

"O God, Thou Author and Vouchsafer, Furtherer, Giver, and Granter of future immortality . . . . we pray Thee that the spirit of Thy servant (Thy handmaid) may not be committed to the gloomy darknesses of the abyss, or the fiery ovens of Gehenna, or the eternal cold of Tartarus, and may not enter into the place of punishment; but that it may rest in Abraham's bosom, and in the lap of Thy Patriarchs, and there await the time of Resurrection

and the Day of Judgment, with the bliss of the immortality which shall follow it: for the sake of our Lord, who, in the night in which he was betrayed," &c. [here follow the words of Institution.]

"Let now, we entreat Thee, most Merciful Father, through the invocation of Thy name, and through the outpouring of Thy Holy Ghost on all Creatures, this Creature (of Bread and Wine). . . . ."

The expressions about Hades will remind the reader of a fragment of Hippolytus in his description of the same (supra, Vol. I. p. 267.).

I have not included in the testimonies respecting the Gallican Liturgy the Exposition of the Mass ascribed to St. Germanus, bishop of Paris about 555, which has been published by Martene (Anecd. t. v. p. 90.), and is inscribed: "Germanus Episcopus Parisius scripsit de Missa."

The barbarous style, and the omission of the Consecration Prayers, or the canon*, prove the author to have been a writer of the eighth century, at the end of the Gallican Liturgy.

* All he says about this part is the following:

"*Sursum corda* sacerdos habere admonet. *Confractio* et commixtio corporis Domini tantis mysteriis declarata antiquitus Sanctis Patribus fuit. In hac confractione Sacerdos vult augere, ibidem debet addere, quia tunc cœlestia terrenis miscentur. Sacerdote autem frangente, supplex clerus psaltet Antiphona (sic). *Oratio* vero *dominica* pro hoc ibidem ponitur, ut omnis oratio nostra in Dominica oratione claudatur. Sacerdotibus mandavit Dominus benedicere populum. . . . . Ante communionem *benedictio* traditur (Pax, fides, et charitas, etc.)."

FIFTH CHAPTER.

The Sacramental Liturgy of the Church of Rome.

As Mabillon's book is the classical work for the Gallican Liturgy, so is Muratori's "Liturgia Romana vetus" (Venet. 1748, fol.) for the antiquities of the Roman. Le Brun's "Commentary" (1770) is a very sensible although not historically critical work; Cardinal Bona's book (1678), at once sensible and critical, had opened the right way. The first volume of Daniel's "Codex Liturgicus" (3 vols. 1847–1851) contains a useful introduction to this difficult subject.

Before we exhibit the striking peculiarity of the Roman ritual, in its predominantly precatory character, and its tendency to a propitiatory service, we must premise a few words respecting its history. Towards the middle of the fifth century, Leo the Great is said to have inserted some words into the Canon. Towards its close, Gelasius is reported to have composed some proper Prefaces for the Sacramental Service (Vere dignum et justum est, &c.). Pope Vigilius encloses in a letter of the year 538 the text of the Canon "Canonicæ precis," as that which he had received from Apostolic authority. But that enclosure

has not been preserved. Finally, about the year 598, Gregory the Great established the whole Consecration Service, as we are supposed to possess it now. As to the period from Leo to Gregory, it is generally supposed that we possess the Service, as arranged by Leo the Great, in a Sacramentarium published by Blanchini from a MS. at Verona (which, however, mentions the Imperium Francorum, and therefore cannot be older than the ninth century). Muratori thinks its most ancient elements belong to Felix III., about 488: but, at all events, as it does not contain the Canon, it is entirely useless for our purpose. The learned cardinal Thomasius had published before that a Sacramentarium Gelasianum, from a Vatican MS. of the library of Queen Christina, probably of the tenth century. This certainly contains a Canon, but one so like that of Gregory, that none but controversialists can doubt of their identity.

Nothing can be more contrary to the general history of the Liturgies of the ancient Church, than to doubt that Leo the Great (about 440) found the Canon of the Roman Church already fixed in its essential parts. But it is impossible to trace this text back to the second century, without assuming that some remarkable change had been made in the meantime. A tradition, preserved in a very ignorant manner by the *Liber Pontificalis*, says that Alexander, who was bishop of Rome from 100 to 106, had joined the "Passion of our Lord to the Eucharistic

prayers." These words (which we give, with all the other testimonies, in the Reliquiæ Sacræ) have hitherto appeared inexplicable or entirely mythical. I believe they are neither the one nor the other. They but record a truly historical fact in a very ignorant and rude manner. They mark the epoch of transition from the celebration of the Communion in the Pauline age as a real Supper (Agape), to its celebration in the morning as a service; a transition which in Asia certainly must have taken place already in the Johannean age, or, at the latest, in the first years of the second century. The celebrated description of the younger Pliny (110) implies that the custom was already established in his province, Pontus and Bithynia. The circumstance of Ignatius of Antioch (who died in 107) being brought into connexion with the same phasis, not as the founder, but as one who added to the solemnity of that service by psalmody, entirely agrees with these facts. The tradition of the Roman Church, which fixes for this epoch the very first years of the second century, or about seventeen years after the death of Clemens, the disciple of St. Paul, is therefore, in itself, perfectly credible. But this tradition is moreover the commencement of a series of well connected accounts. The more decided line of demarcation between clergy and laity, which, as the different texts of the Apostolical Constitutions show, must have taken place in the earliest part of the second century, and

of course must have affected also that service, is ascribed to Xystus,* the successor of Alexander (107—116). To the same bishop is ascribed the introduction of the Sanctus, to be said before the words of Institution. We have seen that the liturgical use of the Trisagion originated in the Church of Antioch, probably as part of the liturgical arrangements of Ignatius, and that it was not a part of the Alexandrian Liturgy in the first half of the second century. This account of the "Liber Pontificalis" therefore, when rightly understood, is also borne out by historical facts and authentic records. Now the successor of Xystus was Telesphorus (117—127). To him is attributed a new feature in the development of the earliest Roman Liturgy: he is said, in the "Liber Pontificalis," to have introduced into the nocturnal celebration of the Eucharist at Christmas the ancient morning and sacramental hymn of the Eastern Church, the "Gloria in excelsis," or the so-called Doxologia major, which we afterwards find in the general Eucharistic Service of the Church of Rome, and the Latin text of which is ascribed to Hilarius of Poictiers, in the middle of the fourth century. With Telesphorus the most obscure period of the Roman

* It is curious that in the Syrian Liturgy called after St. Xystus, the "Sanctus" and the "Gloria in excelsis," in all its parts, is predominant throughout. See Renaudot, tome ii. p. 134. His text contains the words of the Institution of the Eucharist, although he confesses in a note that it is wanting "in almost all the copies."

Church terminates: his successor, Hyginus, was the cotemporary of Hadrian, Valentinus, and Marcion; and Pius, who succeeded him, that of Justin Martyr, whose description of the Eucharistic Service harmonizes with the picture which those records of the Roman annalists enable us to form of the earliest state of the Liturgy of that Church. Under the next pontificate, that of Anicetus (150—163), Polycarp came to Rome. Clemens of Alexandria, the head of the Alexandrian University, was cotemporary of Soter, the successor of Anicetus (164—172). Under Eleutherus (173—187), Irenæus was made bishop of Lyons, and Origen was born at Alexandria. Irenæus is expressly stated to have officiated during his visit to Rome, at the request and in the presence of Victor, the successor of Eleutherus (188—199). Zephyrinus, who succeeded Victor (200—218), is now well known to us by the work of Hippolytus. It was he, who, according to the "Liber Pontificalis," trenched upon the Oblation of the People: for it was ordained by him (says the chronicler) that the deacons alone were to carry the oblations to the altar, and that the people were to receive the consecrated bread (corona) through them. In other words, the laity were kept out of the chancel.

From this time to that of Leo the Great, almost two centuries and a half later, we hear absolutely nothing of the state of the Roman Liturgy. What we find established under Leo, as fixed in all its es-

sential parts, is a series of Prayers of Consecration, decidedly different from the rite of the Church of Milan, and from those of the Gauls and of Spain. And this difference is one of epoch. The Roman Canon represents altogether a later period, which we may call the abbreviated and eclectic, whereas the Liturgies of the Churches just named exhibit, from the end of the third to that of the fourth century, an anterior period, the last phasis of which is the adorned and rhetorical character. The regular Byzantine Liturgy bears in point of style the same character as the Roman, particularly that which is called after St. Chrysostom, and is evidently an abbreviation of a Liturgy which had become too prolix by rhetorical amplification. The compositions in the Sacramentaries which bear the names of Leo and Gelasius exhibit sufficient specimens of that style. This change can scarcely have been later than the time of Damasus (366—384), and not earlier than that of Sylvester (314—335), or of his successors, Marcus (336) and Julius (336—352).

I think it highly probable that this alteration was connected with the change of the liturgical language from Greek into Latin. It is certainly a fact that Greek is the official language of all Roman bishops from Clement to Cornelius (251), and that we hear nothing of a decided liturgical difference between Rome and the other Churches before the age of Augustin, or the beginning of the fifth century. But

the circumstance connected with the account given by Gregory himself of his Canon, seems to confirm at all events the supposition of a decided change made, not by Gregory, but by one of his predecessors in the fourth century.

Proceeding to the critical history of this Canon of Gregory the Great, we must first observe, that the present official text, as established after the Council of Trent, differs in some essential points from that exhibited by the ancient MSS. But, if we apply strict historical criticism to the genuine Gregorian text, it is impossible not to see (what some ancient commentators, especially Walafrid, the learned abbot of Reichenau near Basle, indeed surmised) that it is a patchwork of materials which various circumstances had assisted to throw into great confusion. It is here only necessary to point to the gradual cessation of the regular Oblation of the People before each celebration of the Lord's Supper, and to the introduction of symbolical prayers, intended, not to accompany the real Oblation, but to supply its place, or to the introduction of the earliest form of the Offertory, in the sense of the Medieval Church.

We believe that from our point of view we are able to solve this enigma more satisfactorily than it has been hitherto done.

The first startling fact is, that Gregory himself declares, in his letter to the bishop of Syracuse, of the year 598 (the text is given in the Reliquiæ), that when

he revised and definitively settled the Consecration Prayer, or the Canon, he ordered the Lord's Prayer to be said immediately after the Ecclesiastical Prayer of Consecration. "I did so," he says, "because it was the custom of the Apostles to consecrate the Sacrifice (hostiam) of Oblation only by that prayer. It appeared to me very strange that we should repeat over the Oblation the prayer which a learned man (scholasticus) had composed, and not repeat over His body and blood the very words delivered to us as composed by our Saviour Himself."

Strange as it is, thus he found it. Wherever the Lord's Prayer was said in the Communion Service of the Church of Rome, it did not form, in the written ritual of that Church, a part of the Consecration Prayers, of which it is, nevertheless, one of the two original germs. These prayers begin immediately after the ancient Offertory, that is to say, after the solemn act of the offerings of the people for the sacred meal, and end immediately before the Communion. Now, if Gregory did not find it, Leo the Great and his immediate successors could not have found it either, nor have committed it to writing, when they were engaged upon the Eucharistic Liturgy.

We have seen that Gregory's assertion respecting the Consecration Prayer having originated in the recital of the Lord's Prayer is true, and, when rightly understood, strictly accurate. The Church enlarged

the Scriptural prayer into her Communion Prayer at so early a period, that her amplifications crept even into the sacred text. By the side of it a free Prayer of Thanksgiving was uttered on that occasion, whenever the spirit moved the minister to pronounce words in that sense. But, in the course of the fourth century, the free Prayer of Consecration had been exchanged for enlarged fixed formularies, varying in expression according to the usage of every leading Church. When this change took place, the Lord's Prayer might, however, as well be left out in the written formulary, it being understood at that time that it was the concluding part of the free prayer before the Communion. The whole ceremony, however, soon became so involved by the additional prayers, and free prayer grew so obsolete, in the Communion Service in particular, that whatever was not written down might gradually be considered as uncanonical, and disappear as unauthorized in consequence. Such an omission would happen the more easily if the original Liturgy were in Greek.

As the substitution of a set Oblation Prayer for the act of real substantial Oblation must have diminished the transparency of the original service, so another circumstance contributed most particularly to swell the Consecration Prayers, and to throw the Sacramentaries, or Missals of the Church, into confusion. These were the peculiar prayers inserted from the diptychs, or sacred registers of the names of the bene-

factors, confessors, and martyrs of the Church. They might be read wherever a peculiar commemoration was appointed of persons, whether living, present, absent, or deceased. Such a commemoration might be inserted immediately after the Oblation and the Preface at the beginning of the Sacrificial Service, or as part of that Consecration Prayer which immediately preceded the Communion, after the words of Institution. What we know positively is, that the commemoration of the living was read by the deacon, out of the diptychs. It was, therefore, originally separate from the prayers offered by the priests; and it was naturally a changeable prayer, and was only to be said when occasion required. How easily might this be mistaken for a part of the fixed prayers of the priest! Such a commemoration of the living was, or might be, according to the vague idea of the Communion of Saints, accompanied with a mention of the triumphant Church of the Apostles, and the Virgin Mary, and other holy men and women in the earlier ages of the Church in general, or of the particular Church in question. In the Roman Canon such a commemoration occurs immediately before the Lord's Prayer: "*Memento etiam Domine,*" &c. This furnishes primitive proof of its being an undue insertion in the ordinary Communion Service, and of its having been introduced into it (by a mere misunderstanding, I suppose) from the Missa pro Defunctis. It is not found in the Gelasian Sacramentary: and a very an-

cient Gregorian Sacramentary, quoted very conclusively for that purpose by Daniel, states expressly that it was destined for the Missa pro Defunctis. Now if this prayer be extraneous to the original ordinary services, that which follows, "*Nobis quoque peccatoribus,*" must necessarily also be eliminated, because it is in fact nothing but its second part.

But the mention of the Apostles and martyrs and other saints in the former part of the service, or in the Oblation Prayer beginning with the word "*Communicantes,*" appears to belong originally to the general text. Its place is the same as that in the Alexandrian Liturgy which was used in the time of Origen. For in that beautiful Liturgy the heroes of faith are also mentioned as part of the Thanksgiving before the Invocation. Nor does the order in which the names of the Saints occur in the Roman Canon at all militate against the antiquity of this prayer. The Apostles are, on the whole, named as they occur in the first two Gospels, with the insertion of St. Paul, and a reasonable liberty as to the place of St. Thomas and St. James, who here precede St. Philip and St. Bartholomew. The martyrs are classed, as Le Brun has already observed, according to their station: first, the martyr bishops of Rome; then bishop Cyprian; then St. Laurentius, the archdeacon of the Roman Church: lastly, lay martyrs. The catalogue goes down to the times of Julian the Apostate (Johannis et Pauli); another proof that

the set prayers were not written down till after the middle of the fourth century, at the earliest.

Now as to the first word of this celebrated prayer, "*Communicantes*," nobody has ever been able to construe it. Absolutely, as it stands, it can mean nothing but the "Communicants:" which gives no sense. Neither sense nor grammar admits of its being construed with the following genitives. But if we consider that the preceding prayer, "*Memento, Domine, famularum*," in its original text, is the deacon's prayer, which became obsolete when the real Offering of the People ceased, except in some few instances (and this was the case already in the sixth century at the latest), the prayer "*Communicantes*" manifestly follows the last words of the first prayer of the Canon, "*Te, igitur, clementissime Pater*," which makes the construction and sense correct and satisfactory.

This first prayer is followed by two short prayers, of which the one begins, "*Hanc igitur oblationem*," the other, "*Quam oblationem.*" The beginning of the first is evidently the conclusion of the Oblation Prayer, supplicating God to accept this oblation of His servants and children: the second ends with introducing the words of Institution, "*Qui pridie.*" Now we know that St. Gregory amplified the first. John the Deacon, his biographer, says he added the words, "*diesque nostras in tuâ pace disponas;*" which cardinal Bona understands (naturally) as implying that the remaining words of this prayer,

> "Atque ab æternâ damnatione nos eripi et in electorum tuorum numero jubeas nos numerari,"

were also added by Gregory.

But, if we adopt this view, it is clear that the preceding words of the prayer which Gregory found,

> "Hanc igitur oblationem servitutis nostræ sed et cunctæ familiæ tuæ quæsumus Domine ut placatus accipias,"

did not constitute a prayer by themselves, but were only the beginning of a prayer. And, indeed, the next prayer opens rather awkwardly at present, by referring to the first words of the preceding one: "*Quam oblationem* tu Deus in omnibus *quæsumus*." The original form, therefore, must have been this:

> "Hanc igitur oblationem servitutis nostræ sed et cunctæ familiæ tuæ quæsumus ut placatus accipias; atque in omnibus benedictam adscriptam ratam rationabilem acceptabilemque facere digneris, ut nobis Corpus et Sanguis fiat dilectissimi filii tui Domini nostri Jesu Christi. Qui pridie," &c.

The prayer "*Unde memores,*" which follows the words of Institution, represents, in its beginning (Μεμνημένοι οὖν) and its whole tenour, the universal type of the Eastern Liturgies. It is followed by the Prayer of Invocation. In this prayer the Greeks, as we have seen, prayed that God might send down

His Holy Spirit upon the people and upon their gifts, or that the Holy Spirit might descend upon both, in order to sanctify the congregation and the elements. Here God is supplicated to order his angel to bring the Sacrifice (the prayers and vows of the people) to the heavenly altar. This obscure expression is referred by Le Brun to Christ the High Priest, as the Angel of God in the eminent sense, in allusion to two passages in the Epistle to the Hebrews (ix. 24. and xiii. 10.); by Bona to the "angel of prayer," in allusion to Apoc. viii. 3., which is the more natural interpretation, and conformable to the Alexandrian ritual.

At all events, this prayer is neither so spiritual nor so primitive as the Greek one. The benediction of the people consecrating themselves, originally the principal part of the Consecration Service, has dwindled into a rhetorical collect. The whole prayer "Supplices te rogamus" appears as an appendix, inserted before the concluding doxology (probably by Leo the Great), in order to strengthen the prayer "Unde memores." The superior wisdom of Rome showed itself in making these Consecration Prayers standing formularies when the free prayer ceased; whereas, in the Ambrosian, Gallican, and Spanish rites of that age, they were considered changeable according to the occasion. Vigilius points to this circumstance, with just pride, in his letter to the Spanish bishop.

According to the general usage of the rest of Christendom, Gregory made the Lord's Prayer a part of the written liturgy, with a short introduction before; and added an explanatory collect upon the last petition, "Sed libera nos a malo," as a standing concluding prayer.

In order to render the whole perfectly clear, we give in the fifth chapter of the Reliquiæ, first, the present official text, with a notice of the reading of the ancient MSS., and other explanatory remarks: secondly, the restored genuine text of Gregory the Great, as it was understood by him: finally, the Roman Liturgy, as according to documents and statements it must have been before Leo the Great, and, substantially, about the middle of the fourth century. In Hippolytus' time, however, this must have been somewhat different. The Oblation of the People was still in vigour, the Preface was followed by a free Prayer of Thanksgiving: after which the words of Institution introduced a Consecration Prayer, scarcely fixed, and the Lord's Prayer with the doxology, concluded the service before the Communion.

I give in the Appendix to the fifth chapter of the Reliquiæ, out of a palimpsest of Monte Casino coeval with Gregory the Great, the text of the Præfatio and other fragments, which prove this Sacramentarium to be that of Gregory.

FINAL RESULT.

We commenced our liturgical researches by pointing out the general characteristics of the form of sacramental worship in the great epochs of the ecclesiastical history of the first four centuries, and by establishing the principles according to which the historical affinities of ancient Liturgies might be safely and successfully discovered. We then went through the records and the liturgical texts of those centuries according to the leading Churches of ancient Christianity, as far as they are capable of reconstruction upon the faith of genuine documents.

On looking back to the course we have pursued in the preceding pages, we have, I believe, obtained the following results.

Liturgical formularies, beyond the framework represented in the Text-Book, began to be used, with great local and individual liberty, about the middle of the second century; not as originating a new form of Service, nor as recording literally a fixed liturgical custom. The purport of the most ancient records is to exhibit what within a certain sphere had been the general custom of the earliest age, that is to say, of the end of the first and the beginning of the second

century, or in the Johannean and Ignatian age. What else, indeed, could the authors of the so-called Apostolical Liturgies do, when a very considerable part of the Service was still at their time essentially free and variable, and when it had originally been still more so? We must abandon both the later idea, still cherished by Bingham, of a Liturgy as a fixed formulary, and that negative assumption which he combated, of there having been no fixed form whatever. To express plainly what I think, we may assert that the first attempt to write down a Liturgy was that of presenting a general, not descriptive but suggestive, view of the extemporization within a certain framework. That this was possible, is explained by the biblical character of the liturgical formularies, and by the common spirit pervading Apostolical Christianity. The phenomenon is wonderful, but not miraculous; sublime, but perfectly intelligible. The miraculous and the mystical are in the heads of those who have misunderstood and misinterpreted antiquity; or in the theological systems of such as have endeavoured to confound and obscure that which, if faithfully explained and clearly understood, would contradict what later ages have made out of primitive Christianity. It is the Spirit which has created the Form, and this Spirit rests upon the words and injunctions of Christ, piously followed up and applied according to the exigencies of the time, under the guidance of that general Christian con-

sciousness in which the Christians of all ages find realized the promises of the Spirit left to the Apostles, and to those who through them believe in Christ.

The Eucharist was at first a holy Supper of thankful remembrance and of sincere brotherly love, coupled with the Prayers, which grew into a complete form of rational worship.

If, then, such were the origin and most ancient development of the Eucharistic Service, the first record of it was, in its details, necessarily rather a representation of the substance of what used generally to be said in the free prayers, than a literal copy of any fixed form. It further follows, that we should do as much wrong to those records by considering them to be historical, as by regarding them as impositions, or, at least, as ideal schemes. They turn out to have been faithfully based upon what in the ancient Service was held to be essential, and customary from the beginning, as far as the memory of the Church went. As this substance was traditional, and could not be referred to any regulation of Councils or Synods, or to any composition of some eminent Father, it was very natural to attribute the records of this gradual formation of the Spirit during the first three ages of Christianity (St. Paul, St. John, and Ignatius), either to the Apostles all together, as being those who had laid down the leading principles, and planted the earliest germs of the Church; or to some one among them (as St. James, or

St. Peter); or to some Evangelist who was personally connected, or supposed to be connected, with the particular Church, as St. Mark or Clemens.

Such a proceeding is neither more nor less mythical than any other form of hypostatizing the Spirit: but it is an uncritical proceeding to overlook what is really historical in such a process of formation; and almost madness to consider such a process even possible, without that very impulse which the genuine records of the Gospel reveal to us in the person of Jesus of Nazareth.

The beautiful specimen of the first liturgical epoch preserved in the Abyssinian Constitutions presents a character of great simplicity, and thoroughly biblical. There is a beginning of doctrinal expression and of rhetorical diction, but both are in their first infancy, and used very charily; a character doubly precious, if we consider the formulary as essentially suggestive. I propose to call this epoch the traditional, and this style the suggestive. What is here given corresponds in its contents and simplicity, with what we know from the early apologetic writers of the time of Hadrian and the Antonines, and, in particular, with Justin Martyr, and the official account of the Christian worship he gives in his Greater Apology. The groundwork is Evangelical; the form, as to its framework, Apostolic; the liturgical language Biblical, and replete with allusions to the Prophets and the Psalms; the style,

finally, is one of the greatest simplicity, with a nascent attempt at giving the sentences a Hellenic turn.

The *second period* of liturgical composition, in the beginning of the second century, exhibits a great progress in this respect, but also the dangers of incipient rhetoricism and ritualism. The Liturgy is no longer traditional, but a work of composition. It is no longer suggestive of a text which may be enlarged upon by the meditation of the individual and by the inspiration of the moment, but it is as extended as any free prayer can be. It reduces to writing what such a meditation and such an inspiration would produce if severely digested and concentrated. But it does so rather as a model than as a literally fixed formulary. The third century did not feel itself bound by the letter of the traditional form of the first epoch, neither did it impose on the Church the restraint of a literally fixed formulary. The next age indeed, as we have seen, still used that model with great Christian liberty. Liturgical liberty is, at this period, much more restricted than it was in the preceding age: but it is not extinct. There is still place for free prayer and for silent prayer. In point of style, as well as in the depth of Christian thought embodied in the liturgical formularies, we perceive the great advance of Hellenism, and in particular the influence of the Alexandrian university. The best recorded and most splendid specimen of liturgical composition of this epoch is the en-

larged Liturgy of this same Church, based upon that early tradition, of which an unadulterated text has been providentially preserved in the interior of Africa. The most striking part of this composition is the General Prayer for Christ's Church. We find such prayer in the traditional Liturgy of the second century. It grew out of the Hebraizing form of the Oriental Litany (or General Prayer, the Catholica), of which the English Bidding Prayer before the sermon is a wreck. Its germ was a silent prayer of the people directed by short and striking hortatory formulas, which were pronounced by the deacon, with solemn pauses between; commencing with the words, "Let us pray" (or "Let us intensely pray," or "Let us pray more intensely") for the poor, for the sick, for the persecuted brethren, for the departed, and so on.

The style of that beautiful Precatory Prayer of the second Alexandrian Liturgy may be considered as the perfection to which liturgical composition attained in the ancient Church. It is decidedly artistic, and of the best patristic Greek. The diction is slightly imbued here and there with the rhetorical character of the age. In short, it represents the culminating point of ancient liturgical composition and intellectual devotion. It may be considered, on the whole, as perfect, if we assume, as I believe we must, that it was originally intended rather as a model than a literal formulary; and that not only silent

prayer continued to form part of the usual service of the time, but that free prayer also was not excluded.

I propose therefore to call this style the model Church style. We shall appreciate the merits of those compositions better, by comparing them with the theoretical Liturgy of that age of theological confusion which separates Origen and the Nicene period, I mean the Liturgy of the eighth book of the Apostolical Constitutions. This hybrid composition assumes the antiquity of the Apostolic form, in order to insinuate nascent doctrinal formularies. It presents, instead of the Apostolic and traditional simplicity, a rhetorical development which degenerates into turgid and tedious verbosity. Even at the best, it is a sermon addressed to God, going through the whole spiritual history of the world. The idea is not only good but grand: though adapted rather to a sermon, or to a chapter of the spiritual history of the world. What may be inspiring as a sermon, and endurable as an extemporized prayer, becomes insupportable as a fixed formulary; a truth of which Baxter's proposed Liturgy is the most remarkable and the most dignified specimen.

The *third period* of real Church Liturgies exhibits the rhetorical style; the style of Basilian and Chrysostomean sermons, and of Ambrosian treatises, adapted to liturgical composition.

What really belongs to this age, or is still more

ancient, is common to the liturgical texts of the Byzantines and Dissidents of the fifth century, in the Liturgies both of Alexandria and of Antioch.

The rhetorical style increased in the course of the fourth, and still more in the fifth century, to such a degree, that the leading men of that time felt the necessity of condensing the Liturgies by a more concise and formulistic style. This process was carried on principally in the Churches of the two metropolises of the empire, Byzantium and Rome. The Liturgy called after St. Basil, and still more that which bears the name of St. Chrysostom, are the products of this tendency. The Church of Rome put her seal of prosaic Roman solemnity and literality upon the same, very early in the fifth century, or more probably in the latter part of the fourth. We call this style by a general name, the eclectic. The Byzantine and Roman Liturgies are especially eclectic; they corrected the turgid provincialism, but touched up slightly the best formularies they could find in the old compositions. Thus these two latter periods, of which we give both the Byzantine and Roman texts, form the frame of the liturgical picture we have endeavoured to draw. They represent at the same time the groundwork of that which, with its medieval extension and corruption, claimed at the time of the reformation Apostolical authority. They thus connect our criticism of the Liturgies of the ancient Church with that of the modern rituals.

NOTE

TO

THE GENERAL INTRODUCTION.

ON THE LITURGIES OF THE SYRIAN CHRISTIANS IN ASSYRIA, CALLED NESTORIANS; AND ON THE TRADITIONS PRESERVED AMONG THEM, AND AMONG THE ARMENIANS AND OTHERS, RESPECTING HIPPOLYTUS AND HIS WRITINGS. (p. 184.)

THE title of Mr. Badger's book is: "The Nestorians and their Rituals. By the Rev. G. P. Badger." (Lond. 1852, 2 vols. 8vo.) Of the different liturgical texts, the learned author has given us that which bears the name of Nestorius, and is evidently of the least antiquity.

But the extracts (ii. 364.) from a work of Mar Abel Yeshua, metropolitan of Nisibis and Armenia in the year 1298, called "Index of Biblical and Ecclesiastical Writings," contains the following interesting article, headed "Writings of the Western Church":

After mention has been made of the Clementines and the Apostolical Constitutions, Julius Africanus, the cotemporary of Hippolytus, is named; and then Hippolytus himself, in the following words: "Hippolytus, bishop and martyr, wrote a book on the Life and Actions of Christ; an Exposition of Daniel the Less and Susanna; also, Sentences against Gaius; an Introduction on the

Advent of Christ; and an Exposition on the Gospel of St. John."

The books mentioned in this catalogue, bearing on our critical research in the First Volume, are the following:

The Book on the Life and Actions of Christ is the Commentary on the Gospels, or at least on the Gospel of St. Matthew, which is expressly quoted (Vol. I. p. 286.). The Exposition of Daniel the Less and Susanna is either an appendix to the well known commentary on the canonical Book of Daniel, or a separate work on the apocryphal chapters (ibid.). The strange title, Sentences against Gajus, is evidently the same as that mentioned in Hebed Jesu's catalogue of Chaldee books (Vol. I. p. 271.), under the title: Treatise of Hippolytus against Caius. The Introduction on the Advent of Christ means probably the Book on Antichrist (Vol. I. pp. 272—275). The Exposition on the Gospel of St. John is the book mentioned on the Cathedra (Vol. I. pp. 281—286.).

As regards the writings of Hippolytus known to the Armenian Christians, I but the other day (1st May) received from the learned Mechitarist, Dr. Alishan, now in London, some information which may best find its place here. Moses of Korene says, in the 10th chapter of the second book of his History: "I shall now begin my narrative from the fifth book of the chronographer Africanus, whose account is confirmed by Josephus, by Hippolytus, and by various Greek authors." This is an evident allusion to the chronicle of Hippolytus, of which we have only a barbarous Latin extract. Dr. Alishan's paper adds: "The following works of Hippolytus named 'of Bostra' were translated into Armenian in the fifth century:

1. Homily on the Nativity and the Baptism of Jesus Christ.

2. Homily on the Resuscitation of Lazarus.
3. Homily on the Resurrection of Jesus Christ.
4. On the Antichrist."

The name "Hippolytus of Bostra" is merely a confusion originating in Eusebius mentioning (vi. 20.; see Vol. I. p. 202.), as the eminent men in the time of Zephyrinus, "Beryllus of Bostra in Arabia, and Hippolytus who also was the chief of some other Church."

As to the Homilies, the first and third are evidently identical with the two quoted in Cureton's Syrian texts (vol. i. p. 287. N.) as: "Sermon on the Epiphany;" "Sermon on the Resurrection." The first of these two Homilies is extant in Greek (Vol. I. p. 276.). The Homily on the Resurrection may or may not be the treatise mentioned on the Cathedra: Περὶ Θεοῦ καὶ σαρκὸς ἀναστάσεως (Vol. I. p. 289.); at all events it is lost, and ought to be published from the Armenian text in the new edition of the works of Hippolytus. The Homily on the Resuscitation of Lazarus is likewise lost. It may have formed part of the work on the Gospel of St. John (Vol. I. pp. 281. 286—288.).

Finally, I learn by a recent communication from the learned historian of Jewish literature, Dr. Steinschneider, that a mention of the Canons of Hippolytus is concealed in the senseless reading of an Arabic MS. at Upsala (Tornberg's Catalogue, Lund, 1849, p. 311. cod. 488. fol. 146—158.): Canones Papæ Romani *Aflimes.* My learned informant conjectures that the change from T into M may have arisen from a Karshaw text, written in Syrian characters, in which these letters, so dissimilar in Arabic, have a certain similarity. *Aflites* is Hippolytus.

I take this opportunity of stating that the Rev. Dr. Lommatzsch, the learned editor of Origen, has, signified to me in a letter received this day (May 22. 1852), that,

after examining the work published as Origen's Philosophumena, he is convinced it cannot have been written by him; but that he is inclined to believe it may be the work of Hippolytus. A letter from Dr. Heinrich Thiersch (the learned and eloquent author of the History of Christian Antiquity, vol. i. 1852), of the 14th of April, informs me that he has arrived at the same conclusion.

RELIQUIÆ LITURGICÆ:

SIVE,

LITURGIÆ EUCHARISTICÆ VETERIS ECCLESIÆ,

TAM ORIENTIS QUAM OCCIDENTIS,

QUOTQUOT AD GENUINUM TEXTUM REVOCARI POTUERUNT,

SECUNDUM ECCLESIAS AC TEMPORA

DISPOSITÆ.

MAGNO

NIEBUHRII

NOMINI

SACRUM.

QUOD

ANNO MDCCCXVII. IUVENIS TE AUSPICE

ROMÆ SUSCEPI

ANNO MDCCCLII. LONDINI

DEO ADIUVANTE

TUI MEMOR

VOTUM PERSOLVI

NATAL. ROM.

CAPUT PRIMUM.

ECCLESIÆ ALEXANDRINÆ MONUMENTA.

A.

SECUNDI ET TERTII SECULI LITURGIÆ INTER SE COMPARATÆ.

I. LITURGIA APOSTOLICA in Æthiopum Constitutionibus Apostolicis adservata.

II. Eadem Liturgia, Divi MARCI nomine insignita, qua forma temporibus Origenis in usu fuit.

Prioris Liturgiæ textum exhibet Ludolfus in Commentario ad Historiam Æthiopicam, pp. 324–327. Inserta est in collectionem Statutorum Apostolicorum Alexandrinam eo loco ubi textus Copticus (Tattam, p. 32.) Præfationem tantum exhibet, sive principium celebrationis Eucharisticæ: qua de re vide nos disserentes in Secundo Volumine, p. 309.

Alterum textum præbet Liturgia Divi Marci ex codice quodam antiquo, Romam e monasterio Basilianorum in Calabria adlato a Joanne a S. Andrea (Paris. 1583). Renaudotius eam primus edidit; cujus

editionem Fabricius solita fide, neglectis tamen lacunarum notis, Assemanus junior ea qua erat Græcarum litterarum ignorantia repetiverunt. Quem textum hic exhibemus, omissis quantum fieri potuit iis quæ post Constantini ætatem superaddita fuerunt. Textum integrum Renaudotii, qui codicem se Romæ inspexisse et quædam correxisse dicit, sequenti capite dabimus, non tamen collata editione principe, quippe quæ in Musei Britannici bibliotheca non exstet.

Formulæ Liturgicæ Præfationem præcedentes, quæ ad Oblationem Populi et ad Osculum Pacis spectant, secundum Liturgiam Seculi Tertii.

Desunt in Liturgia Secundi Seculi.

Quæ, dimissis catechumenis, inter oblationem fidelium verbis conceptis a diacono vel a sacerdote dicebantur hæc inveniuntur.

Diac. Ἀσπάσασθε ἀλλήλους. (Osculum pacis.)
Sac. Προσφέρειν κατὰ τρόπους στάθητε.*
Diac. Ἐπὶ προσευχὴν στάθητε.
Sac. Εἰρήνη πᾶσιν.
Diac. Προσεύξασθε ὑπὲρ τῶν προσφερόντων.

* Ad hæc verba et quæ proxime sequuntur respicit Cyrill. Alex. in libro de Ador. in Spiritu et Veritate, Opp. tom. i. p. 454.: οὐκ αὐτοὶ (οἱ διακόνοι) προστάττουσι διακεκραγότες ἐν ἐκκλησίαις, ποτὲ μὲν ὑμνολογεῖν ὅτι προσήκει λαοῖς, καὶ ἐν κόσμῳ μὲν ἑστῶναι κατηρεμεῖν δὲ, πολλάκις καὶ διανιστῶσιν εἰς προσευχάς;

*[Oratio introitus.

"Αγιε, ὕψιστε, φοβερὲ, ὁ ἐν ἁγίοις ἀναπαυόμενος, κύριε, αὐτὸς ἡμᾶς ἁγίασον καὶ ἀξίωσον τῆς φοβερᾶς σου ἱεροσύνης· καὶ προσάγαγε ἡμᾶς τῷ τιμίῳ σου θυσιαστηρίῳ μετὰ πάσης συνειδήσεως ἀγαθῆς· καὶ καθάρισον ἡμῶν τὰς καρδίας ἀπὸ παντὸς μολυσμοῦ· πᾶσαν αἴσθησιν πονηρὰν ἐκδίωξον ἀφ' ἡμῶν. Ἁγίασον τὸν νοῦν καὶ τὴν ψυχὴν καὶ δὸς ἡμῖν τὴν τῶν ἁγίων πατέρων ἡμῶν ἐπιτελεῖν λατρείαν μετὰ φόβου σου, ἐξιλασκόμενοι τὸ πρόσωπόν σου διὰ παντός. Σὺ γὰρ εἶ ὁ εὐλογῶν καὶ ὁ ἁγιάζων τὰ σύμπαντα, καὶ σοὶ τὴν δόξαν καὶ τὴν εὐχαριστίαν ἀναπέμπομεν· χάριτι καὶ οἰκτιρμοῖς καὶ φιλανθρωπίᾳ τοῦ μονογενοῦς σου υἱοῦ, δι' οὗ καὶ μεθ' οὗ σοὶ ἡ δόξα καὶ τὸ κράτος (εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων. Ἀμήν.)]

* Dedimus, uncis inclusam, formulam orationis a sacerdote dum intrat in Sanctuarium in silentio dicendæ, ut lectoribus originem hujusmodi interpolationum ante oculos poneremus; quæ et in textu hujus Liturgiæ Syriaco deest, neque ejus ætatis indolem præbet cujus hic imaginem exhibere nobis proposuimus. Attamen tertii exeuntis vel quarti ineuntis eam esse inde apparet, quod doxologiæ quæ hic significatur verba nunc, paucis paginis interjectis, in calce orationis ad Christum directæ leguntur, id quod nimis est absurdum. At scilicet interposita deinceps fuerunt illa omnia inter hanc nostram orationem ejusque doxologiam, quam ideo huic loco restituimus. Integrum textum quarti quintive seculi leges in nostra Liturgiæ Alexandrinæ editione, qua Græcorum Catholicorum et Coptorum vel Abyssiniorum Jacobitarum ritum inter se comparamus.

LITURGIA ALEXANDRINÆ ECCLESIÆ APOSTOLICA,

EX ÆTHIOPICIS A LUDOLFO LATINE EDITA.

EUCHARISTIA, SIVE LAUDES.

(*Præfatio.*)

DOMINUS vobiscum omnibus:

Totus cum spiritu tuo sit.

Sursum corda elevate:

Sunt apud Dominum Deum nostrum.

Gratias agamus Domino:

* Rectum et justum est. †

Deinde dicunt orationem eucharisticam, Episcopum præeuntem sequendo.

* Male Ludolfus: Rectus et justus est.

† In Copticis ita. Can. 31. (Tatt. p. 32.) verbis Græcis, leviter corruptis:

Εὐχαριστία.

Ο Κύριος μετὰ πάντων ἡμῶν (l. ὑμῶν)·

(Λαός) Μετὰ τοῦ πνευματός σου.

Ανω ὑμῶν τὰς καρδίας·

Ἔχομεν πρὸς τὸν Κύριον.

Εὐχαριστήσωμεν τὸν Κύριον·

Ἄξιον καὶ δίκαιον.

(Quæ sequuntur desunt in Copticis.)

LITURGIA, QUÆ DICITUR DIVI MARCI,

UT

ORIGENIS TEMPORIBUS LEGEBATUR.

(Præfatio.)

Ὁ κύριος μετὰ πάντων·
Καὶ μετὰ τοῦ πνεύματός σου.
Ἄνω ὑμῶν τὰς καρδίας·
Ἔχομεν πρὸς τὸν κύριον.
Εὐχαριστῶμεν τῷ κυρίῳ·
Ἄξιον καὶ δίκαιον.

Ἀληθῶς γὰρ ἄξιόν ἐστιν καὶ δίκαιον, ὅσιόν τε καὶ πρεπον, καὶ ταῖς ἡμετέραις ψυχαῖς ἐπωφελὲς, ὁ ὢν, δέσποτα, κύριε θεὲ, πάτερ παντόκρατορ, σὲ αἰνεῖν, σὲ ὑμνεῖν, σοὶ εὐχαριστεῖν, σοὶ ἀνθομολογεῖσθαι νύκτωρ τε καὶ καθ' ἡμέραν ἀκαταπαύστῳ στόματι καὶ ἀσιγήτοις χειλεσι καὶ ἀσιωπήτῳ καρδίᾳ, σοὶ τῷ ποιήσαντι τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ τὰ ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ, γὴν καὶ τὰ ἐν τῇ γῇ, θάλασσαν, πηγὰς, ποταμοὺς, λίμνας καὶ πάντα τὰ ἐν αὐτοῖς· σοὶ τῷ ποιήσαντι τὸν ἄνθρωπον

Gratias agimus tibi, Domine, per dilectum filium tuum Jesum Christum, quem in ultimis diebus misisti nobis Salvatorem et Redemptorem, nuncium consilii tui. * Iste Verbum quod ex te est, per quod omnia fecisti voluntate tua. Et misisti eum de cœlo in uterum virginis. Caro factus est, et gestatus fuit in ventre ejus: et filius tuus manifestatus fuit a Spiritu Sancto, ut impleret voluntatem tuam, et populum tibi efficeret expandendo manus suas: passus est ut patientes liberaret qui confidunt in te. Qui traditus est voluntate sua ad passionem: ut mortem dissolveret, vincula Satanæ rumperet, et conculcaret infirmum, et sanctos educeret, et resurrectionem patefaceret.

* i. e. ἄγγελον βουλῆς, Christum Verbum. Antiqua Alexandrinæ imprimis theologiæ formula: ut apud Clementem, Stromat. vi. p. 769. Pott. Οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ τῶν γενητῶν πάντων διδάσκαλος, ὁ σύμβουλος τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦ τὰ πάντα προεγνωκότος. Et vii. p. 832. (Λόγου) τοῦ πρὸ καταβολῆς κόσμου συμβούλου γενομένου τοῦ πατρός.

Liturgia, quæ dicitur Divi Marci.

κατ' ἰδίαν εἰκόνα καὶ καθ' ὁμοίωσιν, ᾧ καὶ ἐχαρισω τὴν ἐν παραδείσῳ τρυφήν· παραβάντα δὲ αὐτὸν οὐχ ὑπερεῖδες, οὐδὲ ἐγκατέλιπες, ἀγαθὲ, ἀλλὰ πάλιν ἀνεκαλέσω διὰ νόμου, ἐπαιδαγώγησας διὰ προφητῶν, ἀνέπλασας· καὶ ἀνεκαίνισας διὰ τοῦ φρικτοῦ καὶ ζωοποιοῦ καὶ οὐρανίου μυστηρίου τούτου· πάντα δὲ ἐποίησας διὰ τῆς σῆς σοφίας, τοῦ φωτὸς τοῦ ἀληθινοῦ, τοῦ μονογενοῦς σοῦ υἱοῦ, τοῦ κυρίου καὶ θεοῦ καὶ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ· δι' οὗ σοὶ σὺν αὐτῷ καὶ ἁγίῳ πνεύματι εὐχαριστοῦντες προσφέρομεν τὴν λογικὴν καὶ ἀναίμακτον λατρείαν ταύτην, ἣν προσφέρει σοὶ, κύριε, πάντα τὰ ἔθνη, ἀπὸ ἀνατολῶν ἡλίου καὶ μέχρι δυσμῶν, ἀπὸ ἄρκτου καὶ μεσημβρίας· ὅτι μέγα τὸ ὄνομά σου ἐν πᾶσι τοῖς ἔθνεσι, καὶ ἐν παντὶ τόπῳ θυμίαμα προσφέρεται τῷ ὀνόματι ἁγίῳ σου, καὶ θυσία καὶ προσφορά.*

[Καὶ δεόμεθα καὶ παρακαλοῦμέν σε φιλάνθρωπε ἀγαθέ· Μνήσθητι κυριε τῆς ἁγίας καὶ μόνης καθολικῆς καὶ ἀποστολικῆς ἐκκλησίας, τῆς ἀπὸ γῆς περάτων μέχρι τῶν περάτων αὐτῆς, πάντων τῶν λαῶν, καὶ πάντων τῶν ποιμνίων σου.

Τὴν ἐξ οὐρανοῦ εἰρήνην βράβευσον ταῖς ἁπάντων ἡμῶν καρδίαις· ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῦ βίου τούτου τὴν εἰρήνην ἡμῖν δώρησαι. Τὸν βασιλέα, τὰ στρατιωτικὰ, τοὺς ἄρχοντας, βουλὰς, δήμους, γειτονίας, εἰσόδους καὶ ἐξόδους ἡμῶν ἐν πάσῃ εἰρήνῃ κατακόσμησον. Βασιλεῦ τῆς εἰρήνης, τὴν σὴν εἰρήνην δὸς ἡμῖν· ἐν ὁμονοίᾳ καὶ ἀγάπῃ κτῆσαι† ἡμᾶς ὁ θεὸς,

* Celeberrimus Malachiæ prophetæ locus, quem Irenæus aliique secundi tertiique seculi patres ad sacrificium laudis apud Christianos retulerunt. Vide Vol. II.

† Edd. interpunctionem quam post ἡμῖν negligunt, post

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Desunt.

Liturgia, quæ dicitur Divi Marci.

ἐκτός σου ἄλλον οὐκ οἴδαμεν, τὸ ὄνομά σου ὀνομάζομεν· ζωοποίησον τὰς ἁπάντων ἡμῶν ψυχὰς, καὶ μὴ κατισχύσει θάνατος ἁμαρτίας καθ' ἡμῶν, μηδὲ κατὰ παντὸς τοῦ λαοῦ σου.

Τοὺς νοσοῦντας κύριε τοῦ λαοῦ σου ἐπισκεψάμενος ἐν ἐλέει καὶ οἰκτιρμοῖς ἴασαι.

Ἀπόστησον ἀπ' αὐτῶν καὶ ἀφ' ἡμῶν πᾶσαν νόσον καὶ μαλακίαν, τὸ πνεῦμα τῆς ἀσθενείας ἐξάλευσον ἀπ' αὐτῶν. Τοὺς ἐν μακροῖς ἀῤῥωστήμασι προκατακειμένους ἐξανάστησον. Τοὺς ὑπὸ πνευμάτων ἀκαθάρτων ἐνοχλουμένους ἴασαι. Τοὺς ἐν φυλακαῖς, ἢ ἐν μετάλλοις, ἢ δίκαις ἢ καταδίκαις, ἢ ἐν ἐξορίαις ἢ πικρᾷ δουλείᾳ ἢ φόροις κατεχομένους πάντας ἐλέησον, πάντας ἐλευθέρωσον· ὅτι συ ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν, ὁ λύων πεπεδημένους, ὁ ἀνορθῶν τοὺς κατῤῥαγμένους, ἡ ἐλπὶς τῶν ἀπελπισμένων, ἡ βοήθεια τῶν ἀβοηθήτων, ἡ ἀνάστασις τῶν πεπτωκότων, ὁ λιμὴν τῶν χειμαζομένων, ὁ ἔκδικος τῶν καταπονουμένων· πάσῃ ψυχῇ χριστιανῇ θλιβομένῃ καὶ περιερχομένῃ δὸς ἔλεος, δὸς ἄνεσιν, δὸς ἀνάψυξιν. Ἀλλὰ καὶ ἡμῶν κύριε τὰς κατὰ ψυχὴν νόσους ἴασαι, τὰς σωματικὰς ἀσθενείας θεράπευσον, ἰατρὲ ψυχῶν καὶ σωμάτων· ἐπίσκοπε πάσης σαρκὸς, ἐπίσκεψαι καὶ ἴασαι ἡμᾶς διὰ τοῦ σωτηρίου σου.

Τοὺς ἀποδημήσαντας ἡμῶν ἀδελφοὺς ἢ μέλλοντας ἀποδημεῖν ἐν παντὶ τόπῳ, κατευόδωσον, εἴτε διὰ γῆς ἢ ποταμῶν, ἢ λιμνῶν ἢ ὁδοιποριῶν, ἢ οἱῳδήποτε τρόπῳ τὴν πορείαν ποιοῦντας, πάντας πανταχοῦ ἀποκατάστησον εἰς λιμένα εὔδιον, εἰς λιμένα σωτήριον· σύμπλους καὶ συνοδοίπορος αὐτῶν γενέσθαι καταξίωσον· ἀπόδους τοῖς οἰκείοις αὐτῶν χαίρουσιν, ὑγιαίνοντας ὑγιαίνουσιν.

Ἀλλὰ καὶ ἡμῶν, κύριε, τὴν παρεπιδημίαν τὴν ἐν τῷ βίῳ τούτῳ ἀβλαβῆ καὶ ἀχείμαστον μέχρι τέλους διαφύλαξον. Τοὺς ὑετοὺς ἀγαθοὺς πλουσίως καταπέμψον ἐπὶ τοὺς χρήζοντας καὶ ἐπὶ τοὺς δεομένους τόπους. εὔφρανον καὶ ἀνακαίνισον

ἀγάπῃ male posuerunt. Κτῆσαι pro usitatiore σῶσον, ut Luc. xxi. 19.: ἐν τῇ ὑπομονῇ ὑμῶν κτήσεσθε τὰς ψυχὰς ὑμῶν.

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Desunt.

τῇ καταβάσει αὐτῶν τὸ πρόσωπον τῆς γῆς, ἵνα ἐν ταῖς στα-γόσιν αὐτῆς εὐφρανθήσηται ἀνατέλλουσα. Ποτάμια ὕδατα ἀνάγαγε ἐπὶ τὸ ἴδιον μέτρον αὐτῶν, εὔφρανον καὶ ἀνακαίνισον τῇ ἀναβάσει αὐτῶν τὸ πρόσωπον τῆς γῆς. Τοὺς αὔλακας αὐτῆς μέθυσον, πλήθυνον τὰ γεννήματα αὐτῆς. Τοὺς καρποὺς τῆς γῆς κύριε εὐλόγησον, σώους καὶ ἀκεραίους ἡμῖν διατήρησον· παράστησον ἡμῖν αὐτοὺς εἰς σπέρμα καὶ εἰς θερισμόν. Εὐλόγησον καὶ νῦν κύριε τὸν στέφανον τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ τῆς χρηστότητός σου, διὰ τοὺς πτωχοὺς τοῦ λαοῦ σου· διὰ τὴν χήραν καὶ διὰ τὸν ὄρφανον, διὰ τὸν προσήλυτον, δι' ἡμᾶς πάντας τοὺς ἐλπίζοντας ἐπί σε, καὶ ἐπικαλουμένους τὸ ὄνομά σου τὸ ἅγιον. Οἱ γὰρ ὀφθαλμοὶ πάντων εἰς σε ἐλπίζουσιν, καὶ σὺ δίδως τὴν τροφὴν αὐτῶν ἐν εὐκαιρίᾳ. Ὁ διδοὺς τροφὴν πάσῃ σαρκὶ, πλήρωσον χαρᾶς καὶ εὐφροσύνης τὰς καρδίας ἡμῶν, ἵνα πάντοτε πᾶσαν αὐτάρκειαν ἔχοντες, περισσεύωμεν εἰς πᾶν ἔργον ἀγαθὸν, ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ τῷ Κυρίῳ ἡμῶν.

(Pro pie defunctis:)

Τῶν ἐν πίστει Χρίστου προκεκοιμημένων πατρῶν τε καὶ ἀδελφῶν τὰς ψυχὰς ἀνάπαυσον, κύριε ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν, μνησθεὶς τῶν ἀπ' αἰῶνος προπατέρων, πατέρων, πατριαρχῶν, προφητῶν, ἀποστόλων, μαρτύρων, ὁμολογητῶν, ἐπισκόπων, ὁσίων, δικαίων, παντὸς πνεύματος ἐν πίστει Χριστοῦ τετελειωμένου*· καὶ ὧν ἐν τῇ σήμερον ἡμέρᾳ τὴν ὑπόμνησιν ποιούμεθα. † Αὐτῶν μὲν τὰς ψυχὰς ἀνάπαυσον, καὶ βασιλείας οὐρανῶν καταξίωσον· ἡμῖν δὲ τὰ τέλη τῆς ζωῆς χριστιανὰ καὶ εὐάρεστα καὶ ἀναμάρτητα δώρησαι· καὶ δὸς ἡμῖν μερίδα καὶ κλῆρον ἔχειν μετὰ πάντων τῶν ἁγίων σου.‡ Τῶν προσφερόντων τὰς θυσίας

* Edd. τετελειομένων.

† Hic nomina ex diptychis lecta esse apparet.

‡ Respicit manifesto ad hæc verba et ad ea quæ proxime præcedunt Origenes in Homil. xvi. in Jerem. c. 14. (Opp. iii. 217.): Πολλάκις ἐν ταῖς εὐχαῖς λέγομεν· Θεὲ παντοκράτορ, τὴν μερίδα ἡμῶν (ἡμῖν) μετὰ τῶν προφητῶν δός· τὴν μερίδα ἡμῶν (ἡμῖν) μετὰ τῶν ἀποστόλων τοῦ Χριστοῦ σου δός, ἵνα εὑρεθῶμεν

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Desunt.

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καὶ τὰς προσφορὰς τὰ εὐχαριστήρια πρόσδεξαι ὁ Θεὸς εἰς τὸ ἅγιον καὶ ἐπουράνιον καὶ νοερόν σου Θυσιαστήριον, εἰς τὰ μεγέθη τῶν οὐρανῶν, διὰ τῆς ἀρχαγγελικῆς σου λειτουργίας, τῶν τὸ πολὺ καὶ ὀλίγον, κρυφᾷ καὶ παῤῥησίᾳ, βουλομένων καὶ οὐκ ἐχόντων. Καὶ τῶν ἐν τῇ σήμερον ἡμέρᾳ τὰς προσφορὰς προσενεγκάντων, ὡς προσεδέξω τὰ δῶρα τοῦ δικαίου σου Ἄβελ, τὴν Θυσίαν τοῦ πατρὸς ἡμῶν Ἀβραὰμ, Ζαχαρίου τὸ Θυμίαμα, Κορνελίου τὰς ἐλεημοσύνας, καὶ τῆς χήρας τὰ δύο λέπτα, προσδέξαι καὶ αὐτῶν τὰ εὐχαριστήρια, καὶ ἀντιδὸς αὐτοῖς ἀντὶ τῶν ἐπιγείων τὰ οὐράνια, ἀντὶ τῶν προσκαίρων τὰ αἰώνια.

Diaconus. Εἰς ἀνατολήν.

Sacerdos. Σὺ γὰρ εἶ ὁ ὑπεράνω πάσης ἀρχῆς καὶ ἐξουσίας καὶ δυνάμεως καὶ κυριότητος καὶ παντὸς ὀνόματος ὀνομαζομένου, οὐ μόνον ἐν τῷ αἰῶνι τούτῳ, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν τῷ μέλλοντι. Σοὶ παραστήκουσι χίλιαι χιλιάδες καὶ μύριαι μυριάδες ἁγίων ἀγγέλων καὶ ἀρχαγγέλων στρατιαί. Σοὶ παραστήκουσι τὰ δύο τιμιώτατά σου ζῶα, τὰ πολυόμματα χερουβὶμ, καὶ τὰ ἑξαπτέρυγα σεραφὶμ, ἃ δυσὶ μὲν πτέρυξι τὰ πρόσωπα καλύπτοντα, καὶ δυσὶ τοὺς πόδας, καὶ δυσὶν ἱπτάμενα, καὶ κέκραγεν ἕτερον πρὸς τὸ ἕτερον ἀκαταπαύστοις στόμασι, καὶ ἀσιγήτοις Θεολογίαις, τὸν ἐπινίκιον καὶ τρισάγιον ὕμνον ᾄδοντα, βοῶντα, δοξολογοῦντα, κεκραγότα καὶ λέγοντα τῇ μεγαλοπρεπεῖ σου δόξῃ· Ἅγιος, ἅγιος, ἅγιος Κύριος Σαβαώθ·

Πλήρης ὁ οὐρανὸς καὶ ἡ γῆ τῆς ἁγίας σου δόξης.

Πάντοτε μὲν πάντα σε ἁγιάζει *, ἀλλὰ καὶ μετὰ πάντων

καὶ μετ' αὐτοῦ τοῦ Χριστοῦ . . . . Τὸ γὰρ λέγειν· Δός μοι μερίδα μετὰ τῶν προφητῶν . . . . . Τὸ λέγειν· δός μοι μερίδα μετὰ τῶν ἀποστόλων, κ.τ.λ. Quæ verba jam a Centuriatoribus Magdeburgensibus laudantur tamquam luculenta formularum liturgicarum in antiquitate Christiana testimonia: quod judicium confirmavit Binghamus XIII. 5, 6. Palmerus vero primus, nisi fallor, ea ad Alexandrinam liturgiam retulit.

* Edd. male ἁγιάζῃ.

(*Verba Institutionis.*)

Accipiens ergo panem gratias egit et dixit: Accipite, comedite, hoc est corpus meum, quod pro vobis frangitur. Et similiter calicem quoque et dixit: Hic est sanguis meus, qui pro vobis effunditur, cum facitis hoc, in commemorationem mei id facietis.

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τῶν σε ἁγιαζόντων δέξαι δέσποτα κύριε καὶ τὸν ἡμέτερον ἁγιασμὸν, σὺν αὐτοῖς ὑμνούντων καὶ λεγόντων·

Populus. Ἅγιος, ἅγιος, ἅγιος κύριος.

Sacerdos. Πλήρης γάρ ἐστιν ὡς ἀληθῶς ὁ οὐρανὸς καὶ ἡ γῆ τῆς ἁγίας σου δόξης διὰ τῆς ἐπιφανείας τοῦ Κυρίου καὶ Θεοῦ καὶ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ· πλήρωσον ὁ Θεὸς καὶ ταύτην τὴν θυσίαν τῆς παρά σου εὐλογίας, διὰ τῆς ἐπιφοιτήσεως τοῦ παναγίου σου πνεύματος.

Ὅτι αὐτὸς ὁ κύριος, καὶ ὁ Θεὸς καὶ παμβασιλεὺς ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦς ὁ Χριστὸς τῇ νυκτὶ ᾗ παρεδίδου ἑαυτὸν ὑπὲρ τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν ἡμῶν, καὶ τὸν ὑπὲρ πάντων ὑψίστατον θανατὸν σαρκὶ *, συνανακλιθεὶς μετὰ τῶν ἁγίων μαθητῶν λαβὼν ἄρτον ἐπὶ τῶν ἁγίων † καὶ ἀχράντων καὶ ἀμώμων αὐτοῦ χειρῶν, ἀναβλέψας εἰς τὸν ἴδιον πατέρα, Θεὸν δὲ ἡμῶν καὶ Θεὸν τῶν ὅλων, εὐχαριστήσας, εὐλογήσας, ἁγιάσας, κλάσας διέδωκε τοῖς ἁγίοις καὶ μακαρίοις αὐτοῦ μαθηταῖς καὶ ἀποστόλοις, εἰπών· Λάβετε, φάγετε,

Diaconus. Ἐκτείνατε. ‡

* Locus corruptus. Ὑψίστατον et barbare et absque sensu dictum foret. Lacunam ante θάνατον indicat Renaudotius. Verbis Syri, "ante *mortem* quam propria sua voluntate suscepit *pro nobis omnibus*, accepit panem," comprobatur, sententiam in antiquis exemplaribus expressam hanc fere fuisse: εἰς τὸν ὑπὲρ πάντων ἡμῶν θάνατον. Quæ deinde varie fuerunt amplificata. Auctor hujus liturgiæ fortasse scripsit: (ἡμῶν) εἰς τὸν ὑπὲρ πάντων ὑψιτέλεστον θάνατον σαρκί (vel σαρκός), in mortem propitiatoriam scil.

† Verba inter utrumque ἁγίων exciderunt in codice, si editionibus fides habenda est.

‡ i. e. ἐκτενῶς εὔξασθε.

(*Invocatio cum Doxologia.*)

Recordantes igitur mortis ejus et resurrectionis ejus offerimus tibi hunc panem et calicem, gratias agentes tibi, quod nos reddidisti dignos, ut stemus coram te, et sacerdotio tibi fungamur. Supplicesque oramus te ut mittas spiritum tuum sanctum super oblationes hujus ecclesiæ: pariterque largiaris omnibus qui sumunt de iis sanctitatem, ut repleantur Spiritu Sancto, et ad confirmationem fidei in veritate, ut te celebrent et

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Sacerdos. Τοῦτο γάρ ἐστι τὸ σῶμά μου τὸ ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν* κλώμενον καὶ διαδιδόμενον εἰς ἄφεσιν ἁμαρτιῶν.

Populus. Ἀμήν.

Sacerdos. Ὡσαύτως καὶ τὸ ποτήριον μετὰ τὸ δειπνῆσαι λαβὼν, καὶ κεράσας ἐξ οἴνου καὶ ὕδατος, εὐχαριστήσας, εὐλογήσας, πλήσας πνεύματος ἁγίου, μετέδωκε τοῖς ἁγίοις καὶ μακαρίοις αὐτοῦ μαθηταῖς καὶ ἀποστόλοις, εἰπὼν· πίετε ἐξ αὐτοῦ πάντες.

Diaconus. Ἔτι ἐκτείνατε.

Sacerdos. Τοῦτο γάρ ἐστι τὸ αἷμά μου τὸ τῆς καινῆς διαθήκης, τὸ ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν καὶ πολλῶν ἐκχυνόμενον καὶ διαδιδόμενον εἰς ἄφεσιν ἁμαρτιῶν.

Populus. Ἀμήν.

Sacerdos. Τοῦτο ποιεῖτε εἰς τὴν ἐμὴν ἀνάμνησιν. Ὁσάκις γὰρ ἂν ἐσθίητε τὸν ἄρτον τοῦτον, πίνητε δὲ καὶ ποτήριον τοῦτο, τὸν ἐμὸν θάνατον καταγγέλλετε, καὶ τὴν ἐμὴν ἀνάστασιν καὶ ἀνάληψιν ὁμολογεῖτε, ἄχρις οὗ ἂν ἔλθω.

Τὸν θάνατον, δέσποτα κύριε παντόκρατορ ἐπουράνιε βασιλεῦ, τοῦ μονογενοῦς σου υἱοῦ, κυρίου τε καὶ θεοῦ καὶ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ καταγγέλλοντες καὶ τὴν τριήμερον καὶ μακαρίαν αὐτοῦ ἐκ νεκρῶν ἀνάστασιν ὁμολογοῦντες† [καὶ τὴν εἰς οὐρανοὺς ἀνάληψιν ὁμολογοῦμεν καὶ τὴν ἐκ δεξιῶν σου τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ

* Edd. inepte: ἡμῶν.

† Glossam margini adscriptam in textum irrepsisse crediderim: a textu Origeniano certe tam barbara dicendi ratio aliena est.

laudent in filio tuo Jesu Christo, in quo tibi laus et potentia in sancta ecclesia, et nunc et semper et in secula seculorum. Amen.

πατρὸς καθέδραν] καὶ τὴν δεύτεραν καὶ φρικτὴν καὶ φοβερὰν αὐτοῦ παρουσίαν ἀπεκδεχόμενοι, ἐν ᾗ μέλλει ἔρχεσθαι κρῖναι ζῶντας καὶ * νεκροὺς ἐν δικαιοσύνῃ καὶ ἀποδοῦναι (ἑκάστῳ κατὰ τὰ ἔργα αὐτοῦ εἴτε ἀγαθὸν εἴτε κακόν).† Σοὶ κύριε ὁ θεὸς ἡμῶν τὰ σὰ ἐκ τῶν σῶν δώρων προεθήκαμεν ἐνώπιόν σου. Καὶ δεόμεθα καὶ παρακαλοῦμέν σε, φιλάνθρωπε ἀγαθὲ, ἐξαπόστειλον ἐξ ὕψους τοῦ ἁγίου σου, ἐξ ἑτοίμου κατοικητηρίου σου, ἐκ τῶν ἀπεριγράπτων κόλπων ἐφ' ἡμᾶς καὶ ἐπὶ τοὺς ἄρτους τούτους καὶ ἐπὶ τὰ ποτήρια ταῦτα, τὸ πνεῦμά σου τὸ ἅγιον, ἵνα αὐτὰ ἁγιάσῃ καὶ τελειώσῃ, ὡς παντοδύναμος θεός· καὶ ποιήσῃ τὸν μὲν ἄρτον σῶμα·

Populus. Ἀμήν.

Sacerdos. Τὸ δὲ ποτήριον αἷμα τῆς καινῆς διαθήκης αὐτοῦ τοῦ κυρίου καὶ θεοῦ καὶ σωτῆρος καὶ παμβασιλέως ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ·

Diaconus. Κατέλθετε οἱ διάκονοι.

Sacerdos. Ἵνα γένωνται πᾶσιν ἡμῖν τοῖς ἐξ αὐτῶν μεταλαμβάνουσιν, εἰς πίστιν, εἰς νῆψιν, εἰς ἴασιν, εἰς σωφροσύνην, εἰς ἁγιασμὸν, εἰς ἐπανανέωσιν ψυχῆς, σώματος καὶ πνεύματος, εἰς κοινωνίαν μακαριότητος ζωῆς αἰωνίου καὶ ἀφθαρσίας, εἰς δοξολογίαν τοῦ παναγίου σου ὀνόματος, εἰς ἄφεσιν ἁμαρτιῶν, ἵνα ‡ καὶ ἐν

* Lacunam hic inepte indicat Renaudotius, cum sit post ἀποδοῦναι ponenda.

† Lacunam quam indicant edd. supplevi post ἀποδοῦναι ex verbis Matt. xvi. 27., collatis cum Eccles. xii. 14. Servavit textum Syrus.

‡ Delevi σου ante καί.

Populus. Sicut erat, est, et erit in generationes generationum, et in secula seculorum. Amen.*

Episcopus.†

Iterum supplicamus παντοκράτορι Domino omnipotenti, Patri Domini et Salvatoris nostri Jesu Christi, ut concedat nobis in benedictionem accipere hoc sanctum sacramentum, utque neminem ex nobis reum faciat, omnes dignos reddat, qui sumunt et accipiunt sanctum sacramentum corporis et sanguinis Christi παντοκράτορος Domini Dei nostri.

Diaconus. Orate.

* Adduntur hæc: "*De oblatione Olei*" (pro chrismate conficiendo aliosve ad usus), "Qui oleum offert tempore Eucharistiæ, *ut et panem et vinum, gratias agit eodem modo.*"

(Notandum hic, offerentes ex populo gratias ipsos egisse in offerendo.)

"Quamvis autem iisdem verbis non fuerit usus, *pro facultate sua propria etiam aliis verbis gratias agat dicens:*

(Sc. post illa: *Oramus te ut mittas Sp. tuum Sanctum*)

"Sanctificans oleum hoc tribue (sc. Spiritum) illis qui accipiunt: sicut unxisti sacerdotes et prophetas, similiter et illos, et unumquemque qui gustat corrobora: *et sanctifica illos qui accipiunt illud.*"

Ubi male L. post *illis qui accipiunt* supplet [panem et vinum].

† Brevis exhortatio ad populum, qua consecrandi populi benedictio præparatur: si revera antiqua est, jam ante Origenis tempore omissam esse opinor censenda, quippe cujus vestigium in Græco-Syrove, aut ipso Abyssiniorum textu nullum inveniatur. At equidem serius additam crediderim.

Liturgia, quæ dicitur Divi Marci.

τούτῳ καθὼς καὶ ἐν παντὶ δοξάσθῃ καὶ ὑμνήθῃ καὶ ἁγιάσθῃ τὸ πανάγιον καὶ ἔντιμον καὶ δεδοξασμένον σου ὄνομα σὺν Ἰησοῦ Χριστῷ καὶ ἁγίῳ πνεύματι.

Populus. Ὥσπερ ἦν καὶ ἔστι καὶ ἔσται εἰς γενεὰς γενεῶν καὶ εἰς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων·

Sacerdos. Εἰρήνη πᾶσιν.

Diaconus. Προσεύξασθε.

Sacerdos. Θεὲ φωτὸς, γέννητορ ζωῆς, ἀρχηγὲ χάριτος, ποιητὰ αἰώνων, θεμελιωτὰ γνώσεως, δωρητὰ * σοφίας, θησαυρὲ ἁγιοσύνης, διδάσκαλε εὐχῶν καθαρῶν, ψυχῆς εὐεργέτα, ὁ τοῖς ὀλιγοψύχοις εἴς σε πεπειθῶσι διδοὺς ἃ ἐπιθυμοῦσιν ἄγγελοι παρακῦψαι· ὁ ἀναγαγὼν ἡμᾶς ἐξ ἀβύσσου εἰς φῶς, ὁ δοὺς ἡμῖν ἐκ θανάτου ζωὴν, ὁ χαρισάμενος ἡμῖν ἐκ δουλείας ἐλευθερίαν, ὁ τὸ ἐν ἡμῖν σκότος τῆς ἁμαρτίας διὰ τῆς παρουσίας τοῦ μονογενοῦς σου υἱοῦ λύσας· αὐτὸς καὶ νῦν δέσποτα, κύριε, διὰ τῆς ἐπιφοιτήσεως τοῦ παναγίου σου πνεύματος, καταύγασον τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς τῆς διανοίας ἡμῶν, εἰς τὸ μεταλαβεῖν ἀκατακρίτως τοῦ ἀθανάτου καὶ ἐπουρανίου ταύτης τροφῆς· καὶ ἁγίασον ἡμᾶς ὁλοτελῶς ψυχῇ, σώματι καὶ πνεύματι, ἵνα μετὰ τῶν ἁγίων σου

* Vox δωρητής, donator, apud Lexicographos ἀμαρτύρως.

(*Consecratio Communicantium, præeunte Sacerdote.*)

Domine omnipotens, dum accipimus hoc sanctum mysterium, robur nobis tribue, neque quemquam ex nobis reum age, sed omnibus benedic in Christo, in quo tibi cum illo et cum Spiritu Sancto laus et potentia, nunc et semper et in secula seculorum. Amen.

(*Obsignatio vel Benedictio Populi prostrati et sese devoventis.*)

Diaconus. Vos qui statis demittite capita vestra.

Domine æterne, gnarus occultorum: declinave-

μαθητῶν καὶ ἀποστόλων εἴπωμέν σοι τὴν προσευχὴν ταύτην, τό·

Πατερ ἡμῶν ὁ ἐν οὐρανοῖς, καὶ τὰ ἑξῆς.

Καὶ καταξίωσον ἡμᾶς δέσποτα φιλάνθρωπε κύριε μετὰ παῤῥησίας, ἀκατακρίτως, ἐν καθαρᾷ καρδίᾳ, ψυχῇ πεφωτισμένῃ, ἐν ἀπαισχύντῳ προσώπῳ, ἡγιασμένοις χειλεσιν, τολμᾶν ἐπικαλεῖσθαί σε, τὸν ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς ἅγιον θεὸν πατέρα καὶ λέγειν·

Populus. Πάτερ ἡμῶν ὁ ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς.*

Sacerdos. Ναὶ κύριε, κύριε, μὴ εἰσενέγκῃς ἡμᾶς εἰς πειρασμὸν, ἀλλὰ ῥῦσαι ἡμᾶς ἀπὸ τοῦ πονηροῦ. Οἶδεν γὰρ ἡ πολλή σου εὐσπλαγχνία, ὅτι οὐ δυνάμεθα ὑπενεγκεῖν διὰ τὴν πολλὴν ἡμῶν ἀσθένειαν· ἀλλὰ ποίησον σὺν τῷ πειρασμῷ καὶ ἔκβασιν τοῦ δύνασθαι ἡμᾶς ὑπενεγκεῖν. Σὺ γὰρ ἔδωκας ἡμῖν ἐξουσίαν πατεῖν ἐπάνω ὄφεων καὶ σκορπίων, καὶ ἐπὶ πᾶσαν τὴν δύναμιν τοῦ ἐχθροῦ. Ὅτι σού ἐστιν ἡ βασιλεία καὶ ἡ δύναμις.†

Populus. Ἀμήν.

Sacerdos. Εἰρήνη πᾶσιν.

Diaconus. Τὰς κεφαλὰς ὑμῶν [τῷ Ἰησοῦ]‡ κλίνατε·

Populus. Σοὶ κύριε.

Sacerdos. Δέσποτα κύριε ὁ Θεός, ὁ παντοκράτωρ, ὁ καθήμενος ἐπὶ τῶν χερουβίμ, καὶ δοξαζόμενος ὑπὸ

* Sc. usque ad verba: Et ne nos inducas in temptationem.

† Et quæ sequuntur in formula doxologiæ omnibus notæ.

‡ Uncis inclusimus verba manifesto spuria: nam quæ præcedit oratio directa est ad Patrem, itidemque ea quæ proxime sequitur. Interpolatio facta quando oratio quæ huic succedit, Ἅγιε, ὕψιστε, etc. inserta fuit: de qua vide suo loco.

runt tibi capita sua populus tuus, et tibi subjecerunt duritiem cordis et carnis. Respice de parata habitatione tua, et benedic illos et illas. Inclina illis aures tuas et exaudi preces eorum. Corrobora eos virtute dextræ tuæ et protege eos a passione mala. Custos eorum esto tam corporis quam animæ. Auge et illis et nobis fidem et timorem. Per unicum filium tuum, in quo tibi cum illo et cum Spiritu Sancto, sit laus et potentia in perpetuum, et in secula seculorum. Amen.

τῶν σεραφίμ· ὁ ἐξ ὑδάτων οὐρανὸν σκευάσας, καὶ τοῖς τῶν ἀστέρων χοροῖς κατακοσμήσας, ὁ ἐν ὑψίστοις ἀσωμάτους ἀγγέλων συστησάμενος στρατιὰς πρὸς ἀεννάους δοξολογίας· σοὶ ἐκλίναμεν τὸν αὐχένα τῶν ψυχῶν καὶ τῶν σωμάτων ἡμῶν, τὸ τῆς δουλείας πρόσχημα σημαίνοντες, καὶ δεόμεθά σου, τὰς σκοτοειδεῖς τῆς ἁμαρτίας ἐφόδους ἐκ τῆς ἡμῶν διανοίας ἀπέλασον, καὶ ταῖς τοῦ ἁγίου σου θεοείδεσιν αὐγαῖς τὸν ἡμέτερον νοῦν καταφαίδρυνον, ὅπως τῇ γνώσει σου πληθυνόμενοι, ἀξίως μετάσχοιμεν τῶν προκειμένων ἡμῖν ἀγαθῶν, τοῦ ἀχράντου σώματος, καὶ τοῦ τιμίου αἵματος τοῦ μονογενοῦς σου υἱοῦ, τοῦ κυρίου καὶ θεοῦ καὶ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν, Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, συγχωρῶν ἡμῖν πᾶν εἶδος ἁμαρτιῶν, διὰ τὴν πολλὴν καὶ ἀνεξιχνίαστόν σου ἀγαθότητα· χάριτι καὶ οἰκτιρμοῖς καὶ φιλανθρωπίᾳ τοῦ μονογενοῦς σου υἱοῦ, δι' οὗ καὶ μεθ' οὗ σοὶ ἡ δόξα καὶ τὸ κράτος σὺν τῷ παναγίῳ καὶ ἀγαθῷ καὶ ζωοποιῷ πνεύματι.

Εἰρήνη πᾶσιν.

Diaconus. Μετὰ φόβου Θεοῦ (sc. δεηθῶμεν, vel simile quid).

* [Sacerdos. Ἅγιε, ὕψιστε, φοβερὲ, ὁ ἐν ἁγίοις ἀναπαυόμενος, κύριε, ἁγίασον ἡμᾶς τῷ λόγῳ τῆς σῆς

* Dedimus hanc secretam sacerdotis precem uncis inclusam, ut quod inter tempus Origenianum et quartum quintum sextumve seculum intercedit discrimen lectoribus ante oculos poneremus, originemque monstraremus interpolationis. Diaconus populo orationem secretam indicat quæ præcedit preces communes, sive Litaniam, tamquam piam ad

Diaconus. Respiciamus ! *

Episcopus. Sancta sanctis. †

Populus. Unus pater sanctus:
Unus filius sanctus:
Unus est spiritus sanctus.

(*Communio.*)

Dominus vobiscum omnibus.
Et cum spiritu tuo.

"Deinde attollunt hymnum laudis.‡

"Et intrat populus, remedium animæ suæ quo peccatum remittitur accipiens."

* i. e. ad orientem, ut alias. Vel interpretandum, Suspiciamus.

† Ludolf male, sanctuarium. Est solennis illa formula: ἅγια ἁγίοις. Ludolf post "Sanctis" lacunam indicat, at nil desideratur, quod ad sententiam attinet.

‡ Vel hymnus: Δόξα ἐν ὑψίστοις, Σὲ αἰνοῦμεν, vel Psalmus laudis (ut 34. 42. 150.) hic innuitur.

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χάριτος καὶ τῇ ἐπιφοιτήσει τοῦ παναγίου σου πνεύματος. Σὺ γὰρ εἶπας, δέσποτα, ἅγιοι ἔσεσθε, ὅτι ἐγὼ ἅγιός εἰμι, κύριος ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν, ἀκατάληπτε Θεοῦ Λόγε, τῷ πάτρι καὶ τῷ ἁγίῳ πνεύματι ὁμοούσιε, συναΐδιε, καὶ σύναρχε, πρόσδεξο τὸν ἀκήρατον ὕμνον, σὺν τοῖς χερουβὶμ καὶ σεραφὶμ καὶ παρ' ἐμοῦ τοῦ ἁμαρτωλοῦ καὶ ἀναξίου δούλου σου, ἐξ ἀναξίων μου χειλέων βοῶντα καὶ λέγοντα·]

Populus. Κύριε ἐλέησον. Κύριε ἐλέησον. Κύριε ἐλέησον.

Sacerdos. Τὰ ἅγια τοῖς ἁγίοις.

Populus. Εἷς πατὴρ ἅγιος, εἷς υἱὸς ἅγιος, ἓν πνεῦμα ἅγιον, εἰς ἑνότητα πνεύματος ἁγίου. Ἀμήν.

Diaconus. Ὑπὲρ σωτηρίας καὶ ἀντιλήψεων (sc. δεηθῶμεν). (Populus in silentio precatur.)

* Sacerdos. Ὁ κύριος μετὰ πάντων.

(Populus.) Αἰνεῖτε τὸν Θεὸν ἐν τοῖς (ὑψίστοις). (Ps. cxlviii.)

(Sacerdos.) Ὁ κύριος εὐλογήσει καὶ συνδιακονήσει διὰ τῆς μεγάλης (supple αὐτοῦ φιλανθρωπίας, vel similem clausulam solemnem).

sacratissimum Communionis hymnum præparationem. Dum populus in silentio orat, sacerdos precem ad "Dei Verbum" dirigit, cujus extrema verba ad Litaniam dicendam invitant. Hujusmodi formulæ semper ut post-Origeniana eliminanda sunt: teste etiam ipso sermone Græco.

* Qui jam sequitur mysticus sacerdotis populique dialogus pulcherrimum est liturgicæ actionis communis exemplum.

(*Postcommunio.*)

Domine *παντοκράτωρ*, Pater domini et salvatoris nostri J. C., gratias agimus tibi quod concessisti nobis ut acciperemus de sancto tuo mysterio ne sit nobis in reatum neque in damnationem, sed ad renovationem animæ, corporis, et animi. Per unicum filium tuum, in quo, etc.

Liturgia, quæ dicitur Divi Marci.

Sacerdos. Κελεύετε.

Clerus. Τὸ *πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον κελεύει καὶ ἁγιάζει.*

Sacerdos. Ἰδοὺ *ἡγιάσται καὶ τετελείωται.*

Clerus. Εἷς *πατὴρ ἅγιος* (ter dicendum).

Sacerdos. Ὁ *κύριος μετὰ πάντων.*

Clerus. Καὶ *μετὰ τοῦ πνεύματός σου.*

Sacerdos. Αὐτὸς *εὐλόγησον αὐτόν.*

Ὃν *τρόπον ἐπιποθεῖ ἡ ἔλαφος ἐπὶ τῆς πηγῆς.* (Ps. xlii.)

Dum cantatur Ps. xlii. *incipit Communio.*

(Sacerdos porrigens panem et vinum dicit:)

Σῶμα *ἅγιον.*

Αἷμα *τίμιον τοῦ κυρίου καὶ θεοῦ καὶ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν.*

Diaconus. Ἐπὶ *προσευχὴν στάθητε.*

Sacerdos. Εἰρήνη *πᾶσιν.*

Diaconus. Προσεύξασθε.

Sacerdos. Εὐχαριστοῦμέν *σοι, δέσποτα κύριε ὁ θεὸς ἡμῶν, ἐπὶ τῇ μεταλήψει τῶν ἁγίων, ἀχράντων, ἀθανάτων καὶ ἐπουρανίων σου μυστηρίων, ὧν ἔδωκας ἡμῖν ἐπὶ εὐεργεσίᾳ καὶ ἁγιασμῷ καὶ σωτηρίᾳ τῶν ψυχῶν καὶ τῶν σωμάτων ἡμῶν· καὶ δεόμεθα καὶ παρακαλοῦμέν σε φιλάνθρωπε, ἀγαθὲ, κύριε, χάρισαι ἡμῖν τὴν κοινωνίαν*

(*Benedictio*, "*Impôsitio Manuum postquam acceperunt.*")

Dominus sit vobiscum omnibus.

Domine æterne qui omnia regis: Pater domini et salvatoris nostri J. C.: benedic servis tuis et ancillis tuis. Protege, et adjuva, et sospita eos virtute angelorum suorum. Custodi et corrobora eos in timore tuo per majestatem tuam. Exorna eos, ut quæ tua sunt cogitent: et largire eis ut quæ tua sunt credant, et ut quæ tua sunt velint: concordiam sine peccato et ira gratificare illis: per unicum filium tuum, in quo, etc.

Dominus vobiscum omnibus.

Et cum spiritu tuo.

Abite in pace.

"Et post hæc absoluta est Eucharistia."

Liturgia, quæ dicitur Divi Marci.

τοῦ ἁγίου σώματος καὶ τοῦ τιμίου αἵματος τοῦ μονογενοῦς σου υἱοῦ, εἰς πίστιν ἀκαταίσχυντον, εἰς ἀγάπην ἀνυπόκριτον, εἰς πλησμονὴν θεοσεβείας, εἰς ἀποτροπὴν ἐναντίου, εἰς περιποίησιν τῶν ἐντολῶν σου, εἰς ἐφόδιον ζωῆς αἰωνίου, εἰς ἀπολογίαν εὐπρόσδεκτον τὴν ἐπὶ τοῦ φοβέρου βήματος τοῦ Χριστοῦ σου· δι' οὗ καὶ μεθ' οὗ σοὶ ἡ δόξα καὶ τὸ κράτος, σὺν τῷ παναγίῳ καὶ ἀγαθῷ καὶ ζωοποιῷ σου πνεύματι. *

Diaconus. Πορεύεσθε ἐν εἰρήνῃ.

† Populus. Ἐν ὀνομάτι κυρίου.

Sacerdos. Ἡ ἀγάπη τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ πατρὸς, ἡ χάρις τοῦ υἱοῦ, κυρίου δὲ ἡμῶν, Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, ἡ κοινωνία καὶ ἡ δωρεὰ τοῦ παναγίου πνεύματος εἴη μετὰ πάντων ἡμῶν νῦν καὶ ἀεὶ καὶ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων.

* Opportunus hic locus esse videtur quo afferamus luculentum Dionysii Episcopi Alexandrini testimonium de doxologiæ formula eucharistica, qua suo tempore (i. e. circa an. 265) ecclesiam Alexandrinam, tamquam a "presbyteris" accepta, uti dicit (Routh, Reliq. Sacræ, vol. iii.; Bingham, xiii. 5, 6.)

"Τούτοις, φασὶ, πᾶσιν ἀκολούθως καὶ ἡμεῖς, καὶ δὴ παρὰ τῶν πρὸ ἡμῶν πρεσβυτέρων τύπον καὶ κανόνα παρειληφότες, ὁμοφώνως αὐτοῖς προσευχαριστοῦντες, καὶ δὴ καὶ νῦν ὑμῖν ἐπιστέλλοντες, καταπαύσομεν· τῷ δὲ θεῷ καὶ πατρὶ καὶ υἱῷ τῷ κυρίῳ ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστῷ σὺν τῷ ἁγίῳ πνεύματι δόξα καὶ κράτος εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων, ἀμήν."

† Quæ sequuntur, si revera ad antiquiorem hanc liturgiæ formam medii seculi tertii pertinent, nil nisi alia forma benedictionis et dimissionis populi fuisse videntur. Nullo modo certe huc pertinet illa, quæ dimissionis verba "Πορεύεσθε ἐν εἰρήνῃ" in textu Græco proxime excipit, oratio sacerdotis ad Christum directa: Ἄναξ μέγιστε καὶ τῷ πατρὶ συνάναρχε, etc. Quæ neque in textibus parallelis invenitur, et disciplinæ illa ætate in celebrando altaris sacramento vigenti contraria est.

Liturgia, quæ dicitur Divi Marci.

Populus. Ἀμήν. Εἴη τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ κυρίου εὐλογημένον.

Sacerdos. Ἔδωκας ἡμῖν δέσποτα τὸν ἁγιασμὸν ἐν τῇ μετουσίᾳ τοῦ παναγίου σώματος καὶ τοῦ τιμίου αἵματος τοῦ μονογενοῦς σου υἱοῦ· δὸς ἡμῖν τὴν χάριν καὶ τὴν δωρεὰν τοῦ παναγίου πνεύματος, καὶ φύλαξον ἡμᾶς ἀμώμους ἐν τῷ βίῳ καὶ ὁδήγησον εἰς τὴν τελείαν ἀπολύτρωσιν καὶ υἱοθεσίαν, καὶ εἰς τὰς μελλούσας αἰωνίους ἀπολαύσεις. Σὺ γὰρ εἶ ὁ ἁγιασμὸς ἡμῶν, καὶ σοὶ τὴν δόξαν ἀναπέμπομεν, τῷ πατρὶ καὶ τῷ υἱῷ καὶ τῷ ἁγίῳ πνεύματι νῦν καὶ ἀεὶ καὶ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων.

Populus. Ἀμήν.

Sacerdos. Εἰρήνη πᾶσιν.

Populus. Καὶ τῷ πνεύματί σου.

Εὐλογείτω ὁ θεὸς ὁ εὐλογῶν καὶ ἁγιάζων καὶ σκέπων καὶ διατηρῶν πάντας ἡμᾶς διὰ τῆς μεθέξεως τῶν ἁγίων αὐτοῦ μυστηρίων, ὁ ὢν εὐλογητὸς εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων. Ἀμήν.

B.

LITURGIA SECULI QUARTI EX TEXTU RECEPTO QUANTUM FIERI POTUIT RESTITUTA.

Exhibetur Ecclesiæ Alexandrinæ Liturgia, quæ Divi Marci appellatur, integra, uti exstat in Codice Calabro. Quæ post Athanasii et Cyrilli tempora quinto sextove sæculo videntur addita esse, ea literis minusculis a genuina quarti seculi Liturgia distinguuntur. Textus Græcus, inde a Præfatione, cum S. Cyrilli Liturgia, qua Copti utuntur, et cum Canone universali Abyssiniorum comparatur. Utriusque Liturgiæ interpretationem Latinam dedit Renaudotius (tom. i. p. 38. et p. 499.), quem secuti sumus.

Η ΘΕΙΑ ΛΕΙΤΟΥΡΓΙΑ

τοῦ ἁγίου Ἀποστόλου καὶ Εὐαγγελίστου Μάρκου, μαθητοῦ τοῦ ἁγίου Πέτρου.

Sacerdos. Εἰρήνη πᾶσιν.
Populus. Καὶ τῷ πνεύματί σου.
Diaconus. Προσεύξασθε.
Populus. Κύριε ἐλέησον· Κύριε ἐλέησον· Κύριε ἐλέησον.

Sacerdos sic orat:

Εὐχαριστοῦμέν σοι καὶ ὑπερευχαριστοῦμεν κύριε ὁ θεὸς ἡμῶν, ὁ πατὴρ τοῦ κυρίου καὶ θεοῦ καὶ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, κατὰ πάντα, καὶ διὰ πάντων, καὶ ἐν πᾶσιν, ὅτι ἐσκέπασας, ἐβοήθησας, ἀντελάβου καὶ παρήγαγες ἡμᾶς τὸν παρελθόντα χρόνον τῆς ζωῆς ἡμῶν, καὶ ἤγαγες ἡμᾶς ἕως τῆς ὥρας ταύτης, ἀξιώσας πάλιν παραστῆναι ἐνώπιόν σου ἐν τόπῳ ἁγίῳ σου, ἄφεσιν αἰτοῦντες τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν ἡμῶν καὶ ἱλασμὸν παντὶ τῷ λαῷ σοῦ. Καὶ δεόμεθα, καὶ παρακαλοῦμέν σε φιλάνθρωπε, ἀγαθὲ, δὸς ἡμῖν τὴν ἁγίαν ἡμέραν ταύτην, καὶ ἅπαντα τὸν χρόνον τῆς ζωῆς ἡμῶν ἐπιτελέσαι ἀναμαρτήτως, μετὰ πάσης χαρᾶς, ὑγιείας, σωτηρίας, καὶ παντὸς ἁγιασμοῦ, καὶ τοῦ σοῦ φόβου. Πάντα δὲ φθόνον, πάντα φόβον, πάντα πειρασμὸν, πᾶσαν σατανικὴν ἐνέργειαν, πᾶσαν πονηρῶν ἀνθρώπων ἐπιβουλίαν ἐκδίωξον ἀφ' ἡμῶν ὁ θεὸς, καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς ἁγίας σοῦ καθολικῆς καὶ ἀποστολικῆς ἐκκλησίας. Τὰ καλὰ καὶ τὰ συμφέροντα ἡμῖν ἐπιχορήγησον· εἴ τί σοι ἡμάρτομεν ἐν λόγῳ, ἢ ἔργῳ, ἢ κατὰ διάνοιαν, σὺ ὡς ἀγαθὸς καὶ φιλάνθρωπος παριδεῖν καταξίωσον, καὶ μὴ ἐγκαταλίπῃς ἡμᾶς ὁ θεὸς ἐλπίζοντας ἐπὶ σοὶ, μηδὲ εἰσενέγκῃς ἡμᾶς εἰς πειρασμὸν, ἀλλὰ ῥῦσαι ἡμᾶς ἀπὸ τοῦ πονηροῦ, καὶ ἐκ πῶν ἔργων αὐτοῦ, χάριτι καὶ οἰκτιρμῷ καὶ φιλανθρωπίᾳ τοῦ μονογενοῦς σου υἱοῦ, (elata voce) δι' οὗ καὶ μεθ' οὗ σοὶ ἡ δόξα καὶ τὸ κράτος σὺν τῷ παναγίῳ, καὶ ἀγαθῷ, καὶ ζωοποιῷ σου πνεύματι, νῦν καὶ ἀεὶ καὶ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων.

Populus. Ἀμήν.
Sacerdos. Εἰρήνη πᾶσιν.
Populus. Καὶ τῷ πνεύματί σου.
Diaconus. Προσεύξασθε ὑπὲρ τοῦ βασιλέως.
Populus. Κύριε ἐλέησον· Κύριε ἐλέησον· Κύριε ἐλέησον.

Liturgia D. Marci, ut in Cod. Calabro.

Sacerdos autem orat:

Δέσποτα κύριε ὁ Θεὸς, ὁ πατὴρ τοῦ κυρίου, καὶ Θεοῦ, καὶ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, δεόμεθα καὶ παρακαλοῦμέν σε, τὸν βασιλέα ἡμῶν ἐν εἰρήνῃ καὶ ἀνδρίᾳ καὶ δικαιοσύνῃ διαφύλαξον. Καθυπόταξον αὐτῷ ὁ Θεὸς πάντα ἐχθρὸν καὶ πολέμιον· ἐπίλαβοῦ ὅπλου καὶ θυρεοῦ, καὶ ἀνάστηθι εἰς τὴν βοήθειαν αὐτοῦ. Δὸς αὐτῷ ὁ Θεὸς νίκας, εἰρηνικὰ φρονεῖν ἡμᾶς, καὶ πρὸς τὸ ὄνομά σου τὸ ἅγιον· ἵνα καὶ ἡμεῖς ἐν τῇ γαληνότητι τῶν ἡμερῶν αὐτοῦ ἥρεμον καὶ ἡσύχιον βίον διάγοιμεν, ἐν πάσῃ εὐσεβείᾳ καὶ σεμνότητι· χάριτι καὶ οἰκτιρμοῖς καὶ φιλανθρωπίᾳ τοῦ μονογενοῦς σου υἱοῦ, (elata voce) δι' οὗ καὶ μεθ' οὗ σοὶ ἡ δόξα καὶ τὸ κράτος, σὺν τῷ παναγίῳ, καὶ ἀγαθῷ, καὶ ζωοποιῷ σου πνεύματι, νῦν καὶ ἀεὶ καὶ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων.

Populus. Ἀμήν.

Sacerdos. Εἰρήνη πᾶσιν.

Populus. Καὶ τῷ πνεύματί σου.

Diaconus. Προσεύξασθε ὑπὲρ τοῦ Πάπα καὶ ἐπισκόπου.

Populus. Κύριε ἐλέησον· Κύριε ἐλέησον· Κύριε ἐλέησον.

Sacerdos.

Δέσποτα κύριε ὁ Θεὸς, ὁ παντοκράτωρ, ὁ πατὴρ τοῦ κυρίου καὶ Θεοῦ καὶ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, δεόμεθα καὶ παρακαλοῦμέν σε φιλάνθρωπε, ἀγαθὲ, τὸν ἁγιώτατον καὶ μακαριώτατον ἀρχιερέα ἡμῶν Πάπα Δ', καὶ τὸν ὁσιώτατον ἐπίσκοπον συντήρησον ἡμῖν αὐτοῖς ἔτεσι πολλοῖς εἰρηνικῶς ἐκτελοῦντας τὴν ὑπό σου ἐμπεπιστευμένον ἁγίαν ἀρχιερωσύνην κατὰ τὸ ἅγιον καὶ μακαριόν σου θέλημα, ὀρθοτομοῦντας τὸν λόγον τῆς ἀληθείας, σὺν πᾶσιν ὀρθοδόξοις ἐπισκόποις, πρεσβυτέροις, διακόνοις, ὑποδιακόνοις, ἀναγνώσταις, ψάλταις τε καὶ λαϊκοῖς, σὺν πάντι τῷ πληρώματι τῆς ἁγίας καὶ μόνης καθολικῆς ἐκκλησίας, εἰρήνην καὶ ὑγιείαν καὶ σωτηρίαν αὐτοῖς χαριζόμενος. Τὰς δὲ εὐχὰς αὐτῶν, ἃς ποιοῦσιν ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν, καὶ ἡμεῖς ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν, πρόσδεξαι, κύριε, εἰς τὸ ἅγιον καὶ ἐπουράνιον καὶ λογικόν σου θυσιαστήριον. Πάντα δὲ ἐχθρὸν τῆς ἁγίας σοῦ ἐκκλησίας καθυπόταξον ὑπὸ τοὺς πόδας αὐτῶν ἐν τάχει, χάριτι καὶ οἰκτιρμοῖς καὶ φιλανθρωπίᾳ τοῦ μονογενοῦς σου υἱοῦ, (elata voce) δι' οὗ καὶ μεθ' οὗ σοὶ ἡ δόξα καὶ τὸ κράτος σὺν τῷ παναγίῳ, καὶ ἀγαθῷ καὶ ζωοποιῷ πνεύματι, νῦν καὶ ἀεὶ καὶ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων.

Populus. Ἀμήν.

Sacerdos. Εἰρήνη πᾶσιν.

Populus. Καὶ τῷ πνεύματί σου.

Diaconus. Ἐπὶ προσευχὴν σταθῆτε.

Populus. Κύριε ἐλέησον (ter).

Liturgia D. Marci, ut in Cod. Calabro.

Sacerdos subjungit orationes introitus et ad incensum :

Δέσποτα κύριε ὁ θεὸς ἡμῶν ὁ τὸν δωδεκάφωτον λαμπάδα τῶν δώδεκα ἀποστόλων ἐκλεξάμενος καὶ ἐξαποστείλας αὐτοὺς, ἐν ὅλῳ τῷ κόσμῳ κηρύξαι καὶ διδάξαι τὸ εὐαγγέλιον τῆς βασιλείας σου, καὶ θεραπεύειν νόσον καὶ πᾶσαν μαλακίαν ἐν τῷ λαῷ, καὶ ἐμφυσήσας εἰς τὰ πρόσωπα αὐτῶν, καὶ εἰπὼν αὐτοῖς, Λάβετε πνεῦμα ἅγιον τὸ παράκλητον· ἄν τινων ἀφίετε τὰς ἁμαρτίας, ἀφίενται αὐτοῖς, ἄν τινων κρατεῖτε, κεκράτηνται· οὕτως καὶ ἐφ' ἡμᾶς τοὺς περιεστηκότας δούλους σου, ἐν τῇ εἰσόδῳ τῆς ἱερουργίας, τὰς, * τοῖς ἐπισκόποις, πρεσβυτέροις, διακόνοις, ἀναγνώσταῖς, ψάλταις τέ καὶ λαϊκοῖς σὺν παντὶ τῷ πληρώματι τῆς ἁγίας καθολικῆς καὶ ἀποστολικῆς ἐκκλησίας. ῥῦσαι ἡμᾶς κύριε ἀπὸ ἀρᾶς καὶ καθάρας καὶ ἀπὸ ἀναθημάτων καὶ δεσμοῦ καὶ ἀφορισμοῦ καὶ ἐκ τῆς μερίδος τοῦ ἀντικειμένου, καὶ καθάρισον ἡμῶν τὰ χείλη καὶ τὴν καρδίαν ἀπὸ παντὸς μολυσμοῦ καὶ ἀπὸ πάσης ῥαδιουργίας· ἵνα ἐν καθαρᾷ καρδίᾳ καὶ καθαρῷ συνειδότι προσφέρωμέν σοι τὸ θυμίαμα τοῦτο εἰς ὀσμὴν εὐωδίας, καὶ εἰς ἄφεσιν ἁμαρτιῶν ἡμῶν καὶ παντὸς τοῦ λαοῦ σου, χάριτι καὶ οἰκτιρμοῖς καὶ φιλανθρωπίᾳ τοῦ μονογενοῦς υἱοῦ, (elata voce) δι' οὗ καὶ μεθ' οὗ σοὶ ἡ δόξα καὶ τὸ κράτος σὺν τῷ παναγίῳ καὶ ἀγαθῷ καὶ ζωοποιῷ πνεύματι, νῦν καὶ ἀεὶ καὶ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων.

Populus. Ἀμήν.

Diaconus. Ὀρθοί.

Et psallunt : Μονογενὴς υἱὸς καὶ λόγος. Fitque introitus Evangelii et dicit Diaconus, Ἐπὶ πρυσευχήν.

Sacerdos. Εἰρήνη πᾶσιν.

Populus. Καὶ τῷ πνεύματι σου.

Diaconus. Ἐπὶ προσευχήν.

Populus. Κύριε ἐλέησον (ter).

Sacerdos dicit orationem Trisagii:

Δέσποτα κύριε Ἰησοῦ Χριστὲ, ὁ συναΐδιος λόγος τοῦ ἀνάρχου πατρὸς, ὁ καθ' ἡμᾶς γενόμενος κατὰ πάντα χωρὶς ἁμαρτίας ἐπὶ σωτηρίας τοῦ γένους ἡμῶν, ὁ ἐξαποστείλας τοὺς ἁγίους σοῦ μαθητὰς καὶ ἀποστόλους κηρύξαι καὶ διδάξαι τὸ εὐαγγέλιον τῆς βασιλείας σου, καὶ θεραπεύειν πᾶσαν νόσον καὶ πᾶσαν μαλακίαν ἐν τῷ λαῷ σου, αὐτὸς καὶ νῦν δέσποτα ἐξαπόστειλον τὸ φῶς σου καὶ τὴν ἀλήθειάν σου, καὶ καταύγασον τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς τῆς διανοίας εἰς κατανόησιν τῶν θείων σου λογίων· καὶ ἱκάνωσον ἡμᾶς ἀκροάτας αὐτῶν γενέσθαι· καὶ μὴ μόνον ἀκροάτας, ἀλλὰ καὶ ποιητὰς λόγου, γενόμενοι

* Notæ lacunam : desideratur finis orationis introitus, et principium alterius.

Liturgia D. Marci, ut in Cod. Calabro.

εἰς τὸ καρποφορῆσαι, καὶ ποιῆσαι καρποὺς ἀγαθοὺς, ἓν τριάκοντα καὶ ἓν ἑκατὸν *, ὅπως καταξιωθῶμεν τῆς βασιλείας τῶν οὐρανῶν. (elata voce) Καὶ ταχὺ προκαταλαβέτωσαν ἡμᾶς οἱ οἰκτιρμοί σου κύριε. (elata voce) Σὺ γὰρ εἶ εὐαγγελισμὸς, σωτὴρ καὶ φύλαξ τῶν ψυχῶν καὶ τῶν σωμάτων ἡμῶν, κύριε ὁ Θεὸς, καὶ σοὶ τὴν δόξαν καὶ τὴν εὐχαριστίαν, καὶ τὸν τρισάγιον ὕμνον ἀναπέμπομεν τῷ πατρὶ καὶ τῷ υἱῷ καὶ τῷ ἁγίῳ πνεύματι, νῦν καὶ ἀεὶ καὶ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων.

Populus. Ἀμήν.

Αγιος ὁ Θεὸς, ἅγιος ἰσχυρὸς, ἅγιος ἀθάνατος.

Trisagio completo populum cruce signat sacerdos, dicens: Εἰρήνη πᾶσιν.

Populus. Καὶ τῷ πνεύματί σου.

Sequitur Πρόσχωμεν, h. e. Attenti simus. Apostolus: Prologus hymni Alleluja. Diaconi ex præscripto dicunt: Κύριε εὐλόγησον.

Sacerdos. Ὁ κύριος εὐλογήσῃ καὶ συνδιακονήσῃ ὑμῖν τῇ αὐτοῦ χάριτι, νῦν καὶ ἀεὶ καὶ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων.

Sacerdos, prius quam Evangelium recitetur, incensum offert, dicens:

Θυμίαμα προσφέρομεν ἐνώπιόν τῆς ἁγίας δόξης σου, ὁ Θεὸς, προσδεξάμενος εἰς τὸ ἅγιον καὶ ὑπερουράνιον καὶ νοερόν σου θυσιαστήριον. Ἀντικατάπεμψον ἡμῖν τὴν χάριν τοῦ ἁγίου σου πνεύματος, ὅτι εὐλογημένος ὑπάρχεις, καὶ σὺ τὴν δόξαν σου ἀνάπεμψον.

Diaconus Evangelium recitaturus dicit: Κύριε εὐλόγησον.

Sacerdos. Ὁ κύριος εὐλογήσῃ καὶ ἐνισχύσῃ καὶ ἀκροάται ἡμᾶς ποιήσῃ τοῦ ἁγίου αὐτοῦ εὐαγγελίου, ὁ ὢν εὐλογητὸς Θεὸς, νῦν καὶ ἀεὶ καὶ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων. Ἀμήν.

Diaconus. Στάθητε, ἀκούσωμεν τοῦ ἁγίου εὐαγγελίου.

Sacerdos. Εἰρήνη πᾶσιν.

Populus. Καὶ τῷ πνεύματί σου.

Deinde recitat Evangelium Diaconus. Mox Συνάπτης seu Collectæ orationem subjungit sacerdos his verbis: Τοὺς νοσοῦντας κύριε τοῦ λαοῦ σου ἐπίσκεψάμενος ἐν ἐλέει καὶ οἰκτιρμοῖς ἴασαι. Τοὺς ἀποδημήσαντας ἡμῶν ἀδελφοὺς, ἢ μέλλοντας ἀποδημεῖν, ἐν τῷ τόπῳ κατεύοδωσον ἕκαστον εἰς τὸν καιρόν. Τοὺς ἀγαθοὺς ὑετοὺς κατάπεμψον ἐπὶ τοὺς χρήζοντας καὶ ἐπιδεομένους τόπους. Τὰ ποτάμια ὕδατα ἀνάγαγε ἐπὶ τὸ μετρὸν αὐτῶν κατὰ πᾶν σὸν χάριν. Τοὺς καρποὺς τῆς γῆς αὔξησον εἰς σπέρμα καὶ εἰς θερισμον. Τὴν βασιλείαν τοῦ δούλου σου, ὃν ἐδικαίωσας βασιλεύειν ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς, ἐν εἰρήνῃ, καὶ ἀνδρίᾳ, καὶ δικαιοσύνῃ, καὶ γαληνότητι διαφύλαξον. Τὴν τα-

* Libri male: ἀνὰ τριάκ. καὶ ἓν ἑκ. Desumta ex Marco, iv. 8.

Liturgia D. Marci, ut in Cod. Calabro.

πεινὴν καὶ ἐλεεινὴν καὶ φιλόχριστον πόλιν ταύτην, ῥῦσαι αὐτὴν, ὁ θεὸς, ἀφ' ἡμερῶν πονηρῶν, ἀπὸ λιμοῦ, λοιμοῦ, καὶ ἐπιστάσεως ἐθνῶν, ὡς καὶ Νινευὶ τῆς πόλεως ἐφείσω· ὅτε ἐλεήμων καὶ οἰκτίρμων εἶ, καὶ ἀμνησίκακος ἐπὶ κακίας ἀνθρώπων. Σὺ διὰ τοῦ προφήτου σου Ἡσαίου εἶπας, Ὑπερασπιῶ ὑπὲρ τῆς πόλεως ταύτης, τοῦ σῶσαι αὐτὴν δι' ἐμὲ, καὶ διὰ Δαυὶδ τὸν παῖδά μου. Δι' ὃ δεόμεθα καὶ παρακαλοῦμέν σε φιλάνθρωπε, ἀγαθὲ, ὑπεράσπισαι τῆς πόλεως ταύτης, διὰ τὸν μάρτυρα καὶ εὐαγγελίστην Μάρκον, τὸν ὑποδείξαντα ἡμῖν ὁδὸν τῆς σωτηρίας, χάριτι καὶ οἰκτιρμοῖς καὶ φιλανθρωπίᾳ τοῦ μονογενοῦς σου υἱοῦ, (elata voce) δι' οὗ καὶ μεθ' οὗ σοὶ ἡ δόξα καὶ τὸ κράτος, σὺν τῷ παναγίῳ καὶ ἀγαθῷ καὶ ζωοποιῷ σου πνεύματι.

Diaconus. Ἄρξαι.

Deinde dicunt versum. Diaconus dicit: Τὰς τρεῖς!*

Sacerdos hanc subjungit orationem (Collectam):

Δέσποτα κύριε, ὁ θεὸς, ὁ παντοκράτωρ, ὁ πατὴρ τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, δεόμεθα καὶ παρακαλοῦμέν σε· τὴν ἐξ οὐρανοῦ εἰρήνην βράβευσον ταῖς ἁπάντων ἡμῶν καρδίαις· ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῦ βίου τοῦτον τὴν εἰρήνην ἡμῖν δώρησαι. Τὸν ἁγιώτατον καὶ μακαριώτατον ἡμῶν Πάπαν τὸν Δ', καὶ τὸν ὁσιώτατον ἡμῶν ἐπίσκοπον συντηρῶν, συντήρησον ἡμῖν αὐτοὺς ἔτεσι πολλοῖς, εἰρηνικῶς ἐκτελοῦντας τὴν ὑπό σου ἐμπεπιστευμένην ἁγίαν ἀρχιερωσύνην, κατὰ τὸ ἅγιον καὶ μακάριόν σου θέλημα, ὀρθοτομοῦντας τὸν λόγον τῆς ἀληθείας σὺν πᾶσιν ὀρθοδόξοις ἐπισκόποις, πρεσβυτέροις, διακόνοις, ὑποδιακόνοις, ἀναγνώσταις, ψάλταις, σὺν παντὶ τῷ πληρώματι τῆς ἁγίας καθολικῆς καὶ ἀποστολικῆς ἐκκλησίας. Τὰς ἐπισυναγωγὰς ἡμῶν κύριε εὐλόγησον· δὸς αὐτὰς ἀκωλύτως καὶ ἀνεμποδίστως γενέσθαι κατὰ τὸ ἅγιόν σου θέλημα. Οἴκους εὐχῶν, οἴκους εὐλογιῶν ἡμῖν καὶ τοῖς μεθ' ἡμᾶς δούλοις σου εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα δώρησαι.

Ἐξεργέθητι, κύριε, καὶ διασκορπισθήτωσαν οἱ ἐχθροί σου· φυγέτωσαν πάντες οἱ μισοῦντες τὸ ὄνομά σου τὸ ἅγιον. Τὸν δὲ λαόν σου τὸν πιστὸν καὶ ὀρθόδοξον εὐλόγησον· ποίησον αὐτὸν εἰς χιλιάδας καὶ μυριάδας· καὶ μὴ κατισχύσῃ θάνατος ἁμαρτίας καθ' ἡμῶν, μηδὲ κατὰ παντὸς τοῦ λαοῦ

* Renaudotius (in adnotatione ad h. l. t. 356.) intelligendas esse credit tres orationes precatorias hic dicendas (id quod posteriori ætate fieri solebat) atque aliunde petendas, scilicet orationem veli, pro pace, et pro Patriarcha universaque ecclesia. At hæ a diacono neque dicebantur nec populo indicebantur. Græcorum litania hic significatur, cujus tres sunt partes: preeatio in silentio peracta, communis oratio, sacerdotis Collecta: quæ ex ordine a Diacono indicebantur. Sacerdotalis Collectæ verba exhibet textus.

Liturgia D. Marci, ut in Cod. Calabro.

σου, χάριτι καὶ οἰκτιρμοῖς καὶ φιλανθρωπίᾳ τοῦ μονογενοῦς σου υἱοῦ, (elata voce) δι' οὗ καὶ μεθ' οὗ σοὶ ἡ δόξα καὶ τὸ κράτος σὺν τῷ παναγίῳ καὶ ἀγαθῷ καὶ ζωοποιῷ σου πνεύματι.

Populus. Ἀμήν.

Sacerdos. Εἰρήνη πᾶσιν.

Populus. Καὶ τῷ πνεύματι σου.

Diaconus. Βλέπετε μή τις τῶν κατηχουμένων,

Psallunt Cherubim mystice. Sacerdos incensum offert ad Εἴσοδον μεγάλην seu majorem introitum et sic orat:

Κύριε ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν ὁ πάντων ἀπροσδεής, δέξαι τὸ θυμίαμα τοῦτο, ἐξ ἀναξίου χειρὸς προσφερόμενον, καὶ τῆς παρά σου εὐλογίας πάντας ἡμᾶς ἀξίωσον. Σὺ γὰρ εἶ ὁ ἁγιασμὸς ἡμῶν, καὶ σοὶ τὴν δόξαν ἀναπέμπομεν.

LITURGIA DIVI MARCI BYZANTINORUM.

MISSA FIDELIUM.

(*Oratio Introitus.*)

(Εἰσέρχονται τὰ ἅγια εἰς τὸ θυσιαστήριον.)

*Ἅγιε ὕψιστε, φοβερὲ, ὁ ἐν ἁγίοις ἀναπαυόμενος κύριε, αὐτὸς ἡμᾶς ἁγίασον καὶ ἀξίωσον τῆς φοβερᾶς σοῦ ἱερωσύνης· καὶ προσάγαγε ἡμᾶς τῷ τιμίῳ σοῦ θυσιαστηρίῳ μετὰ πάσης συνειδήσεως ἀγαθῆς· καὶ καθάρισον ἡμῶν τὰς καρδίας ἀπὸ παντὸς μολυσμοῦ· πᾶσαν αἴσθησιν πονηρὰν ἐκδίωξον ἀφ' ἡμῶν. Ἁγίασον τὸν νοῦν καὶ τὴν ψυχὴν, καὶ δὸς ἡμῖν τὴν τῶν πατέρων ἡμῶν ἐπιτελεῖν λατρείαν μετὰ φοβοῦ σου, ἐξιλασκόμενοι τὸ πρόσωπόν σου διὰ παντός· σὺ γὰρ εἶ ὁ εὐλογῶν καὶ ὁ ἁγιάζων τὰ σύμπαντα, καὶ σοὶ τὴν δόξαν καὶ τὴν εὐχαριστίαν ἀναπέμπομεν.**

Diac. Ἀσπάσασθε ἀλλήλους.

[*Δέσποτα κύριε παντόκρατορ, οὐράνοθεν ἐπίβλεψον ἐπὶ τὴν ἐκκλησίαν σου καὶ ἐπὶ πάντα τὸν λαόν σου, καὶ πᾶν τὸ ποίμνιόν σου, καὶ σῶσον πάντας ἡμᾶς τοὺς ἀναξίους δούλους σου, τὰ θρέμματα τῆς σῆς ἀγέλης, καὶ δώρησαι ἡμῖν τὴν σὴν εἰρήνην καὶ τὴν σὴν ἀγάπην καὶ τὴν σὴν βοήθειαν, καὶ*

* *Doxologia* quam hic desideras nunc adnexa legitur ad orationem abhinc secundam ad D. N. J. C. directam.

LITURGIA S. CYRILLI COPTORUM.

Deest. Ejus vice præbet *Orationem Sacerdotis secretam :*

Creator rerum omnium visibilium et invisibilium . . . deprecor te . . . ego imbellis, virtute carens et inutilis præ omnibus ministris tuis . . dum accedo ad sancta sanctorum tua . . . da mihi, Domine, spiritum tuum sanctum, etc.

Duas proponit, ad seligendum, formulas Orationis pacis:

(*a.*) Auctor vitæ et rex cœlestis . . . fac nos dignos pace cœlesti . . . ut demus eam invicem in caritate perfecta et osculemur nos mutuo in

ÆTHIOPUM CANON UNIVERSALIS.

Deest.

(*Symbolum Nicænum et deinde Collectam exhibet.*)

Oratio pro Pace perfecta.

Qui communicatis amplectimini invicem in plenitudine cordis vestri : qui communicaturus est custodiat se a malo.

Præbet orationem osculi

Liturgia Divi Marci Byzantinorum.

κατάπεμψον ἡμῖν τὴν δωρεὰν τοῦ παναγίου σου πνεύματος, ὅπως ἐν καθαρᾷ καρδίᾳ καὶ συνειδήσει ἀγαθῇ ἀσπασώμεθα ἀλλήλους ἐν φιλήματι ἁγίῳ, μὴ ἐν ὑποκρίσει, μὴ τὴν τοῦ ἀλλοτρίου* κεκτημένοι προαίρεσιν, ** ἀλλὰ ἄμωμον καὶ ἄσπιλον ἐν ἑνὶ πνεύματι, ἐν τῷ συνδέσμῳ τῆς εἰρήνης καὶ τῆς ἀγάπης, ἓν σῶμα καὶ ἓν πνεῦμα, ἐν μιᾷ πίστει, καθὼς καὶ ἐκλήθημεν ἐν μιᾷ ἐλπίδι τῆς κλήσεως ἡμῶν, ὅπως καταντήσωμεν οἱ πάντες εἰς τὴν θείαν καὶ ἀπέραντον στοργήν, ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ τῷ κυρίῳ ἡμῶν, μεθ' οὗ εὐλογητὸς εἶ.

(*Oratio Incensus.*)

(*Oblatio Populi.*)

Diaconus. Προσφέρειν κατὰ τρόπους στάθητε.

[Symbolum Nicænum a Sacerdote dum signat discos et calices.]†

(*Oratio Oblationis.*‡)

Diaconus. Ἐπὶ προσευχὴν στάθητε.

Sacerdos. Εἰρήνη πᾶσιν.

Diaconus. Προσεύξασθε ὑπὲρ τῶν προσφερόντων.

* i. e. sceleris, secundum usum τῶν ο'. Asterisci post προαιρ. lacunam indicant. Sententia ex textu Copto colligitur.

† Symbolum tanquam pars officii divini a sacerdote pro se ipso peragendi insertum, populo tamen adstipulante: Nicænum scilicet.

‡ Antiquus *offerendi* mos; populus dona ad altare offert, orante sacerdote. Diaconus offerentes exhortatur ut decenter et reverenter accedant ad altare.

Liturgia S. Cyrilli Coptorum.

osculo sancto, neque per cogitationes abominabiles despectui habeamus timorem tuum, aut mente dolosa et malitia proditoris.

(*b.*) Deus caritatis, largitor concordiæ .... tribue nobis ....: animum immemorem malitiæ prioris, conscientiam puram et cogitationes sinceras ..... ut demus osculum spirituale....

Utraque oratio auctorem diversum serioremque sapit ætatem.

Deest.

Æthiopum Canon universalis.

sancti, eamque valde consimilem duabus illis Coptorum junctis.

Deus magne et æterne... Domine per benignitatem tuam imple corda nostra pace tua et munda nos ab omni macula et immunditia, ab omni vindictæ studio, ab invidia et injuriarum recordatione letifera. Domine fac nos omnes dignos, ut amplectamur invicem in osculo sancto, ut percipiamus absque condemnatione donum tuum cœleste et immortale sicut decet gratiam tuam, qui cum Spiritu S.

[*Populus.* Christe Deus noster fac nos dignos salutandi te osculo sancto et cœlesti, ut laudemus te cum Cherubim. (Sanctus, etc.*)

(*Deest.* Incipiunt preces precatoriæ pro ecclesia in terra et in cœlo: verbis suis, non translatis, at seriorem ætatem redolentibus: v. p. seq.)]

* Interpolatio mystica Æthiopum.

Liturgia Divi Marci Byzantinorum.

Oratio Protheseos (Propositionis).*

Δέσποτα Ἰησοῦ Χριστὲ, ὁ σύναρχος Λόγος τοῦ Θεοῦ πατρὸς καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος, ὁ μέγας ἀρχιερεὺς, ὁ ἄρτος ὁ ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ καταβὰς καὶ ἀναγαγὼν ἐκ φθορᾶς τὴν ζωὴν ἡμῶν, ὁ δοὺς ἑαυτὸν ἀμνὸν ἄμωμον ὑπὲρ τῆς τοῦ κόσμου ζωῆς· δεόμεθα καὶ παρακαλοῦμέν σε, κύριε φιλάνθρωπε, ἐπίφανον τὸ πρόσωπόν σου ἐπὶ τὸν ἄρτον τοῦτον καὶ ἐπὶ τὰ ποτήρια ταῦτα, ἃ ἡ παναγία τράπεζα ὑποδέχεται δι' ἀγγελικῆς λειτουργίας καὶ ἀρχαγγελικῆς χοροστασίας καὶ ἱερατικῆς ἱερουργίας, εἰς σὴν δόξαν καὶ ἀνακαινισμὸν τῶν ἡμετερῶν ψυχῶν. [Χάριτι καὶ οἰκτιρμοῖς καὶ φιλανθρωπίᾳ τοῦ μονογενοῦς σου υἱοῦ, δι' οὗ καὶ μεθ' οὗ σοὶ ἡ δόξα καὶ τὸ κράτος (εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων. Ἀμήν.)]

Præfatio.

Ὁ κύριος μετὰ πάντων·
Καὶ μετὰ τοῦ πνεύματος σοῦ.
Ἄνω ὑμῶν τὰς καρδίας·
Ἔχομεν πρὸς τὸν κύριον.
Εὐχαριστῶμεν τῷ Κυρίῳ·
Ἄξιον καὶ δίκαιον.

† Ἀληθῶς γὰρ, ἄξιόν ἐστιν καὶ δίκαιον, ὅσιόν τε καὶ

* *Ad Christum Summum Sacerdotem.* Ultima verba prorsus absurda sunt: oratio ad ipsum Christum est directa: at illa clausula Deum adloquitur per D. N. I. C.

Omnino totam hanc orationem crediderim multo post insertam esse, quum jamdudum oblatio populi fieri desivisset.

† *Laudes et gratiarum actio* pro creatione et redemtione, forma antiqua sed ornatiore. Alludit ad hymni matutini principium, et affinis est illis quæ in Constitt. App. leguntur formulis.

Liturgia S. Cyrilli Coptorum.	Æthiopum Canon universalis.
	Dominus vobiscum. Sanctus in sanctis (ter).
"*Anaphora S. Cyrilli.*" * *Præfatio,* iisdem verbis.	
Laudes et Gratiarum actio: forma amplificata ex Græca.	Gratias agimus tibi Domine per dilectum filium tuum, quem misisti .... qui est verbum a te prodiens, in quo omnia fecisti per voluntatem tuam. †

* Titulus ipse hoc verum liturgiæ Alexandrinæ esse exordium arguit.

† Ad verbum expressa ex liturgia Apostolica. Quæ in illa antiquissima Æthiopum liturgia hanc sequuntur sententiam (p. 242.), ea nunc partem precum constituunt, quæ Verba Institutionis proxime præcedunt, ut p. 299. videbimus.

Liturgia Divi Marci Byzantinorum.

πρέπον, καὶ ταῖς ἡμετέραις ψυχαῖς ἐπωφελὲς, ὁ ὢν, δέσποτα, κύριε θεὲ, πάτερ παντόκρατορ, σὲ αἰνεῖν, σὲ ὑμνεῖν, σοὶ εὐχαριστεῖν, σοὶ ἀνθομολογεῖσθαι νύκτωρ τε καὶ καθ' ἡμέραν ἀκαταπαύστῳ στόματι καὶ ἀσιγήτοις χείλεσι καὶ ἀσιωπήτῳ καρδίᾳ· σοὶ τῷ ποιήσαντι τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ τὰ ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ, γῆν καὶ τὰ ἐν τῇ γῇ, θάλασσαν, πηγὰς, ποταμοὺς, λίμνας καὶ πάντα τὰ ἐν αὐτοῖς· σοὶ τῷ ποιήσαντι τὸν ἄνθρωπον κατ' ἰδίαν εἰκόνα καὶ καθ' ὁμοίωσιν, ᾧ καὶ ἐχαρίσω τὴν ἐν παραδείσῳ τρυφήν· παραβάντα δὲ αὐτὸν οὐχ ὑπερεῖδες, οὐδὲ ἐγκατέλιπες ἀγαθὲ, ἀλλὰ πάλιν ἀνακαλέσῳ διὰ νόμου, ἐπαιδαγώγησας διὰ προφητῶν, ἀνέπλασας, καὶ ἀνεκαίνισας διὰ τοῦ φρικτοῦ καὶ ζωοποιοῦ καὶ οὐρανίου μυστηρίου τούτου. πάντα δὲ ἐποίησας διὰ τῆς σῆς σοφίας, τοῦ φωτὸς τοῦ ἀληθινοῦ, τοῦ μονογενοῦς σου υἱοῦ, τοῦ κυρίου καὶ θεοῦ καὶ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ·* δι' οὗ σοὶ σὺν αὐτῷ καὶ ἁγίῳ πνεύματι εὐχαριστοῦντες προσφέρομεν τὴν λογικὴν καὶ ἀναίμακτον λατρείαν ταύτην, ἣν προσφέρει σοὶ κύριε πάντα τὰ ἔθνη, ἀπὸ ἀνατολῶν ἡλίου καὶ μέχρι δυσμῶν· ἀπὸ ἄρκτου καὶ μεσημβρίας· ὅτι μέγα τὸ ὄνομά σου ἐν πᾶσι τοῖς ἔθνεσι, καὶ ἐν παντὶ τόπῳ θυμίαμα προσφέρεται τῷ ὀνόματι ἁγίῳ σου, καὶ θυσία καὶ προσφορά.†

* Hæc omnia finem ævi ante-Nicæni redolent: sunt theologica, secundum Christologiam e doctrina *Verbi* evolutam, terminologia biblica potius quam ecclesiastica.

† Notandum est, deesse h. l. Hymnum Trisagion qui infra legitur insertus. Suscipiunt gratiarum actionem preces pro ecclesia, seculo secundo exeunte vel tertio ineunte insertæ.

S. Cyrilli Coptorum.

Quæ leguntur inde a verbis: παραβάντα δὲ αὐτὸν οὐχ ὑπερεῖδες, usque ad μυστηρίου τούτου (pag. seq.) desunt.

Æthiopum Canon universalis.

Desunt.

Liturgia Divi Marci Byzantinorum.

(*Preces pro Ecclesia, vel Oratio: Memento Domine.*)

Καὶ δεόμεθα καὶ παρακαλοῦμέν σε φιλάνθρωπε ἀγαθέ·

(*Pro Ecclesia in orbe terrarum diffusa.*)

Μνήσθητι κύριε τῆς ἁγίας καὶ μόνης καθολικῆς καὶ ἀποστολικῆς ἐκκλησίας, τῶν ἀπὸ γῆς περάτων μέχρι τῶν περάτων αὐτῆς, πάντων τῶν λαῶν, καὶ πάντων τῶν ποιμνίων σου.

(*Pro Pace Animæ et Mundi.*)

Τὴν ἐξ οὐρανοῦ εἰρήνην βράβευσον ταῖς ἁπάντων ἡμῶν καρδίαις· ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῦ βίου τούτου τὴν εἰρήνην ἡμῖν δώρησαι. Τὸν βασιλέα, τὰ στρατιωτικὰ, τοὺς ἄρχοντας, βουλὰς, δήμους, γειτονίας, εἰσόδους καὶ ἐξόδους ἡμῶν, ἐν πάσῃ εἰρήνῃ κατακόσμησον.* Βασιλεῦ τῆς εἰρήνης, τὴν σὴν εἰρήνην δὸς ἡμῖν ἐν ὁμονοίᾳ καὶ ἀγάπῃ· κτῆσαι ἡμᾶς ὁ Θεὸς, ἐκτός σου ἄλλον οὐκ οἴδαμεν· τὸ ὄνομά σου ὀνομάζομεν· ζωοποίησον τὰς ἁπάντων ἡμῶν ψυχὰς, καὶ μὴ κατισχύσῃ † θάνατος ἁμαρτίας καθ' ἡμῶν, μηδὲ κατὰ παντὸς τοῦ λαοῦ σου.

(*Pro Ægrotantibus et Afflictis.*)

Τοὺς νοσοῦντας κύριε τοῦ λαοῦ σου ἐπισκεψάμενος ἐν ἐλέει καὶ οἰκτιρμοῖς ἴασαι.

Ἀπόστησον ἀπ' αὐτῶν καὶ ἀφ' ἡμῶν πᾶσαν νόσον καὶ μαλακίαν, τὸ πνεῦμα τῆς ἀσθενείας ἐξάλευσον ἀπ' αὐτῶν. Τοὺς ἐν μακροῖς ἀῤῥωστήμασι προκατακειμένους ἐξανά-

* Hæc omnia spectant ad tempora imperii ante Constantinum.

† Edd.: κατισχύσει.

Liturgia S. Cyrilli Coptorum.	Æthiopum Canon universalis.
Preces pro Ecclesia: eædem.	Pro S. Patriarcha nostro et Per Stephanum Protomartyrem, etc. Memento etiam Eccl. Cath. et Apl. in pace, pretioso sanguine Christi tui ædificatam.
Pro Pace desunt.	
Desunt. *At additur:* (ecclesia) "quæ est a finibus ad fines terræ; ut in missa Basilii."	*Desunt.*
"Infirma populi tui sana."	
Desunt.	

Liturgia Divi Marci Byzantinorum.

στησον. Τοὺς ὑπὸ πνευμάτων ἀκαθάρτων ἐνοχλουμένους ἴασαι.* Τοὺς ἐν φυλακαῖς, ἢ ἐν μετάλλοις, ἢ δίκαις, ἢ καταδίκαις, ἢ ἐν ἐξορίαις, ἢ πικρᾷ δουλείᾳ, ἢ φόροις κατεχομένους πάντας ἐλέησον, πάντας ἐλευθέρωσον· ὅτι σὺ ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν, ὁ λύων πεπεδημένους· ὁ ἀνορθῶν τοὺς κατερραγμένους, ἡ ἐλπὶς τῶν ἀπελπισμένων, ἡ βοήθεια τῶν ἀβοηθήτων, ἡ ἀνάστασις τῶν πεπτωκότων, ὁ λιμὴν τῶν χειμαζομένων, ὁ ἔκδικος τῶν καταπονουμένων· πάσῃ ψυχῇ χριστιανῇ θλιβομένῃ καὶ περιερχομένῃ δὸς ἔλεος, δὸς ἄνεσιν, δὸς ἀνάψυξιν. Ἀλλὰ καὶ ἡμῶν κύριε τὰς κατὰ ψυχὴν νόσους ἴασαι, τὰς σωματικὰς ἀσθενείας θεράπευσον, ἰατρὲ ψυχῶν καὶ σωμάτων· ἐπίσκοπε πάσης σαρκὸς, ἐπίσκεψαι καὶ ἴασαι ἡμᾶς διὰ τοῦ σωτηρίου σου.

(*Pro Peregrinantibus et Navigantibus.*)

Τοὺς ἀποδημήσαντας ἡμῶν ἀδελφοὺς ἢ μέλλοντας ἀποδημεῖν ἐν παντὶ τόπῳ κατευόδωσον, εἴτε διὰ γῆς ἢ ποταμῶν ἢ λιμνῶν ἢ ὁδοιπορίων ἢ οἱῳδήποτε τρόπῳ τὴν πορείαν ποιοῦντας, πάντας πανταχοῦ ἀποκατάστησον εἰς λιμένα εὔδιον, εἰς λιμένα σωτήριον· σύμπλους καὶ συνοδοίπορος αὐτῶν γενέσθαι καταξίωσον· ἀπόδος τοῖς οἰκείοις αὐτῶν χαίρουσιν, ὑγιαίνοντας ὑγιαίνουσιν. †

* Tempora persecutionis seculi tertii hic respiciuntur. Φόροι alludere videntur ad tributa Christianis tamquam pœnæ causa (ut nunc Judæis Romæ commorantibus) imposita.

† Hæc ultima vere Alexandrina sunt atque e vita incolarum portus omnium apud veteres frequentatissimi desumta: item quæ mox sequuntur preces pro Nili incremento et pro inundatione abundante.

Liturgia S. Cyrilli Coptorum.	Æthiopum Canon universalis.
Desunt.	*Desunt.*
Patres fratresque nostros peregre profectos.... Orate et pro illis qui designaverunt ad quemcunque locum proficisci, et cætera.	

Liturgia Divi Marci Byzantinorum.

(*Pro Benedictione Terræ.*)

Ἀλλὰ καὶ ἡμῶν, κύριε, τὴν παρεπιδημίαν τὴν ἐν τῷ βίῳ τούτῳ ἀβλαβῆ καὶ ἀχείμαστον μέχρι τέλους διαφύλαξον. Τοὺς ὑετοὺς ἀγαθοὺς πλουσίως κατάπεμψον ἐπὶ τοὺς χρήζοντας καὶ ἐπὶ τοὺς δεομένους τόπους. εὔφρανον καὶ ἀνακαίνισον τῇ καταβάσει αὐτῶν τὸ πρόσωπον τῆς γῆς, ἵνα ἐν ταῖς σταγόσιν αὐτῆς εὐφρανθήσηται ἀνατέλλουσα. Ποτάμια ὕδατα ἀνάγαγε ἐπὶ τὸ ἴδιον μέτρον αὐτῶν, εὔφρανον καὶ ἀνακαίνισον τῇ ἀναβάσει αὐτῶν τὸ πρόσωπον τῆς γῆς. Τοὺς αὔλακας αὐτῆς μέθυσον, πλήθυνον τὰ γεννήματα αὐτῆς. Τοὺς καρποὺς τῆς γῆς κύριε εὐλόγησον, σώους καὶ ἀκεραίους ἡμῖν διατήρησον· παράστησον ἡμῖν αὐτοὺς εἰς σπέρμα καὶ εἰς θερισμόν. Εὐλόγησον καὶ νῦν κύριε τὸν στέφανον τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ τῆς χρηστότητός σου, διὰ τοὺς πτωχοὺς τοῦ λαοῦ σοῦ, διὰ τὴν χήραν καὶ διὰ τὸν ὄρφανον, διὰ τὸν προσήλυτον, δι ἡμᾶς πάντας τοὺς ἐλπίζοντας ἐπί σε καὶ ἐπικαλουμένους τὸ ὄνομά σου τὸ ἅγιον. Οἱ γὰρ ὀφθαλμοὶ πάντων εἴς σε ἐλπίζουσιν, καὶ σὺ δίδως τὴν τροφὴν αὐτῶν ἐν εὐκαιρίᾳ. Ὁ διδοὺς τρόφην πάσῃ σαρκὶ, πλήρωσον χαρᾶς καὶ εὐφροσύνης τὰς καρδίας ἡμῶν, ἵνα πάντοτε πᾶσαν αὐτάρκειαν ἔχοντες, περισσεύωμεν εἰς πᾶν ἔργον ἀγαθὸν, ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ τῷ κυρίῳ ἡμῶν.

[(*Preces pro Imperatore Christiano**). Βασιλεῦ τῶν βασιλευόντων καὶ κύριε τῶν κυριευόντων, τὴν βασιλείαν τοῦ δούλου σου τοῦ ὀρθοδόξου καὶ φιλοχρίστου ἡμῶν βασιλέως, ὃν

* *Insertæ post Constantinum*; veteres preces pro imperatore supra jam legimus.

Liturgia S. Cyrilli Coptorum.	Æthiopum Canon universalis.
	Desunt.
Similia, at non eadem. Add. ut in Missa Basilii.	
	(*Post precem pro defunctis:*)
Domine, miserere Regis terræ famuli tui. *Alia, sed similia.*	Memento Domine regis nostri, Libna Dinghil.

Liturgia Divi Marci Byzantinorum.

ἐδικαίωσας βασιλεύειν ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς ἐν εἰρήνῃ καὶ ἀνδρίᾳ καὶ δικαιοσύνῃ. Ὁ θεὸς πάντα ἐχθρὸν καὶ πολέμιον ἐμφυλιόν τε καὶ ἀλλόφυλον.* ἐπιλαβοῦ ὅπλου καὶ θυραιοῦ, καὶ ἀνάστηθι εἰς τὴν βοήθειαν αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἔκχεον ῥομφαίαν καὶ σύγκλεισον ἐξεναντίας τῶν καταδιωκόντων αὐτόν. Ἐπισκίασον ἐπὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν αὐτοῦ ἐν ἡμέρᾳ πολέμου· κάθισον ἐκ τῆς ὀσφύος αὐτοῦ † ἀγαθὰ ὑπὲρ τῆς ἁγίας σου καθολικῆς καὶ ἀποστολικῆς ἐκκλησίας καὶ παντὸς τοῦ φιλοχρίστου λαοῦ, ἵνα καὶ ἡμεῖς ἐν τῇ γαληνότητι αὐτοῦ ἤρεμον καὶ ἡσύχιον βίον διάγωμεν, ἐν πάσῃ εὐσεβείᾳ καὶ σεμνότητι.]

Pro pie defunctis.

Τῶν ἐν πίστει Χριστοῦ προκεκοιμημένων πατρῶν τε καὶ ἀδελφῶν τὰς ψυχὰς ἀνάπαυσον, κύριε ὁ θεὸς ἡμῶν, μνησθεὶς τῶν ἀπ' αἰῶνος προπατέρων, πατέρων, πατριαρχῶν, προφητῶν, ἀποστόλων‡, μαρτύρων, ὁμολογητῶν, ἐπισκόπων, ὁσίων, δικαίων, παντὸς πνεύματος ἐν πίστει Χριστοῦ τετελειωμένων·§ καὶ ὧν ἐν τῇ σήμερον ἡμέρᾳ τὴν ὑπόμνησιν ποιούμεθα‖, [καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου πατρὸς ἡμῶν Μάρκου τοῦ ἀποστόλου καὶ εὐαγγελιστοῦ, τοῦ ὑποδείξαντος ἡμῖν ὁδὸν σωτηρίας· [Χαῖρε κεχαριτωμένη, ὁ κύριος μετά σου, εὐλογημένη σὺ ἐν γυναιξίν, καὶ εὐλογήμενος ὁ καρπὸς τῆς κοιλίας σου, ὅτι ἔτεκες σωτῆρα τῶν ψυχῶν ἡμῶν. Ἐκφ.] Ἐξαιρέτως τῆς παναγίας, ἀχράντου, εὐλογημένης δεσποίνης ἡμῶν, θεοτόκου καὶ ἀειπαρθένου Μαρίας . . . (*Dia-*

* Deest verbum repellendi, ἀμύνω, e. g.

† Desunt quædam.

‡ Laudantur ab Origene: v. supra.

§ Lege τετελειωμένου: v. supra.

‖ Ex diptychis. In iis quæ sequuntur evidens est interpolatio. Omnia confusa et inconcinna. Verba χαῖρε κεχαριτωμένη . . . . ψυχῶν ἡμῶν inserta sunt in interpolationem quarti seculi.

Liturgia S. Cyrilli Coptorum.	Æthiopum Canon universalis.
	Desunt.
Domine miserere patribus fratribusque nostris qui obdormierunt, et quorum animas suscepisti quietem præsta. Memento etiam omnium sanctorum (ut in Græcis). Et omnium spirituum justorum qui in fide perfecti fuerunt. (Deest h. l. mentio diptychorum, et Marci.* Deest χαῖρε . . . . . ψυχῶν ἡμῶν. "Præcipue autem S. Genitricis," etc. *Addit:* Et nos non digni sumus, qui pro beatis illis supplicemus . . . ipsi inter-	Miserere, Domine, animarum servorum tuorum et ancillarum tuarum, qui . . . quietem acceperunt in fide tua . . . (Et sic omnia sensu eodem, verbis propriis: at tantum non prætermisso, si patriarcham et regem exceperis, Christianorum in terra degentium populo. (*Aliis verbis.*)

* Marci mentionem in Liturgia a Marco, ut pie credit Andreas editor, conscripta, lectoribus absurdam videri posse ille quidem vidit: at non magis mirificum esse dicit quam Moysen suum ipsius decessum narrasse!

conus legit diptycha defunctorum.) Καὶ τούτων πάντων τὰς ψυχὰς ἀνάπαυσον, δέσποτα κύριε ὁ θεὸς ἡμῶν, ἐν ταῖς τῶν ἁγίων σου σκηναῖς, ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ σου χαριζόμενος αὐτοῖς τὰ τῶν ἐπαγγελιῶν σου ἀγαθὰ, ἃ ὀφθαλμὸς οὐκ εἶδεν, καὶ οὖς οὐκ ἤκουσεν, καὶ ἐπὶ καρδίαν ἀνθρώπων οὐκ ἀνέβη, ἃ ἡτοίμασας ὁ θεὸς τοῖς ἀγαπῶσι τὸ ὄνομά σου τὸ ἅγιον.]* Αὐτῶν μὲν τὰς ψυχὰς ἀνάπαυσον, καὶ βασιλείας οὐρανῶν καταξίωσον· ἡμῖν δὲ τὰ τέλη τῆς ζωῆς χριστιανὰ καὶ εὐάρεστα καὶ ἀναμάρτητα δώρησαι· καὶ δὸς ἡμῖν μερίδα καὶ κλῆρον ἔχειν μετὰ πάντων τῶν ἁγίων σου. †

Pro iis qui vel offerunt vel offerre aliquid desiderant.

Τῶν προσφερόντων τὰς θυσίας καὶ τὰς προσφορὰς τὰ εὐχαριστήρια πρόσδεξαι ὁ θεὸς εἰς τὸ ἅγιον καὶ ἐπουράνιον καὶ νοερόν σου θυσιαστήριον, εἰς τὰ μεγέθη τῶν οὐρανῶν, διὰ τῆς ἀρχαγγελικῆς σου λειτουργίας, τῶν τὸ πολὺ καὶ ὀλίγου, κρυφᾷ καὶ παῤῥησίᾳ, βουλομένων καὶ οὐκ ἐχόντων, καὶ τῶν ἐν τῇ σήμερον ἡμέρᾳ τὰς προσφορὰς προσενεγκάντων, ὡς προσεδέξω τὰ δῶρα τοῦ δικαίου σου Ἄβελ, [hic thurificat Sacerdos] τὴν θυσίαν τοῦ πατρὸς ἡμῶν Ἀβραὰμ, Ζαχαρίου τὸ θυμίαμα, Κορνελίου τὰς ἐλεημοσύνας, καὶ τῆς χήρας τὰ δύο λεπτὰ, πρόσδεξαι καὶ αὐτῶν τὰ εὐχαριστήρια, καὶ ἀντιδὸς αὐτοῖς ἀντὶ τῶν

* Usque huc interpolatio post Constantinum facta; qua remota, concinna omnino evadit sententia. Αὐτῶν μὲν refert ad illa verba: καὶ ὧν ἐν τῇ σήμερον ἡμέρᾳ τὴν ὑπόμνησιν ποιούμεθα, quæ diptycha ibi legenda indicant.

† Laudantur ab Origene: v. supra.

Liturgia S. Cyrilli Coptorum.

cedunt loco nostro (post Augustini tempora inserta).

Addit: Memento archiepiscoporum nostrorum defunctorm, etc.

Pergit, post diptycha: Et illorum omniumque quorum nomina recitamus et quorum non recitamus . . . . qui dormierunt in fide, etc. Dignare ut requiescant in sinu Abrahæ, etc.

Sacrificium oblationesque in gratiarum actionem eorum qui offerunt laudem et gloriam nomini tuo. Suscipe ea super altare tuum spirituale, etc. *Ut in Græcis.*

Æthiopum Canon universalis.

ἐπιγείων τὰ οὐράνια, ἀντὶ τῶν προσκαίρων τὰ αἰώνια.*

[Τὸν† ἁγιώτατον καὶ μακαριώτατον Πάπαν Δ', ὃν προέγνως καὶ (ἠξιώσας ‡) προχειρίσασθαι τὴν ἁγίαν σου καθολικὴν καὶ ἀποστολικὴν ἐκκλησίαν, καὶ τὸν ὁσιώτατον ἐπίσκοπον Δ' τὸν ἡμέτερον συντηρῶν, συντήρησον αὐτοὺς ἔτεσι πολλοῖς, χρόνοις εἰρηνικοῖς, ἐκτελοῦντας αὐτοὺς τὴν ὑπὸ σοῦ ἐμπεπιστευμένην ἁγίαν σου ἀρχιερωσύνην, κατὰ τὸ ἅγιον καὶ μακάριόν σου θέλημα, ὀρθοτομοῦντας τὸν λόγον τῆς ἀληθείας. Μνήσθητι δὲ καὶ τῶν ἁπανταχοῦ ὀρθοδόξων ἐπισκόπων, πρεσβυτέρων, διακόνων, ὑποδιακόνων, ἀναγνωστῶν, ψαλτῶν, μοναζόντων, ἀειπαρθένων, χηρῶν, λαϊκῶν. Μνήσθητι κύριε τῆς ἁγίας Χριστοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ ἡμῶν πόλεως, καὶ τῆς βασιλευούσης §, καὶ τῆς πόλεως ἡμῶν ταύτης, πάσης πόλεως καὶ χώρας, καὶ τῶν ἐν ὀρθοδόξῳ πίστει Χριστοῦ οἰκούντων ἐν αὐταῖς, εἰρήνης καὶ ἀσφαλείας αὐτῶν. Μνήσθητι κύριε πάσης ψυχῆς χριστιανῆς θλιβομένης καὶ καταπονουμένης, ἐλέους θεοῦ καὶ βοηθείας ἐπιδεομένης, καὶ ἐπιστροφῆς τῶν πεπλανημένων. Μνήσθητι κύριε τῶν ἐν αἰχμαλωσίᾳ, τῶν ἀδελφῶν ἡμῶν, δὸς αὐτοῖς ἐν ἐλέει καὶ οἰκτιρμοῖς εἶναι, ἐναντίον πάντων τῶν αἰχμαλωτευσάντων αὐτούς.

(*Pro cetero Populo et pro Sacerdote Preces offerente.*)

Μνήσθητι κύριε καὶ ἡμῶν τῶν ἁμαρτωλῶν καὶ ἀναξίων

* Continuatur liturgia vetus p. 296. verbis Diaconi, Εἰς ἀνατολήν.

† Incipit interpolatio seculi quarti vel quinti: Papa, civitas Imperialis, cetera jam supra memorata.

‡ Ita suppleo lacunam codicis.

§ Romæ (Veteris vel Novæ), i. e. Romæ vel Constantinopolis.

Liturgia S. Cyrilli Coptorum.	Æthiopum Canon universalis.
Addit post "Æterna pro temporalibus (ἀντὶ τῶν προσκαίρων τὰ αἰώνια: domos eorum et cellas panuarias reple bonis omnibus. Circumda eos, Domine, potestate angelorum et archangelorum tuorum sanctorum: et sicut memores fuerunt nominis tui super terram, memento illorum in regno tuo, et inhoc seculo ne derelinquas eos.	*Desunt.*
Preces pro Patriarcha, prolixiores, verbis aliquantum diversis.	*Desunt.*
Eadem fere.	
Eadem, at multo prolixiora.	*Desunt.*

δούλων σου, καὶ τὰς ἁμαρτίας ἡμῶν ἐξάλειψον, ὡς ἀγαθὸς καὶ φιλάνθρωπος Θεός. Μνήσθητι κύριε καὶ ἐμοῦ τοῦ ταπεινοῦ καὶ ἁμαρτωλοῦ καὶ ἀναξίου δούλου σου, καὶ τὰς ἁμαρτίας μου ἐξάλειψον ὡς φιλανθρωπὸς Θεός. Συμπάρεσο δὲ ἡμῖν λειτουργοῦσι τῷ παναγίῳ σου ὀνόματι. Τὰς ἐπισυναγωγὰς* ἡμῶν κύριε εὐλόγησον. Τὴν εἰδωλολατρείαν τέλεον ἐκρίζωσον ἀπὸ τοῦ κόσμου. Τὸν σατανᾶν καὶ πᾶσαν αὐτοῦ τὴν ἐνέργειαν καὶ πονηρίαν σύντριψον ὑπὸ τοὺς πόδας ἡμῶν. Τοὺς ἐχθροὺς τῆς ἐκκλησίας σου κύριε ὡς πάντοτε καὶ νῦν ταπείνωσον. Γύμνωσον αὐτῶν τὴν ὑπερηφανίαν· δείξον αὐτοῖς ἐν τάχει τὴν ἀσθενείαν αὐτῶν· τὰς ἐπιβουλὰς αὐτῶν καὶ τὰς πανουργίας, ἃς ποιοῦσιν καθ' ἡμῶν ἀπράκτους ποίησον. Ἐξεγέρθητι κύριε καὶ διασκορπισθήτωσαν οἱ ἐχθροί σου, καὶ φυγέτωσαν εἰς τὰ ὀπίσω πάντες οἱ μισοῦντες τὸ ὄνομά σου τὸ ἅγιον. Τὸν † δὲ λαόν σου τὸν πιστὸν καὶ ὀρθόδοξον, ἐπ' εὐλογίας χιλίας χιλιάδας καὶ μυρίας μυριάδας, ποιοῦντας τὸ θέλημά σου τὸ ἅγιον.

Diaconus. Οἱ καθήμενοι ἀνάστητε.‡

Sacerdos. Λύτρωσαι δεσμίους, ἐξέλου τοὺς ἐν ἀνάγκαις, πεινῶντας χόρτασον, ὀλιγοψυχοῦντας παρακάλεσον, πεπλανημένους ἐπίστρεψον, ἐσκοτισμένους φωταγώγησον, πεπτωκότας ἔγειρον, σαλευομένους στήριξον, νενοσηκότας ἴασαι, παντὰς, ἀγαθὲ, εἰς τὴν ὁδὸν τῆς σωτηρίας σύναψον, καὶ αὐτοὺς τῇ ἁγίᾳ σοῦ ποίμνῃ· ἡμᾶς δὲ ῥῦσαι ἀπὸ τῶν ἀνομιῶν ἡμῶν, φρουρὸς ἡμῶν καὶ ἀντιλήπτωρ κατὰ πάντα γενόμενος.] §

Diaconus. Εἰς ἀνατολήν.

Sacerdos. Σὺ γὰρ εἶ ὁ ὑπεράνω πάσης ἀρχῆς καὶ ἐξουσίας καὶ δυνάμεως καὶ κυριότητος καὶ παντὸς ὀνό-

* Vox Alexandrina solennis, quæ jam in Ep. ad Hebr. occurrit pro συναγωγὴ.

† Lacuna codicis.

‡ Hæc et quæ præcedunt verba de myriadibus angelorum, laudantur ab Origene : v. supra.

§ Desinit interpolatio quæ inceperat p. 294.

Liturgia S. Cyrilli Coptorum.	Æthiopum Canon universalis.
Eadem, prolixiora.	Qui sedetis surgite. Ad orientem aspicite. Coram te stant mille millies angeli, archangeli, sancti.
"Qui sedetis surgite." *Ut in Græcis.*	
	Desunt.
Ut in Græcis.	

ματος, ὀνομαζομένου οὐ μόνον ἐν τῷ αἰῶνι τούτῳ, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν τῷ μέλλοντι. Σοὶ παραστήκουσι χίλιαι χιλιάδες καὶ μύριαι μυριάδες ἁγίων ἀγγέλων, καὶ ἀρχαγγέλων στρατιαί. Σοὶ παραστήκουσι τὰ δύο τιμιώτατά σου ζῶα, τὰ πολυόμματα χερουβὶμ, καὶ τὰ ἑξαπτέρυγα σεραφὶμ, ἃ δυσὶ μὲν πτέρυξι τὰ πρόσωπα καλύπτοντα, καὶ δυσὶ τοὺς πόδας, καὶ δυσὶν ἱπτάμενα, καὶ κέκραγεν ἕτερον πρὸς τὸ ἕτερον ἀκαταπαύστοις στόμασι, καὶ ἀσιγήτοις θεολογίαις, τὸν ἐπινίκιον καὶ τρισάγιον ὕμνον ᾄδοντα, βοῶντα, δοξολογοῦντα, κεκραγότα καὶ λέγοντα τῇ μεγαλοπρεπεῖ σου δόξῃ· Ἅγιος, ἅγιος, ἅγιος κύριος Σαβαώθ· Πλήρης ὁ οὐρανὸς καὶ ἡ γῆ τῆς ἁγίας σου δόξης.

Πάντοτε μὲν πάντα σε ἁγιάζει, ἀλλὰ καὶ μετὰ πάντων τῶν σε ἁγιαζόντων δέξαι δέσποτα κύριε καὶ τὸν ἡμέτερον ἁγιασμὸν, σὺν αὐτοῖς ὑμνούντων καὶ λεγόντων·*

Populus. *Ἅγιος, ἅγιος, ἅγιος κύριος.*

Sanctus, Sanctus, a populo cantatur.

[Sacerdos mysteria sancta signaculo crucis signat.]

Πλήρης γάρ ἐστιν ὡς ἀληθῶς ὁ οὐρανὸς καὶ ἡ γῆ τῆς ἁγίας σου δόξης διὰ τῆς ἐπιφανείας τοῦ κυρίου καὶ θεοῦ καὶ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ· πλήρωσον ὁ θεὸς καὶ ταύτην τὴν θυσίαν τὴν παρά σου εὐλογίας, διὰ τῆς ἐπιφοιτήσεως τοῦ παναγίου σου πνεύματος.

* Edd. male: *πάντας ἁγιάζῃ*. Vide textum Coptorum.

Liturgia S. Cyrilli Coptorum.	Æthiopum Canon universalis.
	Veneranda animalia, etc.
	Alas habentes.
Ut in Græcis.	*Ut in Græcis.*
	Sanctus sanctus.
Unusquisque eorum semper te sanctificat, sed et cum omnibus, etc.	*Desunt.*
Ut in Græcis.	(Vid. supra mox post præfationem.)
Post: "Spiritus tui Sancti" *addit:*	Vere pleni sunt cœli et terra sanctitate gloriæ tuæ, per D. N. J. C. qui venit et *natus est ex Virgine,

* Continuatur hic antiquissimæ Liturgiæ apostolicæ, quæ apud Abyssinios conservatur, gratiarum actio sive eucharistia (p. 242.). Priorem partem serior Abyssiniorum Liturgia præbet (p. 281.). Notandum est, prima nostri textus verba simpliciorem et haud dubie antiquiorem formam Liturgiæ apostolicæ exhibere.

(*Verba Institutionis.*)

Οτι αὐτὸς ὁ κύριος, καὶ ὁ θεὸς καὶ παμβασιλεὺς ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦς ὁ Χριστὸς τῇ νυκτὶ ᾗ παρεδίδου ἑαυτὸν ὑπὲρ τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν ἡμῶν, καὶ τὸν ὑπὲρ πάντων ὑψίστατον* θάνατον, σαρκὶ συνανακλιθεὶς μετὰ τῶν ἁγίων καὶ ἀχράντων καὶ ἀμώμων αὐτοῦ χειρῶν, ἀναβλέψας εἰς τὸν ἴδιον πατέρα, θεὸν δὲ ἡμῶν καὶ θεὸν τῶν ὅλων, εὐχαριστήσας, εὐλογήσας, ἁγιάσας, κλάσας διέδωκε τοῖς ἁγίοις καὶ μακαρίοις αὐτοῦ μαθηταῖς καὶ ἀποστόλοις, εἶπών· (Ἐκφ.) Λάβετε, φάγετε.

Diaconus. Ἐκτείνατε.

Sacerdos. Τοῦτο γάρ ἐστι τὸ σῶμά μου τὸ ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν κλώμενον καὶ διαδιδόμενον εἰς ἄφεσιν ἁμαρτιῶν.

Populus. Αμήν.

Sacerdos orans. Ὡσαύτως καὶ τὸ ποτήριον μετὰ τὸ δειπνῆσαι λαβὼν, καὶ κεράσας ἐξ οἴνου καὶ ὕδατος, [ἀναβλέψας εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν πρός τε τὸν ἴδιον πατέρα, θεὸν δὲ ἡμῶν καὶ θεὸν τῶν ὅλων,] εὐχαριστήσας, εὐλογήσας, πλήσας πνεύματος ἁγίου, μετέδωκε τοῖς ἁγίοις

* De solœcismo ὑψίστατον vide quæ supra ad p. 251. diximus. Lacunam sic fere suppleo : εἰς θανατὸν σαρκὶ, συνανακλιθεὶς μετὰ τῶν ἁγίων μαθητῶν λαβὼν ἄρτον ἐπὶ τῶν ἁγίων καὶ ἀχρ. κ.τ.λ.

Liturgia S. Cyrilli Coptorum.

✠ Amen : et benedictione benedic.

✠ Amen : et benedictione purifica hæc dona tua veneranda proposita coram te, hunc panem et hunc calicem.

Quippe filius tuus "ea nocte qua tradidit se ipsum ut pateretur pro peccatis nostris, ante mortem quam propria sua voluntate suscepit pro nobis omnibus, accepit panem in manus suas sanctas, immaculatas, puras, beatas et vivificantes, et suspexit in cœlum ad Te, Deum Patrem suum, et omnium Dominum, et gratias egit, etc. etc."

Verba in Græcis inserta : *ἀναβλέψας . . . . θεὸν τῶν ὅλων, desunt.*

Æthiopum Canon universalis.

ut voluntatem tuam perficeret, populumque sanctum tibi constitueret. Extendit manus suas ad passionem, passus est ut passiones solveret eorum qui sperant in te: qui tradidit se ipsum voluntate propria ad patiendum, ut mortem destrueret et vincula Satanæ dissolveret, infirmum calcaret, testamentum tuum constitueret, et resurrectionem suam manifestaret. Ea ipsa nocte in qua traditus est, cepit panem in manus suas sanctas et immaculatas, aspexit in cœlum ad te patrem suum, gratias egit, benedixit, sanctificavit et dedit discipulis suis, dicens: accipite, manducate ex eo vos omnes. Hic panis est corpus meum quod pro vobis frangitur in remissionem peccatorum. Amen. etc. etc.

καὶ μακαρίοις αὐτοῦ μαθηταῖς καὶ ἀποστόλοις, εἰπών· (Ἐκφ.) Πίετε ἐξ αὐτοῦ πάντες.

Diaconus. Ἔτι ἐκτείνατε.

Sacerdos. Τοῦτο γάρ ἐστι τὸ αἷμά μου τὸ τῆς καινῆς διαθήκης, τὸ ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν καὶ πολλῶν ἐκχυνόμενον καὶ διαδιδόμενον εἰς ἄφεσιν ἁμαρτιῶν.[1]

Populus. Ἀμήν.

Sacerdos. Τοῦτο ποιεῖτε εἰς τὴν ἐμὴν ἀνάμνησιν. Ὁσάκις γὰρ ἂν ἐσθίητε τὸν ἄρτον τοῦτον, πίνητε δὲ καὶ ποτήριον τοῦτο, τὸν ἐμὸν θάνατον καταγγέλλετε, καὶ τὴν ἐμὴν ἀνάστασιν καὶ ἀνάληψιν ὁμολογεῖτε, ἄχρις οὗ ἂν ἔλθω.

(*Memores igitur.*)

Τὸν θάνατον δέσποτα κύριε παντόκρατορ ἐπουράνιε βασιλεῦ, τοῦ μονογενοῦς σου υἱοῦ, κυρίου τε καὶ θεοῦ καὶ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ καταγγέλλοντες, καὶ τὴν τριήμερον καὶ μακαρίαν αὐτοῦ ἐκ νεκρῶν ἀνάστασιν καὶ τὴν εἰς οὐρανοὺς ἀνάληψιν ὁμολογοῦντες *, καὶ τὴν ἐκ δεξιῶν σου τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ πατρὸς καθέδραν, καὶ τὴν δευτέραν καὶ φρικτὴν καὶ φοβερὰν αὐτοῦ παρουσίαν ἀπεκδεχόμενοι, ἐν ᾗ μέλλει ἔρχεσθαι κρῖναι ζῶντας καὶ νεκροὺς ἐν δικαιοσύνῃ, καὶ ἀποδοῦναι †, σοὶ κύριε ὁ θεὸς ἡμῶν τὰ σὰ ἐκ

* Libri Græci : ἀνάστασιν ὁμολογοῦντες καὶ τὴν — ἀνάληψιν ὁμολογοῦμεν. (V. supra.)

† Evidentem lacunam ita suppleo ex Syro : (ἀποδοῦναι) ἑκάστῳ κατὰ τὰ ἔργα αὐτοῦ εἴτε ἀγαθὸν εἴτε κακόν. Conflata hæc verba ex

Liturgia S. Cyrilli Coptorum.	Æthiopum Canon universalis.
	Et quotiescunque id feceritis, memoriam mei facietis.
Pop. Mortem tuam annunciamus Domine. *Sacerd.* Nunc, Deus pater omnipotens, annunciamus mortem unigeniti filii tui . . . . J. C. et confitemur resurrectionem ejus sanctam, et adscensionem ejus sursum in cœlos, etc. *Ut in Græcis.*	Nunc etiam, Domine, memoriam agentes mortis et resurrectionis tuæ offerimus tibi hunc panem et hunc calicem: gratias agentes tibi quod per ea dignos fecisti nos standi coram te tibique sacerdotale ministerium exhibendi.
"et dabit unicuique secundum opera sua, sive bonum sive malum."	

τῶν σῶν δώρων προεθήκαμεν ἐνώπιόν σου. Καὶ δεόμεθα καὶ παρακαλοῦμέν σε φιλάνθρωπε ἀγαθὲ, ἐξαπόστειλον ἐξ ὕψους τοῦ ἁγίου σου, ἐξ ἑτοίμου κατοικητηρίου σου, ἐκ τῶν ἀπεριγράπτων κόλπων, [*αὐτὸν τὸν παράκλητον, τὸ πνεῦμα τῆς ἀληθείας τὸν ἅγιον, τὸν κύριον, τὸ ζωοποιὸν, τὸ ἐν νόμῳ καὶ προφήταις καὶ ἀποστόλοις λαλῆσαν, τὸ πανταχοῦ παρὸν καὶ τὰ πάντα πληροῦν, ἐνεργοῦν τε, αὐτεξουσίως οὐ διακονικῶς, ἐφ' οὓς βούλεται τὸν ἁγιασμὸν εὐδοκίᾳ τῇ σῇ, τὸ ἁπλοῦν τὴν φύσιν, τὸ πολυμερὲς† τὴν ἐνέργειαν, τὴν τῶν θείων χαρισμάτων πηγήν· τό σοι ὁμοούσιον· τὸ ἔκ σοὺ ἐκπορευόμενον, τὸ σύνθρονον τῆς βασιλείας σου καὶ τοῦ μονογενοῦς σου υἱοῦ, τοῦ κυρίου καὶ θεοῦ καὶ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ. Ἔτι δὲ] ἐφ' ἡμᾶς καὶ ἐπὶ τοὺς ἄρτους τούτους καὶ ἐπὶ τὰ ποτήρια ταῦτα. τὸ πνεῦμά σου τὸ ἅγιον, ἵνα αὐτὰ ἁγιάσῃ καὶ τελειώσῃ, ὡς παντοδύναμος θεός. Ἐκφ. Καὶ ποιήσῃ τὸν μὲν ἄρτον σῶμα·

Populus. Ἀμήν.

Sacerdos. Τὸ δὲ ποτήριον αἷμα τῆς καινῆς διαθήκης, αὐτοῦ τοῦ κυρίου καὶ θεοῦ καὶ σωτῆρος, καὶ παμβασιλέως ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ.

Diaconus. Κατέλθετε οἱ διάκονοι.

Sacerdos. Ἵνα γένωνται πᾶσιν ἡμῖν τοῖς ἐξ αὐτῶν μεταλαμβάνουσιν, εἰς πίστιν, εἰς νῆψιν, εἰς ἴασιν, εἰς σωφροσύνην, εἰς ἁγιασμὸν,

iis quæ leguntur in fine Ecclesiastæ, et in Evangelio Matthæi xvi. 27.

* Athanasio posteriora hæc sunt, non antiqua.

† Ren. πλημμερὲς, quæ non est vox Græca.

Liturgia S. Cyrilli Coptorum.	Æthiopum Canon universalis.
Tu es coram cujus gloria hæc sancta dona proponimus, ex illis quæ tua sunt, Pater sancte. (*Adduntur diversæ preces*). Et mitte deorsum ex excelso tuo sancto, etc. *Ut in Græcis.*	Rogamus te, Domine, et deprecamur te ut mittas
Ut in Græcis. “ut purificentur et transferantur: et hunc panem quidem, etc.”	sanctum Spiritum, et virtutem super hunc panem et super hunc calicem, faciatque utrumque corpus et sanguinem Domini et salvatoris nostri J. C. in secula seculorum. Amen.
Ut in Græcis.	Da ut omnibus illa sumentibus fiant ad sanctificationem et plenitudinem Spiritus Sancti, et ad roborationem fidei, ...

εἰς ἐπανανέωσιν ψυχῆς, σώματος καὶ πνεύματος, εἰς κοινωνίαν μακαριότητος ζωῆς αἰωνίου καὶ ἀφθαρσίας, εἰς δοξολογίαν τοῦ παναγίου σου ὀνόματος, εἰς ἄφεσιν ἁμαρτιῶν, ἵνα σου καὶ ἐν τούτῳ καθὼς καὶ ἐν παντὶ δοξασθῇ καὶ ὑμνηθῇ καὶ ἁγιασθῇ τὸ παναγίον καὶ ἔντιμον καὶ δεδοξασμένον σου ὄνομα σὺν Ἰησοῦ Χριστῷ καὶ ἁγίῳ πνεύματι.

Populus. Ὥσπερ ἦν καὶ ἔστιν, (καὶ ἔσται εἰς γένεας γενεῶν καὶ εἰς αἰῶνα τῶν αἰώνων).

Sacerdos. Εἰρήνη πᾶσιν.

Diaconus. Προσεύξασθε.

(*Consecratio Populi præcedens Orationi dominicæ.*)

Sacerdos secreto orat. Θεὲ φωτὸς, γέννητορ ζωῆς, ἀρχηγὲ χάριτος, ποιητὰ αἰώνων, θεμελιωτὰ γνώσεως, δωρατὰ σοφίας, θησαυρὲ ἁγιωσύνης, διδάσκαλε εὐχῶν καθαρῶν, ψυχῆς εὐέργετα, ὁ τοῖς ὀλιγοψύχοις εἴς σε πεπειθῶσι διδοὺς ἃ ἐπιθυμοῦσιν ἄγγελοι παρακῦψαι· ὁ ἀναγαγὼν ἡμᾶς ἐξ ἀβύσσου εἰς φῶς, ὁ δοὺς ἡμῖν ἐκ θανάτου ζωὴν, ὁ χαρισάμενος ἡμῖν ἐκ δουλείας ἐλευθερίαν, ὁ τὸ ἐν ἡμῖν σκότος τῆς ἁμαρτίας διὰ τῆς παρουσίας τοῦ μονογενοῦς σου υἱοῦ λύσας· αὐτὸς καὶ νῦν δέσποτα, κύριε, διὰ τῆς ἐπιφοιτήσεως τοῦ παναγίου σου πνεύματος, καταύγασον τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς τῆς διανοίας ἡμῶν εἰς τὸ μεταλαβεῖν ἀκατακρίτως τοῦ ἀθανάτου καὶ ἐπουρανίου ταύτης τροφῆς· καὶ ἁγίασον ἡμᾶς ὁλοτελῶς ψυχῇ,

Liturgia S. Cyrilli Coptorum.

Æthiopum Canon universalis.

ut te sanctificent: per D. N. J.

"Pax omnibus. Et cum Sp. tuo. Iterum gratias agamus Deo omnipotenti, etc.

"*Cetera petenda sunt ex Liturgia Basilii.*"

Diac. Toto corde deprecemur Dominum Deum nostrum ut benigne nobis concedat unionem bonam Sp. Sancti.

Oratio Consecrationis similis, at diversa.

Deus qui præelegisti nos ad dignitatem filiorum . . . gratias agimus tibi quod nos feceris dignos, nos peccatores, standi coram te in hoc loco sancto, et perficiendi hoc mysterium sanctum et cœleste, ut quemadmodum fecisti nos dignos ista perficiendi, ita etiam digni perficiamur communione et perceptione illorum. Tu qui aperuisti oculos cœlorum, aperi oculos cordum nostrorum. . . . Atque uti

σώματι καὶ πνεύματι, ἵνα μετὰ τῶν ἁγίων σου μαθητῶν καὶ ἀποστόλων εἴπωμέν σοι τὴν προσευχὴν ταύτην, [τό· Πάτερ ἡμῶν ὁ ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς, καὶ τὰ ἑξῆς].

Ἐκφ. Καὶ καταξίωσον ἡμᾶς δέσποτα φιλάνθρωπε κύριε μετὰ παῤῥησίας, ἀκατακρίτως, ἐν καθαρᾷ καρδίᾳ, ψυχῇ πεφωτισμένῃ, ἐν ἀπαισχύντῳ προσώπῳ, ἡγιασμένοις χείλεσιν, τολμᾶν ἐπικαλεῖσθαί σε, τὸν ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς ἅγιον θεὸν πατέρα καὶ λέγειν·

(*Oratio dominica absque doxologia.*)

Populus. Πάτερ ἡμῶν ὁ ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς.

(Libera nos.)

Sacerdos. Ναὶ κύριε, κύριε, μὴ εἰσενέγκῃς ἡμᾶς εἰς πειρασμόν, ἀλλὰ ῥῦσαι ἡμᾶς ἀπὸ τοῦ πονηροῦ. Οἶδεν γὰρ ἡ πολλή σου εὐσπλαγχνία, ὅτι οὐ δυνάμεθα ὑπενεγκεῖν διὰ τὴν πολλὴν ἡμῶν ἀσθένειαν· ἀλλὰ ποίησον σὺν τῷ πειρασμῷ καὶ ἔκβασιν τοῦ δύνασθαι ἡμᾶς ὑπενεγκεῖν. Σὺ γὰρ ἔδωκας ἡμῖν ἐξουσίαν πατεῖν ἐπάνω ὄφεων καὶ σκορπίων, καὶ ἐπὶ πᾶσαν τὴν δύναμιν τοῦ ἐχθροῦ.

Liturgia S. Cyrilli Coptorum.

mundasti labia servi tui Isaiæ prophetæ, quando seraphim . . . . . ita . . . dignare sanctificare animas nostras, corpora nostra, labia et corda nostra: et da nobis carbonem illum verum, qui est corpus sanctum et sanguis pretiosus Christi tui, non ad condemnationem aut ita ut incidamus in judicium*, neque ad confusionem aut ad fletum.

†Verum largire nobis spiritum sanctum tuum, ut cordibus puris et conscientiis nitidis facieque inconfusa, fide non ficta, caritate perfecta et spe firma audeamus cum fiducia orare, dicendo orationem sanctam:

Pater noster qui es, etc.

(*Oratio similis, at diversa.*)

Rogamus te, Deus Pater omnipotens, ne nos inducas in tentationem sed libera nos a malo: actiones diabolicas a nobis remove: insidias per

Sacerd. Da nobis ut uniamur in Spiritu tuo Sancto, ut in te vivamus per omnia secula seculorum. Amen.

Deest Oratio dominica et quæ eam sequitur oratio.

Libera nos.

* Solennis Græcarum liturgiarum formula: *οὐκ εἰς κατάκριμα ἢ εἰς κρῖμα.*

† Nulla hoc loco fit Orationis dominicæ mentio: id quod interpolatum esse textum quem nunc legimus Græcum probat.

(*Doxologia Orationis dominicæ.*)

'Εκφ. Ὅτι σοῦ ἐστιν ἡ βασιλεία καὶ ἡ δύναμις.

Populus. Ἀμήν.

(Pax vobiscum.)

Sacerdos. Εἰρήνη πᾶσιν.

Diaconus. Τὰς κεφαλὰς ὑμῶν τῷ Ἰησοῦ κλίνατε.

Populus. Σοὶ κύριε.*

(*Oratio Consecrationis Populi prostrati.*)

Sacerdos. Δέσποτα κύριε ὁ Θεὸς, ὁ παντοκράτωρ, ὁ καθήμενος ἐπὶ τῶν Χερουβὶμ, καὶ δοξαζόμενος ὑπὸ τῶν Σεραφίμ· ὁ ἐξ ὑδάτων οὐρανὸν σκευάσας, καὶ τοῖς τῶν ἀστέρων χοροῖς κατακοσμήσας, ὁ ἐν ὑψίστοις ἀσωμάτους ἀγγέλων συστησάμενος στρατιὰς πρὸς ἀεννάους δοξολογίας· σοὶ ἐκλίναμεν τὸν αὐχένα τῶν ψυχῶν καὶ τῶν σωμάτων ἡμῶν, τὸ τῆς δουλείας πρόσχημα σημαίνοντες, καὶ δεόμεθά σου, τὰς

* Ren. σὺ κ. et τὰς κεφαλὰς ἡμῶν.

Liturgia S. Cyrilli Coptorum.

consilia improborum hominum omnes inutiles effice. Protege nos semper dextera tua vivificante, tu qui es adjutor noster et auxiliator noster, per C. D. N. cui, etc.

Sequuntur formulæ tres orationis post P. N. super populum prostratum. (*Finis Liturgiæ Cyrilli Copt.*)

(Desunt omnia hæc usque ad finem.)

Desunt.

Æthiopum Canon universalis.

Panis fractio, pœnitentia, oratio quæ incipit Libera, et communio.

Benedictum sit nomen Domini, et benedictus sit qui venit in nomine Domini: et benedicatur nomen ejus. Fiat, fiat, fiat. Mitte gratiam Spiritus Sancti super nos.

Diac. Surgite ad orationem.

Oratio Fractionis (*Sacerdotis*).

Gratias humiliter ago tibi Domine Deus qui sedes super thronum Cherubim . . . . benedic servis et ancillis tuis eorumque filiis, et retribue unicuique qui veniet partem accepturus ex admirabili mensa tua cum conscientia pura, remis-

Liturga Divi Marci Byzantinorum.

σκοτοειδεῖς τῆς ἁμαρτίας ἐφόδους ἐκ τῆς ἡμῶν διανοίας ἀπέλασον, καὶ ταῖς τοῦ ἁγίου σου θεοείδεσιν αὐγαῖς τὸν ἡμέτερον νοῦν καταφαίδρηνον, ὅπως τῇ γνώσει σου πληθυνόμενοι, ἀξίως μετάσχοιμεν τῶν προκειμένων ἡμῖν ἀγαθῶν, τοῦ ἀχράντου σώματος, καὶ τοῦ τιμίου αἵματος τοῦ μονογενοῦς σου υἱοῦ, τοῦ κυρίου καὶ θεοῦ καὶ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν, Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, συγχωρῶν ἡμῖν πᾶν εἶδος ἁμαρτιῶν, διὰ τὴν πολλὴν καὶ ἀνεξιχνίαστόν σου ἀγαθότητα, χάριτι καὶ οἰκτιρμοῖς καὶ φιλανθρωπίᾳ τοῦ μονογενοῦς σου υἱοῦ· Εκφ. Δι' οὗ, καὶ μεθ' οὗ, σοὶ ἡ δόξα καὶ τὸ κράτος σὺν τῷ παναγίῳ καὶ ἀγαθῷ καὶ ζωοποιῷ πνεύματι (ἀεὶ καὶ εἰς αἰῶνα τῶν αἰώνων.)

Εἰρήνη πᾶσιν.

(*Oratio Consecrationis Populi secreta.**)

Diaconus. Μετὰ φόβου θεοῦ.

Sacerdos. Ἅγιε, ὕψιστε, φοβερὲ, ὁ ἐν ἁγίοις ἀναπαυόμενος, κύριε, ἁγίασον ἡμᾶς τῷ λόγῳ τῆς σῆς χάριτος, καὶ τῇ ἐπιφοιτήσει τοῦ παναγίου σου πνεύματος. Σὺ γὰρ εἶπας δέσποτα, ἅγιοι ἔσεσθε, ὅτι ἐγὼ ἅγιός εἰμι, [κύριος ὁ θεὸς ἡμῶν, ἀκατάληπτε θεοῦ λόγε, τῷ πάτρι καὶ τῷ ἁγίῳ πνεύματι

* Secunda orationis pars ad Filium, tanquam Dei Verbum, directa. Tota oratio iisdem verbis in Græco Antiochenæ Liturgiæ textu legitur, ubi v. notam. Quominus vero totam interpolatam esse credam impedit quod in priori parte exhibentur vetustissimæ illius quam supra dedimus Liturgiæ Alexandrinæ verba.

Liturgia S. Cyrilli Coptorum.

Desunt.

Æthiopum Canon universalis.

sionem peccatorum quæ cum Sp. Sancto conjuncta est . . per gratiam unigeniti filii tui, qui, etc.

Oratio Pœnitentiæ.

Domine . . Deus noster, tu es qui tollis peccata mundi ; suscipe pœnitentiam servorum tuorum. . . Memento omnium qui obdormiverunt in fide Christi. . . . Libera etiam nos ab omni peccato . . . da nobis ut volutatem tuam faciamus omni tempore . . . . . tibi est gloria in secula seculorum. Amen.

ὁμοούσιε, συναΐδιε, καὶ σύναρχε, πρόσδεξο τὸν ἀκήρατον ὕμνον, σὺν τοῖς χερουβὶμ καὶ τεραφὶμ, καὶ παρ' ἐμοῦ τοῦ ἁμαρτωλοῦ καὶ ἀναξίου δούλου σου, ἐξ ἀναξίων μου χειλέων βοῶντα καὶ λέγοντα·*

Populus. Κύριε ἐλέησον. Κύριε ἐλέησον. Κύριε ἐλέησον.]

(Incipit Communio.)

Sacerdos. Τὰ ἅγια τοῖς ἁγίοις.

Populus. Εἷς πατὴρ ἅγιος, εἷς υἱὸς ἅγιος, ἓν πνεῦμα ἅγιον, εἷς ἑνότητα πνεύματος ἁγίου. Ἀμήν.

Diaconus. Ὑπὲρ σωτηρίας καὶ ἀντιλήψεων.

Sacerdos (cruce signans populum):

Ὁ κύριος μετὰ πάντων.

(Frangit panem:) Αἰνεῖτε τὸν θεὸν ἐν τοῖς (Psalmus cxviii.).

(Panem dividit:) Ὁ κύριος εὐλογήσει καὶ συνδιακονήσει διὰ τῆς μεγάλης.

Sacerdos. Κελεύετε.

Clerus. Τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον κελεύει καὶ ἁγιάζει.

Sacerdos. Ἰδοὺ ἡγίασται καὶ τετελείωται.

Clerus. Εἷς πατὴρ ἅγιος (ter).

* Scilicet hymnum *Unus pater sanctus*, populo prostrato et exclamante "*Domine miserere*," Sacerdote vero indicente hymnum communionisque principium solemnibus illis verbis: "*Sancta sanctis.*" Quo finito psalmi canuntur, dum sacramentum conficitur. Ceterum vide supra pag. 263. 265.

Liturgia S. Cyrilli Coptorum.

Desunt.

Æthiopum Canon universalis.

Diac. Aspiciamus.

Sacerd. Sancta Sanctis.

Unus pater Sanctus, unus filius Sanctus, unus Spiritus Sanctus.

Dominus vobiscum. Et c. sp. tuo.

Domine J. C. miserere nostri. (etc.)

Liturgia Divi Marci Byzantinorum.

Sacerdos. Ὁ κύριος μετὰ πάντων·

Clerus. Καὶ μετὰ τοῦ πνεύματός σου.

Sacerdos. Αὐτὸς εὐλόγησον αὐτόν.

Ὃν τρόπον ἐπιποθεῖ ἡ ἔλαφος ἐπὶ τὰς πηγὰς. (Ps. xlii.)

(Communio Populi.)

Σῶμα ἅγιον.

Αἷμα τίμιον τοῦ κυρίου καὶ θεοῦ καὶ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν.

Liturgia S. Cyrilli Coptorum.

Desunt.

Æthiopum Canon universalis.

Dominus vobiscum.

(*Communio Sacerdotis.*)

Corpus sanctum, pretiosum, vivum et verum D. N. et salvatoris J. C. quod datur ad remissionem peccatorum et vitam æternam suscipientibus illud cum fide. Amen.

Sanguis sanctus pretiosus, vivificans et verus Domini et Salvatoris nostri J. C. qui datur ad remissionem peccatorum et vitam æternam suscipientibus illum cum fide. Amen.

(Sequuntur alia theologice magis quam liturgice dicta.)

Communio Populi.

Hic est panis vitæ, qui de cœlo descendit, vere pretiosum corpus Emanuel Dei nostri. Amen.

Hic est calix vitæ, qui descendit de cœlo, qui est pretiosus sanguis Christi. Amen.

Liturgia Divi Marci Byzantinorum.

Diaconus. Ἐπὶ *προσευχὴν στάθητε.*

Sacerdos. Εἰ*ρήνη πᾶσιν.*

Diaconus. Π*ροσεύξασθε.*

(Postcommunio.)

Sacerdos. Ε*ὐχαριστοῦμεν σοὶ δέσποτα κύριε ὁ θεὸς ἡμῶν, ἐπὶ τῇ μεταλήψει τῶν ἁγίων, ἀχράντων, ἀθανάτων καὶ ἐπουρανίων σου μυστηρίων, ὧν ἔδωκας ἡμῖν ἐπὶ εὐεργεσίᾳ καὶ ἁγιασμῷ καὶ σωτηρίᾳ τῶν ψυχῶν καὶ τῶν σωμάτων ἡμῶν, καὶ δεόμεθα καὶ παρακαλοῦμεν σὲ φιλάνθρωπε, ἀγαθὲ, κύριε, χάρισαι ἡμῖν τὴν κοινωνίαν τοῦ ἁγίου σώματος καὶ τοῦ τιμίου αἵματος τοῦ μονογενοῦς σου υἱοῦ, εἰς πίστιν ἀκαταίσχυντον, εἰς ἀγάπην ἀνυπόκριτον, εἰς πλησμονὴν θεοσεβείας, εἰς ἀποτροπὴν ἐναντίου, εἰς περιποίησιν τῶν ἐντολῶν σου, εἰς ἐφόδιον ζωῆς αἰωνίου, εἰς ἀπολογίαν εὐπρόσδεκτον τὴν ἐπὶ τοῦ φοβεροῦ βήματος τοῦ Χριστοῦ σου· Ἐκφ. Δι' οὗ καὶ μεθ' οὗ σοὶ ἡ δόξα καὶ τὸ κράτος, σὺν τῷ παναγίῳ καὶ ἀγαθῷ καὶ ζωοποιῷ σου πνεύματι.*

[(*Oratio ad Christum directa.*)]

[(Sacerdos.) Ἄναξ *μέγιστε, καὶ τῷ πατρὶ σύναρχε, ὁ τῷ σῷ κράτει τὸν ἅδην σκολεύσας, καὶ τὸν θάνατον πατήσας, καὶ τὸν ἰσχυρὸν δεσμεύσας, καὶ τὸν Ἀδὰμ ἐκ τάφου ἀναστήσας τῇ θεουργικῇ σου δυνάμει καὶ φωτιστικῇ αἴγλῃ τῆς σῆς ἀῤῥήτου θεότητος, αὐτὸς δέσποτα, διὰ τῆς μεταλήψεως τοῦ ἀχράντου σου σώματος καὶ τοῦ τιμίου σου αἵματος ἐξαπό-*

Liturgia S. Cyrilli Coptorum.	Æthiopum Canon universalis.
	Postcommunio.
Desunt	Quos vocasti, Domine, et sanctificasti, da illis partem in vocatione tua: comforta eos in amore tuo, et custodi eos in sanctitate tua, per Xt. unig. fil. tuum: per quem tibi et cum eo, etc. Amen.
	Domine qui æternum lumen vitæ et fortitudinem servis tuis tradidisti . . . . benedic illis etiam hac die et postea per D. N. J. C. per quem, etc. Amen.
	Diac. Gratias agimus Domino cujus sancta suscepimus. . . . .
	Sacerd. Exaltabo te rex meus et Deus meus. Et benedicam nomini tuo in secula, etc. (Ps. cxlv.)
	*Oratio dominica.**
	Pater noster qui es in cœlis, ne nos inducas in tentationem, cum participes facti fuerimus corporis sancti et sanguinis pretiosi: gratiasque agimus quod nos

* Morem hæcce aliquarum ecclesiarum indicant orationem dominicam, peracta communione, dicendi vel repetendi. Antiquo mori in ecclesia Alexandrina testimonium præbent et vetus Liturgia (vid. p. 259.) et textus noster Græcus (p. 308.).

Liturgia Divi Marci Byzantinorum.

στειλον τὴν ἀόρατόν σου δεξιὰν, τὴν πλήρη εὐλογιῶν, καὶ πάντας ἡμᾶς εὐλόγησον, οἰκτείρησον, σθένωσον τῇ θεϊκῇ σου δυνάμει καὶ περίελε ἀφ' ἡμῶν τὴν κακοηθῆ καὶ ἁμαρτάδα σαρκικῆς ἐπιθυμίας ἐργασίαν· καταύγασον τοὺς νοητοὺς ἡμῶν ὀφθαλμοὺς τῆς περικειμένης ζοφερᾶς ἀνομίας, σύναψον ἡμᾶς τῷ παμμακαρίστῳ, τῷ εὐαρεστήσαντί σοι συλλόγῳ, ὅτι διὰ σοῦ καὶ σὺν σοὶ τῷ πατρὶ καὶ τῷ παναγίῳ πνεύματι πᾶς ὕμνος πρέπει, τιμὴ, κράτος, προσκύνησίς τε καὶ εὐχαριστία, νῦν καὶ ἀεὶ καὶ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων.]*

* Septimi seculi esse auctorem, cum serioris omnino barbara ætatis dictione, tum barbaro illo ὁ Σύλλογος de Spiritu Sancto (qui scilicet Verbum etiam sit), comprobatur.

Liturgia S. Cyrilli Coptorum.

Desunt.

Æthiopum Canon universalis.

dignos feceris communicanti mysterio gloriæ et sanctitatis, quod omnem intelligentiam superat: benedicam tibi et laudabo nomen tuum in seculum et in seculum seculi.

Pop. Pater noster.

Sac. Laudem Domini loquitur os meum.

Et omnis caro benedicet nomen sanctum ejus in seculum seculi.

Pop. Pater noster.

Sac. Rector animorum . . . da nobis oculos intelligentiæ. Cor mundum crea in nobis, Domine, ut perpetuo intelligamus bonitatem et amorem erga homines Dei nostri: benignus esto animæ nostræ, mentemque puram et rectam nobis largire qui corpus tuum et sanguinem percepimus, quia tuum est regnum, Domine, laus et benedictio, Pater, Fili, et Spiritus Sancte, nunc et semper et in secula seculorum. Amen.

Liturgia Divi Marci Byzantinorum.

(Dimissio Populi.)

Diaconus. Πορεύεσθε ἐν εἰρήνῃ.

Populus. Ἐν ὀνόματι κυρίου.

Sacerdos elata voce. Ἡ ἀγαπὴ τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ πατρὸς, ἡ χάρις τοῦ υἱοῦ, κυρίου δὲ ἡμῶν, Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, ἡ κοινωνία καὶ ἡ δωρεὰ τοῦ παναγίου πνεύματος, εἴη μετὰ πάντων ἡμῶν νῦν καὶ ἀεὶ καὶ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων.

Populus. Ἀμήν.

Εἴη τὸ ὄνομα κυρίου εὐλογημένον.

(Oratio privata Sacerdotis in Sacello.)

Ἔδωκας ἡμῖν, δέσποτα τὸν ἁγιασμὸν ἐν τῇ μετουσίᾳ τοῦ παναγίου σώματος καὶ τοῦ τιμίου αἵματος τοῦ μονογενοῦς σου υἱοῦ, δὸς ἡμῖν τὴν χάριν καὶ τὴν δωρεὰν τοῦ παναγίου πνεύματος, καὶ φύλαξον ἡμᾶς ἀμώμους ἐν τῷ βίῳ καὶ ὁδήγησον εἰς τὴν τελείαν ἀπολύτρωσιν καὶ υἱοθεσίαν, καὶ εἰς τὰς μελλούσας αἰωνίους ἀπολαύσεις. Σὺ γὰρ εἶ ὁ ἁγιασμὸς ἡμῶν, καὶ σοὶ τὴν δόξαν ἀναπέμπωμεν, τῷ πατρὶ καὶ τῷ υἱῷ καὶ τῷ ἁγίῳ πνεύματι νῦν καὶ ἀεὶ καὶ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων.

Populus. Ἀμήν.

Sacerdos. Εἰρήνη πᾶσιν.

Populus. Καὶ τῷ πνεύματί σου.

Et dimittit dicens: Εὐλογείτω ὁ θεὸς ὁ εὐλογῶν καὶ ἁγιάζων καὶ σκέπων καὶ διατηρῶν πάντας ἡμᾶς διὰ τῆς μεθέξεως τῶν ἁγίων αὐτοῦ μυστηρίων, ὁ ὢν εὐλογητὸς εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων. Ἀμήν.

Liturgia S. Cyrilli Coptorum.

Desunt.

Æthiopum Canon universalis.

Oratio Benedictionis (super populum prostratum).

Domine Deus noster, lumen inextinguibile, respice servos tuos et ancillas tuas, sereque in cordibus eorum timorem nominis tui et numera illos ut fructificent in benedictione quibus datum est corpus tuum et sanguis tuus: utque habitet super eos qui inclinant capita sua coram te, populum tuum, viros, mulieres, et infantes, et nos etiam illis adjunge, protege, dirige et salva, per virtutem archangelorum tuorum. Ab omni opere malo remove nos: ad omne opus bonum adjungenos: per Xum unig. tuum, per quem, etc. etc.

(*Subscriptio.*)

"Hic finem habet Liturgia Patrum nostrorum Apostolorum, orationes eorum et benedictiones eorum nobiscum sunt. Amen."

APPENDIX.

TABULÆ COMPARATÆ LITURGIÆ ALEXANDRINÆ.

I.

ORDO LITURGIARUM ECCLESIÆ ALEXANDRINÆ QUARTI QUINTIVE SECULI INTER SE COMPARATARUM.

Oblatio.

Liturgia Divi Marci.	Liturgia S. Cyrilli Coptorum.	Liturgia Apostolica Æthiopum.
Oratio introitus.		
Oratio osculi pacis.	Oratio osculi pacis.	Oratio osculi pacis.
Oblatio munerum a populo facta.		
Oratio protheseos.		

Prima Eucharistiæ Pars.

Præfatio Eucharistiæ.	Præfatio, ut in Gr.	Præfatio brevior.
Laudis et gratiarum actio (Vere dignum).	Præfatio amplif.	
Preces pro ecclesia (cum diptychis mortuorum).	Preces pro ecclesia (cum diptychis mortuorum).	Preces pro ecclesia.
Sanctus, sanctus, sanctus (Vere pleni sunt cœli, etc.)	Sanctus, sanctus, sanctus (Vere pleni sunt cœli, etc.)	Sanctus, sanctus, sanctus (Vere pleni sunt cœli, etc.)

Secunda Eucharistiæ Pars.

Liturgia Divi Marci.	Liturgia S. Cyrilli Coptorum.	Liturgia Apostolica Æthiopum.
Verba institutionis.	Verba institutionis, ut in Gr. at diverso proœmio.	Verba institutionis, ut in Gr. at diverso proœmio.
Mortem D. annunciantes.	Mortem D. annunciantes, etc. ut in Gr.	Memoriam mortis agentis, etc.
Invocatio Sp. Sanct. super populum et munera.	Invocatio Sp. Sanct. ut in Gr.	Invocatio Sp. Sanct. super panem et vinum.
Ut fiant omnibus ea sumentibus.	Ut in Gr.	Ut in Gr.
Consecratio populi : ante P.N.	Consecratio populi.	
Pater Noster.		
Benedictio post P. N.	Benedictio.	

II.

ORDO ORIGENIANUS COMPARATUS CUM EO QUI INDE A CONSTANTINI TEMPORIBUS INVALUIT.

Tempus Origenis.	Additamenta quarti ineuntisque quinti seculi.	Additamenta quinti, sexti, septimique seculi.
		Introitus, Lectio, Litania, Offertorium.
Oblatio populi.	Oratio introitus.	Orationes sacerdotis
Præfatio.		secretæ.
Gratiarum actio.		
Preces precatoriæ:		
pro ecclesia.		
pro pace cœlesti et imperii.	pro imperatore Christiano.	Orationes pacis, incensus, prothescos.
pro ægrotantibus et afflictis.		
pro peregrinantibus et navigantibus.		
pro benedictione terræ.		
pro pie defunctis	pro Marco Evangelista	Invocatio B. Mariæ V.

Tempus Origenis.	Additamenta quarti ineuntisque quinti seculi.	Additamenta quinti, sexti, septimique seculi.
Introductio ad hymnum seraphicum.	pro offerentibus.	pro episcopo (patriarcha), civitate, et populo.
Sanctus, sanctus, sanctus.		
Vere pleni sunt cœli.		
Verba institutionis.		
"Memores igitur," cum invocatione Spiritus.		Amplificationes.
Consecratio populi.		
Oratio dominica.	Oratio Libera nos.	
Communio.		
Postcommunio.		
Dimissio cum benedictione.		Oratio ad Christum directa.

III.

ORDO ANTIQUISSIMUS COMPARATUS CUM TRIBUS POSTERIORIBUS LITURGIIS.

Osculum Pacis.

Ordo antiquissimus apud Æthiopes servatus.	Græca Marci, Coptica Cyrilli, et Æthiopum secunda.
Oblatio populi, cum precibus offerentium pro more et facultate.	Oblatio liturgica (introitus, oblatio, prothesis).

Eucharistia (Laudes).

Præfatio (laudes).	Præfatio.
Gratiarum actio:	Gratiarum actio (Æth. 2. excepta).
"Gratias agimus tibi D." (præparatoria ad passionem et institutionem cœnæ).	"Vere dignum et justum." Preces: Sanctus, sanctus, sanctus, "Vere pleni sunt cœli," etc.

Celebratio Mysterii.

A. Consecratio.

Ordo antiquissimus apud Æthiopes servatus.	Græca Marci, Coptica Cyrilli, et Æthiopum secunda.
Verba institutionis (Evangelii verba).	Verba institutionis (cum introductione et amplificatione).
Invocatio Spiritus Sancti, cum doxologia: "Recordantes igitur mortis, super oblationes hujus eccl. et prosanctificatione eorum qui de iis sumunt"	Invocatio super [populum et] munera: "Ut fiant omnibus," etc.
Consecratio et obsignatio populi devoventis sese (præmissa exhortatione): "Omnibus benedic in Christo."	Consecratio et obsignatio populi, sacerdote benedicente, interposita oratione dominica (exc. Æth. 2.)

B. Communio.

Hymnus laudis.	
Communio populi.	Communio.
Gratiarum actio pro percepto mysterio.	Consecratio populi, Oratio dominica, Gratiarum actio } in Æth. 2.
Impositio manuum.	
(Benedictio populi dimissoria.)	Benedictio dimissoria.
Dimissio populi.	

CAPUT SECUNDUM.

LITURGIA ECCLESIÆ ANTIOCHENÆ.

DE LITURGIA ANTIOCHENA TESTIMONIA GENERALIA.

1. De *Ignatio* (sub Trajano) *Psalmodiæ antiphonicæ in ecclesia Antiochena ex visione institutore,* Socrates, H. E. vi. 8. (Bingh. xiii. 5. 5.): *Λεκτέον δὲ καὶ ὅθεν τὴν ἀρχὴν ἔλαβεν ἡ κατὰ τοὺς ἀντιφώνους ὕμνους ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ συνήθεια. . . . . Ἰγνάτιος Ἀντιοχείας τῆς Συρίας τρίτος ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀποστόλου Πέτρου ἐπίσκοπος, ὃς καὶ τοῖς ἀποστόλοις αὐτοῖς συνδιέτριψεν, ὀπτασίαν εἶδεν ἀγγέλων, διὰ τῶν ἀντιφώνων ὕμνων τὴν ἁγίαν Τριάδα ὑμνούντων, καὶ τὸν τρόπον τοῦ ὁράματος τῇ ἐν Ἀντιοχείᾳ ἐκκλησίᾳ παρέδωκεν.* Quæ verba cur ad hymnum matutinum et ad illa verba in communione cantata, *Unus Sanctus,* tamquam Antiphonam versus solemnis, *Sancta sanctis,* spectare videantur, dictum jam est, ubi de hoc Liturgiæ loco disputavimus; v. etiam Prolegomena.

2. De *Psalmodia,* usque ad Leontii ætatem, qui Antiochiæ circiter annum 350 episcopus erat, non a

duobus choris vicissim canentibus (igitur a præcentore et uno respondentium choro) persoluta, v. Theodoretum (circa ann. 440), H. E. lib. ii. c. 24.: Οὗτοι (Flavianus et Diodorus, qui rejecta Leontii communione quippe qui Ariani hæresi faveret, fideles in martyrum basilicis congregaverant) *πρῶτοι διχῇ διελόντες τοὺς τῶν ψαλλόντων χορούς ἐκ διαδοχῆς ᾄδειν τὴν Δανϊτικὴν ἐδίδαξαν μελῳδίαν· καὶ τοῦτο ἐν Ἀντιοχείᾳ πρῶτον ἀρξάμενον πάντοσε διέδραμε καὶ κατέλαβε τῆς οἰκουμένης τὰ τέρματα.*

3. *Cyrilli Hierosolymitani* (c. ann. 350) explicationem Liturgiæ Antiochenæ in Prolegomenis dedimus integram: quæ ad singula illustranda necessaria esse videbantur, suo loco Græce attulimus.

4. *Jacobus Edessenus* (c. ann. 650). Expositionem Liturgiæ Jacobi (ex Assemani Bibl. Orient. i. 479. cf. Assemani jun. Cod. Lit. IV. B. Missale Hierosol. p. 240–245.) hic repetimus, omissis iis partibus, quæ deinceps commentarii loco ad singulos quos illustrant Liturgiæ locos afferentur.

"De oblationis sacrificii ordine ac ritu doctrinam quam a patribus nostris accepimus edisserendam aggredimur. De mystica igitur hac rationalis et incruenti sacrificii administratione, hoc est oblatione, vel Liturgia, hæc nobis patres nostri tradiderunt. Post lectionem sacrorum librorum veteris ac novi testamenti tres oportet fieri orationes. . . . Post communionem autem præceperunt fieri confessionem et gratiarum actionem, eo quod digni facti

sunt participatione corporis et sanguinis. Item mandarunt fieri orationem impositionis manus; atque ita a ministro populum dimitti, ut abeant in pace.

" Necesse est autem, ut in hoc loco de varietatibus, quæ in Liturgia contingunt, disseram. Duo itaque ordines in hac oblationis Liturgia occurrunt: alter ad oblationem et confectionem ipsorum (mysteriorum) pertinet; alter ad commemorationes. Et quidem, qui in urbe regia, aut in Græcorum provinciis commorantur, sicut nos offerimus, sic et ipsi commemorationes peragunt: primum scilicet offerunt, deinde commemorationes statim perficiunt; licet hæ apud nonnullos plures sint, apud alios pauciores, et magis particulares. Atque idcirco sacerdos ait: 'Memento, Domine, eorum quorum meminimus et quorum non meminimus.' Initium autem ordinis commemorationum ibi est, cum dicimus: 'Item offerimus tibi hoc idem tremendum et incruentum sacrificium pro Sion matre omnium ecclesiarum,' etc. Patres vero Alexandrini aliter offerunt: nam prius ordinem commemorationum implent, deinde subjungunt ordinem sacræ oblationis. Est etiam diversitas in commemorationibus cum dicitur: 'Sicut erat, et est, et permanet in generationem generationum, et in omnia sæcula sæculorum, Amen.' Quam quidem orationem in urbe Alexandria ipse sacerdos terminat, inquiens: 'Sicut erat,' etc. Et postea populus dicit 'Amen' dumtaxat. Aliaquoque intercedit in compluribus ecclesiis, nam pro 'Unus pater sanctus', etc.,

nonnulli dicunt 'Unus dominus, unus filius Jesus Christus in gloria Dei patris, Amen.'

"Tribus vicibus autem tradiderunt nobis Patres, ut cruces super mysteria exprimeremus. . . . . Item noveris, quod si undique circumassistant ministri, oportet super omnes a sacerdote crucem fieri. Sin autem, ad eam dumtaxat partem crux fiat ubi adstant. Similiter et canones, quos ministri recitant, iis absentibus non est necesse a sacerdote recitari. Responsiones autem, quas populus dicit, ut 'Habemus ad dominum; Dignum et justum est; Unus pater,' etc., et aliæ hujusmodi, quibus populus sacerdoti respondet, etiamsi nemo præter presbyterum adsit, eæ tamen a presbytero prætermittendæ non sunt, eo quod omnes necessariæ sint, et Liturgiæ pars censeantur."

LITURGIA, QUÆ S. JACOBI DICITUR,

ECCLESIÆ ANTIOCHENÆ ET HIEROSOLYMITANÆ,

AD QUARTI SECULI ORDINEM QUANTUM FIERI POTUIT RESTITUTA.*

Sacerdos.†

Ἡ χάρις τοῦ κύριου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, ἡ

* Omittuntur quæ Byzantinorum Græco, et Syriaco Monophysitarum textui non sunt communia. Quæ non ad textum quarti seculi pertinent, sed quinti esse seculi videntur, per minusculas distinguuntur. Textus Syriaci interpretationem ea tantum de causa non apposuimus ubicunque cum Græco ad verbum congruit, ne nimis excresceret libri volumen.

† Populum cruce signans, secundum Jacobum Edessenum. Præcedit vero secundum Epiphanium Osculum pacis: intranti sacerdoti Diaconus aquam offert ad manus lavandas.

De iis quæ Anaphoram seculo septimo præcedebant orationibus Jacobus Edessenus, illius seculi auctor eruditissimus et prudentissimus, ita loquitur:

"Post lectionem S. Scripturæ tres orationes dicendæ: Pro Audientibus, pro Energumenis, pro Pœnitentibus. Cessaverunt orationes cum disciplina, diaconi vero ad illas orationes quasi revera fierent respicientes exclamant: *Abite Audientes! Abite Energumeni! Audite Pœnitentes!*

"Tunc Diaconus exclamat: *Claudantur januæ!*

"Post concilium 318 patrum (Nicænum) symbolum fidei

ἀγάπη θεοῦ πατρὸς καὶ ἡ κοινωνία τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος μετὰ πάντων ὑμῶν. *

insertum (quod idem Antiochiæ a Petro fullone factum esse constat), quo recitato tres *Orationes fidelium* dicuntur : pro pace, quando imponuntur manus, quando sacra mensa detegitur.

"Quibus peractis Diaconus exclamat: Attenti! (sc. Στῶμεν καλῶς).

"Quo facto Sacerdos populo pacem adprecatur, cruce eum signans, quod antiquitus factum fuit verbis: 'Pax vobiscum omnibus,' deinde vero hisce:

"Caritas Dei Patris, gratia unigeniti Filii, et communio Spiritus Sancti, sit cum vobiscum omnibus.

"Populo vero responsio hæc semper:

"Et cum spiritu tuo.

"Alexandrini Patres habent pro eo:

"Dominus vobiscum. Sursum corda, etc."

Seculo quarto ineunte preces quæ in celebratione eucharistiæ ad altare dicebantur non omnes fuisse præscriptas, sed quasdam etiam, ut cum Tertulliano loquar, de pectore dici solitas, probatur loco classico a Binghamo mire vexato (xiii. 5. 7.), epistolæ Epiphanii ad Joannem episcopum Hierosolymitanum, quæ Latine tantum exstat, hisce verbis:

"Illud quoque audiens admiratus sum, quod quidam qui solent ultro citroque portare rumusculos, et his quæ audierunt semper addere, ut tristitias et rixas inter fratres concitent, te quoque turbaverunt et dixerunt, quod in oratione, quando offerimus sacrificia Deo, soleamus pro te dicere: *Domine, præsta Joanni, ut recte credat.* Noli nos in tantum putare rusticos ut hoc tam aperte dicere potuerimus. Quamquam enim hoc in corde meo semper orem, tamen, ut simpliciter fatear, nunquam in alienas aures protuli, ne te viderer parvi pendere, dilectissime. Quando autem complemus orationem secundum ritum mysteriorum et pro omnibus, et pro te quoque dicimus, Custodi illum, qui prædicat veritatem: vel certe ita: Tu præsta, domine, et custodi, ut ille verbum prædicet veritatis: sicut occasio sermonis se tulerit et habuerit oratio consequentiam."

* Hanc lectionem, apostolica S. Pauli verba in calce secundæ

Populus. Καὶ μετὰ τοῦ πνεύματός σου.
Sacerdos. Ἄνω [σχῶμεν τὸν νοῦν καὶ] τὰς καρδίας.
Populus. Ἔχομεν πρὸς τὸν κύριον.
Sacerdos. Εὐχαριστήσωμεν τῷ κυρίῳ.
Populus. Ἄξιον καὶ δίκαιον. *

ad Corinthios epistolæ apprime sequentem, præbet Theodoretus Ep. ad Jo. Œconomum, Opp. iii. p. 132. Serm. hisce verbis: Ἡ χάρις τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν κ. τ. λ. . . . τοῦτο δὲ ἐν πάσαις ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις τῆς μυστικῆς ἐστι λειτουργίας προοίμιον.

Textus Græcus Demetrii Ducæ (Par. 1526) quem vide ap. Fabric. Cod. Apocr. t. iii.: ἡ ἀγάπη τοῦ κυρίου καὶ πατρὸς, ἡ χάρις τοῦ κυρίου καὶ Θεοῦ, καὶ ἡ κοινωνία καὶ ἡ δωρεὰ τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος εἴη μετὰ πάντων ὑμῶν.

Similiter textus Renaudotii Syriacus: Caritas Patris, gratia Filii, et communicatio Spiritus sancti, sint cum vobis omnibus.

Propius accedit ad antiquam veritatem textus Nestorianorum qui SS. Apostolorum dicitur, apud Renaud. ii. 589.: Gratia Domini nostri Jesu Christi, et caritas Dei Patris, et communicatio Spiritus Sancti, sit cum omnibus nobis nunc, etc.

* Textum in MS. interpolatum et mancum (omissa enim sunt quæ inter Ἄνω τὰς καρδίας et Ἄξιον καὶ δίκαιον dicenda erant) supplet locus Cyrilli Hierosolymitani, qui in quinta illa catechesi mystagogica, i. e. in Homilia ad Catechumenos modo initiatos directa, hæc profert: Ἄνω τὰς καρδίας . . . . . εἶτα ἀποκρίνεσθε· Ἔχομεν πρὸς τὸν κύριον . . . . . εἶτα ὁ ἱερεὺς λέγει· Εὐχαριστήσωμεν τῷ κυρίῳ . . . εἶτα λέγετε· Ἄξιον καὶ δίκαιον.

Ab ea quæ jam sequitur oratione Ὡς ἀληθῶς ἄξιον usque ad Invocationem, secundum Jacobum Edessenum prior pars Oblationis pertinet: Commemoratio est Liturgiæ pars altera. Priorem accurate sic describit auctor ille doctissimus:

"Incipit: Dignum et justum est nos te laudare. Persequitur totum salutis ordinem, scilicet creationem hominis, redemtionem, et Christi passionem. Pro Spiritus Sancti quoque communicatione precatur:" quibus ultimis verbis Invocationem

Sacerdos.

Ὡς ἀληθῶς ἄξιόν ἐστι καὶ δίκαιον, πρέπον τε καὶ ὀφειλόμενον, σὲ αἰνεῖν, σὲ ὑμνεῖν, σὲ εὐλογεῖν, σὲ προσκυνεῖν, σὲ δοξολογεῖν, σοὶ εὐχαριστεῖν τῷ πάσης κτίσεως ὁρατῆς τε καὶ ἀοράτου δημιουργῷ· ὃν ὑμνοῦσιν οἱ οὐρανοὶ τῶν οὐρανῶν, καὶ πᾶσα ἡ δύναμις αὐτῶν· ἥλιός τε καὶ σελήνη, καὶ πᾶς ὁ τῶν ἄστρων χορὸς, γῆ, θάλασσα καὶ πάντα τὰ ἐν αὐτοῖς· Ἱερουσαλὴμ ἡ ἐπουράνιος [πανήγυρις]* ἐκκλησία πρωτοτόκων ἀπογεγραμμένων ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς· ἄγγελοι, ἀρχάγγελοι, θρόνοι, κυριότητες, ἀρχαί τε καὶ ἐξουσίαι καὶ δυνάμεις φοβεραὶ, καὶ τὰ χερουβὶμ πολυόμματα καὶ τὰ ἑξαπτέρυγα σεραφὶμ, ἃ ταῖς μὲν δυσὶ πτέρυξι κατακαλύπτει τὰ πρόσωπα ἑαυτῶν, ταῖς δὲ δυσὶ τὰς πόδας, καὶ ταῖς δυσὶν ἱπτάμενα, κέκραγεν ἕτερον πρὸς ἕτερον ἀκαταπαύστοις στόμασιν, ἀσιγήτοις δοξολογίαις, τὸν ἐπινίκιον ὕμνον τῆς μεγαλοπρεποῦς σου δόξης, λαμπρᾷ τῇ

Spiritus Sancti significat. Eodem modo jam Cyrillus in illa Catechesi, quæ post illustratam Præfationem ita pergit:

Μετὰ ταῦτα μνημονεύομεν οὐρανοῦ καὶ γῆς καὶ θαλάσσης, ἡλίου καὶ σελήνης, ἄστρων καὶ πάσης τῆς κτίσεως λογικῆς τε καὶ ἀλόγου, ὁρατῆς τε, καὶ ἀοράτου· ἀγγέλων, ἀρχαγγέλων, δυνάμεων, κυριοτήτων, ἀρχῶν, ἐξουσιῶν, θρόνων, τῶν χερουβὶμ τῶν πολυπροσώπων· δυνάμει λέγοντες τοῦ Δαβίδ· Μεγαλύνατε τὸν κύριον σὺν ἐμοί. Μνημονεύομεν καὶ τῶν σεραφὶμ, ἃ ἐν πνεύματι ἁγίῳ ἐθεάσατο Ἡσαΐας παρεστηκότα κύκλῳ τοῦ θρόνου τοῦ θεοῦ· καὶ ταῖς μὲν δυσὶ πτέρυξι κατακαλύπτοντα τὸ πρόσωπον, ταῖς δὲ δυσὶ τοὺς πόδας, καὶ ταῖς δυσὶ πετόμενα, καὶ λέγοντα· Ἅγιος ἅγιος ἅγιος κύριος Σαβαώθ. . . . . Sequuntur de prece Invocationis quæ suo loco dabimus.

* Vox παν*ήγυρις* non redditur in textu Syrorum.

φωνῇ ᾄδοντα, βοῶντα, δοξολογοῦντα, κεκραγότα καὶ λεγοντα·

Populus.

Ἅγιος, ἅγιος, ἅγιος, κύριε Σαβαώθ·
Πλήρης ὁ οὐρανὸς καὶ ἡ γῆ τῆς δόξης σου.
[Ὡσαννὰ ὁ * ἐν τοῖς ὑψίστοις·
Εὐλογημένος ὁ ἐρχόμενος ἐν ὀνόματι κυρίου.
Ὡσαννὰ, ὁ ἐν τοῖς ὑψίστοις.]

(Sacerdos, signans dona:)

Ἅγιος εἶ βασιλεῦ τῶν αἰώνων καὶ πάσης ἁγιωσύνης κύριος καὶ δωτήρ· ἅγιος καὶ ὁ μονογενής σου υἱὸς, ὁ κύριος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦς Χριστός· ἅγιον δὲ καὶ τὸ πνεῦμά σου τὸ ἅγιον, τὸ ἐρευνῶν τὰ πάντα, καὶ τὰ βάθη σου τοῦ Θεοῦ. Ἅγιος εἶ παντοκράτορ, πανταδύναμε, ἀγαθέ.† Αὐτὸν τὸν μονογενῆ σου υἱὸν τὸν κύριον

* Ὁ noli delendum credere quia in locis biblicis (Matt. ix. Marc. xi.) non occurrat. Qui Syrorum linguam loquebantur hujus Liturgiæ auctores probe noverant sensum vocis Osanna esse "Salvos fac nos, quæsumus," et ideo vocativi notam in sequentibus esse sensui vel maxime consentaneam. De *Hosanna* et *Benedictus* vide quæ ad Canonem Gregorianum dicimus. Sunt scilicet additamentum a choro concinendum, posteriorum temporum usui adaptatum, cum sacerdotis quæ sequuntur preces secretæ agerentur, populo in silentio precante.

† Inserit hic textus Græcus: Φοβερὲ, εὔσπλαγχνε, ὁ συμπαθὴ μάλιστα περὶ τὸ πλάσμα τὸ σόν· ὁ ποιήσας ἀπὸ γῆς ἄνθρωπον κατ' εἰκόνα σὴν καὶ ὁμοίωσιν· ὁ χαρισάμενος αὐτῷ τὴν τοῦ παραδείσου ἀπόλαυσιν, παραβάντα δὲ τὴν ἐντολήν σου, καὶ ἐκπεσόντα, τοῦτον οὐ παρεῖδες, οὐδὲ ἐγκατέλιπες, ἀγαθὲ, ἀλλ' ἐπαίδευσας αὐτὸν ὡς εὔσπλαγχνος πατὴρ, ἐκάλεσας αὐτὸν διὰ νόμου, ἐπαιδαγώγησας αὐτὸν διὰ τῶν προφητῶν· Ὕστερον δὲ . . . Quæ ideo hic afferimus quod hujusmodi pre-

ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν ἐξαπέστειλας εἰς τὸν κόσμον, ἵνα ἐλθὼν τὴν σὴν ἀνανεώσῃ καὶ ἀνεγείρῃ εἰκόνα· ὃς κατελθὼν ἐκ τῶν οὐρανῶν καὶ σαρκωθεὶς ἐκ πνεύματος ἁγίου καὶ Μαρίας τῆς παρθένου [καὶ Θεοτόκου *]· συναναστραφεὶς τε τοῖς ἀνθρώποις, πάντα ᾠκονόμησε πρὸς σωτηρίαν τοῦ γένους ἡμῶν. μέλλων δὲ τὸν ἑκούσιον καὶ ζωοποιὸν διὰ σταυροῦ θάνατον ὁ ἀναμάρτητος † ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν τῶν ἁμαρτωλῶν καταδέχεσθαι, ἐν τῇ νυκτὶ ᾗ παρεδίδοτο, μᾶλλον δὲ ἑαυτὸν παρεδίδου, ὑπὲρ τῆς τοῦ κόσμου ζωῆς καὶ σωτηρίας·

Λαβὼν τὸν ἄρτον ἐπὶ τῶν ἁγίων καὶ ἀχράντων καὶ ἀμώμων καὶ ἀθανάτων αὐτοῦ χειρῶν, ἀναβλέψας εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν [καὶ ἀναδείξας σοὶ τῷ Θεῷ καὶ πατρὶ ‡], εὐχαριστήσας, ✠ ἁγιάσας, (✠) κλάσας §, ✠ ἔδωκεν [ἡμῖν τοῖς αὐτοῦ μαθηταῖς καὶ ἀποστόλοις ‖] εἰπών· Λάβετε, φάγετε. Τοῦτό μου ἐστὶ τὸ σῶμα, τὸ ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν κλώμενον καὶ διδόμενον εἰς ἄφεσιν ἁμαρτιῶν.

Populus. Ἀμήν.

ces, at libere, ut spiritus ferebat, hoc loco esse dictas a sacerdote vel ab episcopo sacra faciente, Chrysostomus, qui et Antiochiæ presbyteri, et Byzantii episcopi munere functus est, diserte docet in loco classico quem ad liturgiam ejus nomine insignitam exhibemus.

* Insertum post concilium Ephesianum anni 431.

† V. infra ad verba *ὁ μόνος ἀναμάρτητος.*

‡ Desunt in omnibus antiquis consecrationis formulis.

§ Primum crucis signum super elementa secundum Jacob. Edess.

‖ Hæc inficete at antiquitus addita, cum vetustissima liturgia ecclesiæ Antiochenæ illis quæ ferebantur Apostolicis Constitutionibus insereretur, tanquam Apostolorum, imprimisque Jacobi, opus.

Sacerdos.

Ὡσαύτως μετὰ τὸ δειπνῆσαι, λαβὼν τὸ ποτήριον, καὶ κεράσας ἐξ οἴνου καὶ ὕδατος, καὶ ἀναβλέψας εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν [καὶ ἀναδείξας σοὶ τῷ θεῷ καὶ πατρὶ*], εὐχαριστήσας, ἁγιάσας, εὐλογήσας, πλήσας πνεύματος ἁγίου ἔδωκεν [ἡμῖν τοῖς αὐτοῦ μαθηταῖς†] εἰπών, Πίετε ἐξ αὐτοῦ πάντες, τοῦτό μου ἐστὶ τὸ αἷμα τὸ τῆς καινῆς διαθήκης τὸ ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν καὶ πολλῶν ἐκχεόμενον καὶ διαδιδόμενον εἰς ἄφεσιν ἁμαρτιῶν.

Populus. Ἀμήν.

Sacerdos.

Τοῦτο ποιεῖτε εἰς τὴν ἐμὴν ἀνάμνησιν. Ὁσάκις γὰρ ἂν ἐσθίητε τὸν ἄρτον τοῦτον, καὶ τὸ ποτήριον τοῦτο πίνητε, τὸν θάνατον τοῦ υἱοῦ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου καταγγέλλετε, καὶ τὴν ἀνάστασιν αὐτοῦ ὁμολογεῖτε, ἄχρις οὗ ἔλθῃ.

Populus. Τὸν θάνατόν σου, κύριε, καταγγέλλομεν ‡ καὶ τὴν ἀνάστασίν σου ὁμολογοῦμεν.

Sacerdos.

Μεμνημένοι οὖν καὶ ἡμεῖς οἱ ἁμαρτωλοὶ τῶν ζωοποιῶν αὐτοῦ μαθημάτων, τοῦ σωτηρίου σταυροῦ καὶ τοῦ θανάτου καὶ τῆς ταφῆς καὶ τῆς τριημέρου ἐκ νεκρῶν ἀναστάσεως καὶ τῆς εἰς οὐρανοὺς ἀνόδου καὶ τῆς ἐκ δεξιῶν σου τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ πατρὸς καθέδρας καὶ τῆς δευτέρας ἐνδόξου καὶ φοβερᾶς αὐτοῦ παρουσίας, ὅταν

* V. supra.

† Interpolata ab auctore Constitutionum: quod notandum.

‡ Legitur καταγγέλομεν.

ἔλθῃ μετὰ δόξης κρῖναι ζῶντας καὶ νεκρούς, ὅταν μέλλῃ ἀποδιδόναι ἑκαστῷ κατὰ τὰ ἔργα αὐτοῦ, προσφέρομέν σοι δέσποτα τὴν φοβερὰν ταύτην καὶ ἀναίμακτον θυσίαν *, δεόμενοι ἵνα μὴ κατὰ τὰς ἁμαρτίας ἡμῶν ποιήσῃς μεθ' ἡμῶν, μηδὲ κατὰ τὰς ἀνομίας ἡμῶν ἀνταποδώσῃς ἡμῖν, ἀλλὰ κατὰ τὴν σὴν ἐπιείκειαν καὶ ἄφατόν σου φιλανθρωπίαν, ὑπερβὰς καὶ ἐξαλείψας τὸν καθ' ἡμῶν χειρόγραφον τῶν σῶν ἱκετῶν. Ὁ γὰρ λαός σου καὶ ἡ ἐκκλησία σου ἱκετεύουσί σε.

Populus. Ἐλέησον ἡμᾶς, κύριε ὁ θεὸς, ὁ πατὴρ ὁ παντοκράτωρ· ἐλέησον ἡμᾶς.

Sacerdos. Ἐλέησον ἡμᾶς ὁ θεὸς κατὰ τὸ μέγα ἔλεός σου, καὶ ἐξαπόστειλον ἐφ' ἡμᾶς καὶ ἐπὶ τὰ προκείμενα δῶρα ταῦτα τὸ πνεῦμά σου τὸ πανάγιον·

[(Deinde inclinata cervice dicit †:) Τὸ κύριον καὶ ζωοποιὸν, τὸ σύνθρονόν σοι τῷ θεῷ καὶ πατρὶ, καὶ τῷ μονογενεῖ σου υἱῷ, τὸ συμβασιλεῦον, τὸ ὁμούσιόν τε καὶ συναΐδιον· τὸ λαλῆσαν ἐν νόμῳ καὶ προφήταις, καὶ τῇ καινῇ σου διαθήκῃ· τὸ καταβὰν ἐν εἴδει περιστερᾶς ἐπὶ τὸν κύριον ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν ἐν τῷ Ἰορδάνῃ ποταμῷ καὶ μεῖναν ἐπ' αὐτόν· τὸ καταβὰν ἐπὶ τοὺς ἀποστόλους σου ἐν εἴδει πυρίνων γλωσσῶν ἐν τῷ ὑπερῴῳ τῆς ἁγίας καὶ ἐνδόξου Σιὼν, ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τῆς πεντηκοστῆς· αὐτὸ τὸ πνεῦμά σου τὸ πανάγιον κατάπεμψον

* Quæ jam sequuntur ad litaniæ modum expressa dubiæ videri possunt antiquitatis, quippe quæ a Cyrillo ne verbo quidem sint memorata. Neque tamen auserim illa ex textu seculi quarti expungere.

† Quæ uncis inclusimus Cyrillo posteriora esse, ipsius verba arguunt quæ infra dabimus. At jam quinto seculo ineunte esse inserta nil dubito: quippe quæ in Melchitarum et Jacobitarum liturgiis iisdem verbis expressa inveniantur.

δέσποτα ἐφ' ἡμᾶς, καὶ ἐπὶ τὰ προκείμενα ἅγια δῶρα ταῦτα·

Et erigens se exclamat:]

Ἵνα ἐπιφοιτῆσαν τῇ ἁγίᾳ καὶ ἀγαθῇ καὶ ἐνδόξῳ αὐτοῦ παρουσίᾳ ἁγιάσῃ (✠)* καὶ ποιήσῃ τὸν μὲν ἄρτον τοῦτον σῶμα ἅγιον τοῦ Χριστοῦ σου·

Populus. Ἀμήν.

Καὶ τὸ ποτήριον τοῦτο αἷμα τίμιον τοῦ Χριστοῦ σου ·†

Populus. Ἀμήν.

Ἵνα γένηται πᾶσι τοῖς ἐξ αὐτῶν μεταλαμβάνουσιν εἰς ἄφεσιν ἁμαρτιῶν καὶ εἰς ζωὴν αἰώνιον, εἰς ἁγιασμὸν ψυχῶν καὶ σωμάτων, εἰς καρποφορίαν ἔργων ἀγαθῶν, εἰς στηριγμὸν τῆς ἁγίας σου καθολικῆς ἐκκλησίας, ἣν ἐθεμελίωσας ἐπὶ τὴν πέτραν τῆς πίστεως, ἵνα πύλαι ᾅδου μὴ κατισχύθωσιν αὐτῆς, ῥυόμενος αὐτὴν ἀπὸ πάσης αἱρέσεως καὶ σκανδάλων καὶ ἐργαζομένων τὴν

* Secundum crucis signum super elementa secundum Jacobum Edess. quando sacerdos dicit: *Ut faciat hunc panem*, etc.: ubi observat quosdam codices præbere: ut illabens ostendat hunc panem, etc.

† Solemnia hæc invocationis verba tamquam hymnum illum Seraphicum et cœlestem excipientia ita refert Cyrillus, l. l.: Διὰ τοῦτο γὰρ τὴν παραδοθεῖσαν ἡμῖν ἐκ τῶν Σεραφὶμ θεολογίαν ταύτην λέγομεν, ὅπως κοινωνοὶ τῆς ὑμνῳδίας ταῖς ὑπερκοσμίοις γενωμέθα στρατιαῖς. Εἶτα ἁγιάσαντες ἑαυτοὺς διὰ τῶν πνευματικῶν τούτων ὕμνων παρακαλοῦμεν τὸν φιλάνθρωπον θεὸν, τὸ ἅγιον πνεῦμα ἐξαποστεῖλαι ἐπὶ τὰ προκείμενα, ἵνα ποιήσῃ τὸν μὲν ἄρτον σῶμα Χριστοῦ· τὸν δὲ οἶνον αἷμα Χριστοῦ. Πάντως γὰρ, οὗ ἂν ἐφάψαιτο τὸ ἅγιον πνεῦμα τοῦτο ἡγίασται καὶ μεταβέβληται. En transsubstantionem, si quæ sit, elementorum per verba invocationis perfectam!

ἀνομίαν, διαφυλάττων αὐτὴν μέχρι τῆς συντελείας τοῦ αἰῶνος.

(Inclinatus.)

* Προσφέρομέν σοι δέσποτα καὶ ὑπὲρ τῶν ἁγίων σου τόπων, οὓς ἐδόξασας τῇ θεοφανείᾳ τοῦ Χριστοῦ σου, καὶ τῇ ἐπιφοιτήσει τοῦ παναγίου σου πνεύματος· προηγουμένως ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐνδόξου Σιὼν, τῆς μητρὸς πα-

* Altera pars oblationis secundum Jacobum Edessenum. Postquam de Invocatione egit (v. supra ad primam orationem) Jacobus hæc addit: "Sequuntur exhortationes (i. e. Commemorationes) quo tempore oblationes fiunt." Qua de re hæc observat (apud Assem. C. L. ii. p. 243. v. supra): "Qui in urbe regia habitant (Constantinopoli) et in provinciis Græcis ita ut nos primum oblationem faciant, deinde ad Commemorationem procedunt cujus initium est, 'Offerimus tibi etiam hoc tremendum et incruentum sacrificium pro Sione matre ecclesiarum.' Patres vero Alexandrini primum Commemorationem faciunt, deinde Oblationem." Quæ accurata et memorabilis est optimi illius theologi observatio.

Illustrissimum est de singulis Cyrilli testimonium, qui postquam de Invocationis oratione egit, quippe qua sacrificium spirituale et incruentum absolvatur, ita pergit:

Εἶτα μετὰ τὸ ἀπαρτισθῆναι τὴν πνευματικὴν θυσίαν, τὴν ἀναίμακτον λατρείαν, ἐπὶ τῆς θυσίας ἐκείνης τοῦ ἱλασμοῦ παρακαλοῦμεν τὸν Θεὸν, ὑπὲρ κοινῆς τῶν ἐκκλησίων εἰρήνης· ὑπὲρ τῆς τοῦ κόσμου συστάθειας· ὑπὲρ βασιλέων· ὑπὲρ τῶν στρατιωτῶν καὶ συμμάχων· ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐν ἀσθενείαις· ὑπὲρ τῶν καταπονουμένων· καὶ ἁπαξαπλῶς, ὑπὲρ πάντων βοηθείας δεομένων δεόμεθα πάντες ἡμεῖς, ταύτην προσφέροντες τὴν θυσίαν.

Εἶτα μνημονεύομεν καὶ τῶν προκεκοιμημένων, πρῶτον πατριαρχῶν, προφητῶν, ἀποστόλων, μαρτύρων· ὅπως ὁ Θεὸς ταῖς ψυχαῖς αὐτῶν καὶ πρεσβείαις προσδέξηται ἡμῶν τὴν δέησιν. Εἶτα καὶ ὑπὲρ τῶν προκεκοιμημένων ἁγίων πατέρων καὶ ἐπισκόπων, καὶ πάντων ἁπλῶς τῶν ἐν ἡμῖν προκεκοιμημένων· μεγίστην ὄνησιν πιστεύοντες ἔσεσθαι ταῖς ψυχαῖς, ὑπὲρ ὧν ἡ δέησις ἀναφέρεται, τῆς ἁγίας καὶ φρικωδεστάτης προκειμένης θυσίας.

σῶν τῶν ἐκκλησίων· καὶ ὑπὲρ τῆς κατὰ πᾶσαν τὴν οἰκουμένην ἁγίας σου καθολικῆς καὶ ἀποστολικῆς ἐκκλησίας· πλουσίας καὶ νῦν τὰς δωρεὰς τοῦ παναγίου σου πνεύματος ἐπιχορήγησον αὐτῇ δέσποτα.

Μνήσθητι κύριε καὶ τῶν ἐν αὐτῇ ἁγίων πατέρων, καὶ ἀδελφῶν ἡμῶν, καὶ ἐπισκόπων τῶν ἐν πάσῃ τῇ οἰκουμένῃ ὀρθοδόξως ὀρθοτομούντων τὸν λόγον τῆς σῆς ἀληθείας.

Μνήσθητι κύριε πλεόντων, ὁδοιπορούντων, ξενιτευόντων χριστιανῶν, τῶν ἐν δεσμοῖς, τῶν ἐν φυλακαῖς, τῶν ἐν αἰχμαλωσίαις καὶ ἐξορίαις, τῶν ἐν μετάλλοις καὶ βασάνοις καὶ πικραῖς δουλείαις ὄντων πατέρων καὶ ἀδελφῶν ἡμῶν.

Μνήσθητι κύριε τῶν νοσούντων καὶ καμνόντων καὶ τῶν ὑπὸ πνευμάτων ἀκαθάρτων ἐνοχλουμένων, τῆς παρὰ σοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ ταχείας ἰάσεως αὐτῶν καὶ σωτηρίας.

Μνήσθητι κύριε εὐκρασίας ἀέρων, ὄμβρων εἰρηνικῶν, δρόσων ἀγαθῶν, καρπῶν εὐφορίας, καὶ τοῦ στεφάνου τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ τῆς χρηστότητός σου· οἱ γὰρ ὀφθαλμοὶ πάντων εἰς σὲ ἐλπίζουσι, καὶ σὺ δίδως τὴν τροφὴν αὐτῶν ἐν εὐκαιρίᾳ· ἀνοίγεις σὺ τὴν χεῖρά σου, καὶ ἐμπιπλᾷς πᾶν ζῶον εὐδοκίας.

Μνήσθητι καὶ πάντων τῶν ἐντειλαμένων ἡμῖν τοῦ μνημονεύειν αὐτῶν ἐν ταῖς προσευχαῖς.

Ἔτι μνησθῆναι καταξίωσον καὶ τῶν τὰς προσφορὰς ταύτας προσενεγκάντων ἐν τῇ σήμερον ἡμέρᾳ ἐπὶ τὸ ἅγιόν σου θυσιαστήριον, καὶ ὑπὲρ ὧν ἕκαστος προσήνεγκεν, ἢ κατὰ διάνοιαν ἔχει, καὶ τῶν ἀρτίως σοι ἀνε-

γνωσμένων.* Μνήσθητι, κύριε ὁ θεὸς, τῶν πνευμάτων καὶ πάσης σαρκὸς, ὧν ἐμνήσθημεν καὶ ὧν οὐκ ἐμνήσθημεν ὀρθοδόξων, ἀπὸ Ἄβελ τοῦ δικαίου μέχρι τῆς σήμερον ἡμέρας. Αὐτὸς ἐκεῖ αὐτοὺς ἀνάπαυσον, ἐν χώρᾳ ζώντων, ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ σου, ἐν τῇ τρυφῇ τοῦ παραδείσου, ἐν τοῖς κόλποις Ἀβραὰμ, καὶ Ἰσαὰκ καὶ Ἰακὼβ, τῶν ἁγίων πατέρων ἡμῶν· ὅθεν ἀπέδρα ὀδύνη, λύπη καὶ στεναγμός· ἔνθα ἐπισκοπεῖ τὸ φῶς τοῦ προσώπου σου, καὶ καταλάμπει διὰ παντός.

Ἡμῶν δὲ τὰ τέλη τῆς ζωῆς, χριστιανὰ καὶ εὐάρεστα καὶ ἀναμάρτητα, ἐν εἰρήνῃ κατεύθυνον κύριε, κύριε, ἐπισυνάγων ἡμᾶς ὑπο τοὺς πόδας τῶν ἐκλεκτῶν σου, ὅτε θέλεις καὶ ὡς θέλεις, μόνον χωρὶς αἰσχύνης καὶ παραπτωμάτων, διὰ τοῦ μονογενοῦς σου υἱοῦ, κυρίου τε καὶ θεοῦ καὶ σωτήρος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ. Αὐτὸς γάρ ἐστιν ὁ μόνος ἀναμάρτητος † φανεὶς ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς.

Populus. Ἄνες, ἄφες, συγχώρησον ὁ θεὸς τὰ παραπτώματα ἡμῶν, τὰ ἑκούσια, τὰ ἀκούσια· τὰ ἐν ἔργῳ καὶ λόγῳ· τὰ ἐν γνώσει καὶ ἀγνοίᾳ· τὰ ἐν νυκτὶ καὶ ἐν ἡμέρᾳ· τὰ κατὰ νοῦν καὶ διάνοιαν, τὰ πάντα ἡμῖν συγχώρησον, ὡς ἀγαθὸς καὶ φιλάνθρωπος·

Sacerdos. Χάριτι καὶ οἰκτιρμοῖς καὶ φιλανθρωπίᾳ τοῦ μονογενοῦς σου υἱοῦ, μεθ' οὗ εὐλογητὸς εἶ καὶ δεδο-

* Nomina igitur ex diptychis hic a Diacono legebantur.

† Vide illustre Hieronymi testimonium (Contra Pelag. ii.): "Sacerdotum quotidie ora concelebrant ὁ μόνος ἀναμάρτητος, quod in lingua nostra dicitur: qui solus est sine peccato."

ξασμένος σὺν τῷ παναγίῳ καὶ ἀγαθῷ καὶ ζωοποιῷ σου πνεύματι, νῦν καὶ ἀεὶ καὶ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας. *

Populus. Ἀμήν.

Sacerdos. Εἰρήνη πᾶσιν.

Populus. Καὶ τῷ πνεύματί σου.

Sacerdos.

†Ὁ θεὸς καὶ πατὴρ τοῦ κυρίου καὶ θεοῦ καὶ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, ὁ καθήμενος ἐπὶ τῶν χερουβὶμ καὶ δοξαζόμενος ὑπὸ τῶν σεραφὶμ, ᾧ παρεστήκασι χίλιαι χιλιάδες καὶ μύριαι μυριάδες ἁγίων ἀγγέλων καὶ ἀρχαγγέλων στρατιαὶ, τὰ μὲν προσενεχθέντα σοι δῶρα, δόματα, καρπώματα, εἰς ὀσμὴν εὐωδίας πνευματικῆς προσδέξω, καὶ ἁγιάσαι καὶ τελειῶσαι κατηξίωσας ἀγαθὲ, τῇ χάριτι τοῦ Χριστοῦ σου καὶ τῇ ἐπιφοιτήσει τοῦ παναγίου σου πνεύματος· ἁγίασον

* De doxologia hæc Jacobus Edessenus (l. l.): "In commemorationibus cum dicitur 'Sicut erat et est et permanet in generationem generationum et in omnia secula seculorum, Amen;' in urbe Alexandria ipse sacerdos terminat dicens *Sicut erat*, etc. populo respondente tantum, *Amen*." In ecclesia Antiochena igitur populus omnia hæc verba respondebat: *Sicut erat*, etc. At ipsa hæc verba ab antiquissimæ doxologiæ formula fuisse aliena Binghamus optime probavit (xiv. 2. 1.), quippe quæ uno tenore ita efferebatur:

ᾧ ἡ δόξα [καὶ τὸ κράτος] εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων.

† Cyrillus l. l. ita pergit: Εἶτα μετὰ ταῦτα τὴν εὐχὴν λέγομεν ἐκείνην, ἣν ὁ Σωτὴρ παρέδωκε τοῖς οἰκείοις αὐτοῦ μαθηταῖς, μετὰ καθαρᾶς συνειδήσεως πατέρα ἐπιγραφόμενοι τὸν θεὸν καὶ λέγοντες· Πάτερ ἡμῶν ὁ ἐν οὐρανοῖς, etc. quæ deinde sigillatim usque ad illa verba: Libera nos a malo, persequitur et spiritualiter explicat.

δέσποτα καὶ τὰς ἡμετέρας ψυχὰς καὶ σώματα καὶ τὰ πνεύματα· καὶ καταξίωσον ἡμᾶς δέσποτα φιλάνθρωπε μετὰ παῤῥησίας ἀκατακρίτως, ἐν καθαρᾷ καρδίᾳ, ψυχῇ συντετριμμένῃ, ἀνεπαισχύντῳ προσώπῳ τολμᾶν ἐπικαλεῖσθαί σε τὸν ἐν οὐρανοῖς ἅγιον Θεὸν πατέρα, καὶ λέγειν·

Populus. *Πάτερ ἡμῶν ὁ ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς, ἁγιασθήτω τὸ ὄνομά σου· κ. τ. λ.**

Sacerdos inclinatus dicit:

Καὶ μὴ εἰσενέγκῃς ἡμᾶς εἰς πειρασμὸν, κύριε κύριε τῶν δυνάμεων, ὁ εἰδὼς τὴν ἀσθένειαν ἡμῶν· ἀλλὰ ῥῦσαι ἡμᾶς ἀπὸ τοῦ πονηροῦ.

Ὅτι σου ἐστὶν ἡ βασιλεία καὶ ἡ δύναμις καὶ ἡ δόξα, τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος, νῦν καὶ ἀεί.

(Syrus.) Per Iesum Christum Dominum nostrum, per quem tibi, etc.

Populus. *Ἀμήν.*

Sacerdos. *Εἰρήνη πᾶσιν.*

Populus. *Καὶ τῷ πνεύματί σου.*

[Diaconus.† *Τὰς κεφαλὰς ἡμῶν τῷ κυρίῳ κλίνωμεν.*

* Scilicet quinque priora petita, usque ad verba: Dimitte nobis peccata, etc.

† Quæ hic leguntur inter Pacem et *Sancta Sanctis* textum incertum exhibent, in Græcis Syriacisque diversum: quæ maximam partem post annum 431 stabilita esse credo. Syrorum liturgia psalmodiam ex hymno cherubico et psalmorum versibus notissimis conflatam exhibet. Græci textus oratio, *Ἅγιε ὁ ἐν ἁγίοις*, iisdem fere verbis legitur in textu Alexandrino interpolato:

Sacerdos. Σοὶ ἐκλίναμεν οἱ δοῦλοί σου κύριε τοὺς ἡμετέρους αὐχένας, ἀπεκδεχόμενοι τὰ παρὰ σοῦ πλούσια ἐλέη. Πλουσίαν τὴν χάριν σου καὶ τὴν εὐλογίαν σου ἐξαπόστειλον ἡμῖν δέσποτα, καὶ ἁγίασον τὰς ψυχὰς ἡμῶν, καὶ τὰ σώματα καὶ τὰ πνεύματα, ἵνα ἄξιοι γενώμεθα κοινωνοὶ καὶ μέτοχοι γενέσθαι τῶν ἁγίων σου μυστηρίων·

εἰς ἄφεσιν ἁμαρτιῶν καὶ εἰς ζωὴν αἰώνιον. Σὺ γὰρ προσκυνητὸς καὶ δεδοξασμένος ὑπάρχεις ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν, καὶ ὁ μονογενής σου υἱὸς καὶ τὸ πνεῦμά σου τὸ πανάγιον, νῦν καὶ ἀεί.

(Syrus.)

per gratiam et misericordiam Jesu Christi Domini nostri, cum quo laudatus et benedictus es, in cœlis et in terra cum spiritu tuo, etc.

Populus. Ἀμήν.

Sacerdos. Εἰρήνη πᾶσιν.

Populus. Καὶ μετὰ τοῦ πνεύματός σου.

Diaconus. Μετὰ φόβου Θεοῦ πρόσχωμεν.

(Sacerdos.)

Ἅγιε ὁ ἐν ἁγίοις ἀναπαυόμενος κύριε, ἁγίασον ἡμᾶς τῷ λόγῳ τῆς σῆς χάριτος, καὶ τῇ ἐπιφοιτήσει τοῦ παναγίου σου πνεύματος· σὺ γὰρ εἶπας δέσποτα, Ἅγιοι ἔσεσθε,

(Syrus.)

Sanctus, Sanctus, Sanctus Dominus Deus potens Sabaoth; pleni sunt cœli et terra laudibus tuis. Exaltare super cœlos Deus, et super omnem terram gloria

v. supra p. 261. Etiam Cyrillus post illa quæ jam adduximus verba de Oratione dominica statim ita pergit: Μετὰ ταῦτα λέγει ὁ ἱερεύς· Τὰ ἁγιᾳ τοῖς ἁγίοις· ἅγια τὰ προκείμενα, ἐπιφοίτησιν δεξάμενα ἁγίου πνεύματος· ἅγιοι, καὶ ὑμεῖς πνεύματος ἁγίου καταξιωθέντες. Εἶτα ὑμεῖς λέγετε· Εἷς ἅγιος, εἷς κύριος Ἰησοῦς Χριστός· ἀληθῶς γὰρ εἷς ἅγιος, φύσει ἅγιος· ἡμεῖς δὲ καὶ ἅγιοι, ἀλλ' οὐ φύσει, ἀλλὰ μετοχῇ καὶ ἀσκήσει καὶ εὐχῇ. Jacobi Edesseni testimonium infra afferemus, ubi illa verba leguntur.

	(Syrus.)
ὅτι ἐγὼ ἅγιός εἰμι. Κύριε ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν ἀκατάληπτε Θεοῦ λόγε τῷ πατρὶ καὶ τῷ ἁγίῳ πνεύματι ὁμοούσιε, συναΐδιε καὶ ἀχώριστε, προσδέξαι τὸν ἀκήρατον ὕμνον ἐν ταῖς ἁγίαις καὶ ἀναιμάκτοις σου Θυσίαις, σὺν τοῖς χερουβὶμ καὶ σεραφὶμ καὶ παρ' ἐμοῦ τοῦ ἁμαρτωλοῦ βοῶντος καὶ λέγοντος·]	tua. Ad te levavi oculos qui habitas in cœlis. *Et post pauca Eucharistiam accipiens in manus dicit :*]

Τὰ ἅγια τοῖς ἁγίοις.*
Sancta Sanctis.

* Hæc verba explicans Jacobus Edessenus addit: "Quæ verba alta voce cum proclamat, sacramentum elevat et populo monstrat: quo facto populus exclamat: Unus Pater, unus Sanctus," etc.

Solemnia hæc verba, quæ apud Græcos ubique sacratissimum communionis initium indicant, ab Antiochenæ ecclesiæ consuetudine antiquissima originem ducere multa sunt quæ persuadent. Inter quæ primo loco nomino quæ de Ignatii psalmodiæ instituto a Socrate narrantur, quem locum in fronte hujus capituli dedi. Hymnum habes antiphonicum, hoc modo:

Τὰ ἅγια τοῖς ἁγίοις·
Εἷς ἅγιος, εἷς κύριος Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς εἰς δόξαν Θεοῦ πατρός·
ᾧ ἡ δόξα εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων.

Vel secundum *Syrum:*

Unus Pater Sanctus:
Unus Filius Sanctus:
Unus Spiritus Sanctus.

Quæ forma ut est magis propria (illa enim Græca nil nisi extrema hymni matutini verba cum doxologia exhibet) ita et antiquior mihi videtur. Accedit quod Ignatius laudem sanctissimæ trinitatis in visione audisse dicitur, quod idem est

Populus.

	(Syrus.)
Εἷς ἅγιος, εἷς κύριος Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς, εἰς δόξαν θεοῦ πατρὸς, ᾧ ἡ δόξα εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων.	Unus Pater sanctus, unus Filius sanctus, unus Spiritus sanctus. *

(Tum Sacerdos panem frangit, et partem in calicem immergens, dicit:)

Ἕνωσις τοῦ παναγίου σώματος καὶ τοῦ τιμίου	Inspergitur sanguis Domini nostri corpori ejus

ac si dictum esset laudem Patris et Filii et Spiritus Sancti. Respiciunt vero omnia hæc ad angelorum cantum quem audivit Jesaias propheta.

Frustra testimonium secundi vel etiam quarti seculi quærunt ad hunc usque diem viri quidam docti in decantatis illis Philopatridis verbis: Τὴν εὐχὴν ἀπὸ πατρὸς ἀρξάμενος καὶ τὴν πολυώνυμον ᾠδὴν εἰς τέλος ἐπιθείς.

Respiciunt hæc verba ad eam liturgiæ partem, quæ ab oratione dominica incipiens cantilena illa liturgica communionem proxime præcedente terminatur. At inficetus Philopatridis auctor, qui Luciani nomen mentitur, subacta jamdudum a Saracenis Ægypto, atque imperante, ut primum vidit divinum Niebuhrii acumen, Nicephoro Phoca, circa annum 968 vixit, prope regni ejus finem. V. Niebuhr. Præfatio ad Leonis Diaconi Histor. p. ix. Clarissimus Byzantinæ historiæ auctor Hasius, Niebuhrio teste, idem sensit: Lehmannus, Luciani editor, Niebuhrii rationes se non intellexisse dicit, quod eo magis mirum, quia sententiam ipsam probabilem esse opinatur. Confer Neander, ii. 188. N.

* His verbis testimonium præbet Jacobus Edessenus (l. l.): "Diversa in diversis ecclesiis obtinet consuetudo: nam pro *Unus Pater Sanctus* nonnulli dicunt: *Unus Dominus, unus Filius Jesus Christus, in gloria Dei Patris. Amen.*"

αἵματος τοῦ κυρίου καὶ θεοῦ καὶ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ.	in nomine Patris et Filii et Spiritus sancti.

Fractio panis et signatio calicis.*

Communio cleri et populi.

Psalmodia: Ps. 23. 33. et alii.†

Post communionem populi:

Ὁ θεὸς ὁ διὰ πολλὴν καὶ ἄφατον φιλανθρωπίαν συγκαταβὰς τῇ ἀσθενείᾳ τῶν δούλων σου, καὶ καταξιώσας ἡμᾶς μετασχεῖν ταύτης τῆς ἐπουρανίου τραπέζης, μὴ κατακρίνῃς ἡμᾶς τοὺς ἁμαρτωλοὺς ἐπὶ τῇ μεταλήψει τῶν ἀχράντων σου μυστηρίων, ἀλλὰ φύλαξον ἡμᾶς ἀγαθὲ ἐν ἁγιασμῷ τοῦ ἁγίου σου πνεύματος, ἵνα ἅγιοι γενόμενοι εὕρωμεν μέρος καὶ κληρονομίαν μετὰ πάντων τῶν ἁγίων τῶν ἀπ' αἰῶνός σοι εὐαρεστησάντων,

* Hoc loco secundum Jacobum Ed. tertium fit crucis signum super elementa. Cyrilli verba hæc sunt: *Μετὰ ταῦτα ἀκούετε τοῦ ψάλλοντος, μετὰ μέλους θείου προτρεπομένου ὑμᾶς εἰς τὴν κοινωνίαν τῶν ἁγίων μυστηρίων καὶ λέγοντος· Γεύσασθε καὶ ἴδετε ὅτι Χρηστὸς ὁ Κύριος .... γευόμενοι γὰρ, οὐκ ἄρτου καὶ οἴνου κελεύονται γεύσασθαι, ἀλλὰ ἀντιτύπου σώματος καὶ αἵματος τοῦ Χριστοῦ.* (Ad quæ Touttée affert verba Origenis in Matth. p. 254. de pane eucharistico loquentis: *τυπικὸν καὶ συμβολικὸν σῶμα.*) *Καὶ προσιὼν οὖν ... δέχου τὸ σῶμα τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἐπιλέγων τὸ Ἀμήν. ... Εἶτα μετὰ τοῦ κοινωνησαί σε τοῦ σώματος Χριστοῦ προσέρχου καὶ τοῦ ποτηρίου τοῦ αἵματος μὴ ἀνατείνων τὰς χεῖρας ἀλλὰ κύπτων καὶ τρόπῳ προσκυνήσεως καὶ σεβάσματος λέγων τὸ Ἀμήν, ἁγιάζου, καὶ ἐκ τοῦ αἵματος μεταλαμβάνων Χριστοῦ.* (h. e. corpore leviter inclinato, stantes enim Græci communicant.)

† Formula tradendi corpus et sanguinem nulla exstat, neque in Græco textu neque in Syro.

ἐν τῷ φωτὶ τοῦ προσώπου σου, διὰ τῶν οἰκτιρμῶν τοῦ μονογενοῦς σου υἱοῦ, κυρίου τε καὶ θεοῦ καὶ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, μεθ' οὗ εὐλογητὸς εἶ σὺν τῷ παναγίῳ καὶ ἀγαθῷ καὶ ζωοποιῷ σου πνεύματι.

Populus. *Ἀμήν.*

Sacerdos. *Εἰρήνη πᾶσιν.*

Populus. *Καὶ τῷ πνεύματί σου.*

Diaconus. *Τὰς κεφαλὰς ἡμῶν τῷ κυρίῳ κλίνωμεν.*

Sacerdos.

Ὁ θεὸς ὁ μέγας καὶ θαυμαστὸς ἔπιδε ἐπὶ τοὺς δούλους σου, ὅτι σοὶ τὰς αὐχένας ἐκλίναμεν. Ἔκτεινον τὴν χεῖρά σου τὴν κραταιὰν καὶ πλήρη εὐλογιῶν καὶ εὐλόγησον τὸν λαόν σου· διαφύλαξον τὴν κληρονομίαν σου, ἵνα ἀεὶ καὶ διὰ παντὸς δοξάζωμέν σε τὸν μόνον ζῶντα καὶ ἀληθινὸν θεὸν ἡμῶν· τὴν ἁγίαν καὶ ὁμοούσιον τριάδα, πατέρα καὶ υἱὸν καὶ τὸ ἅγιον πνεῦμα, νῦν καὶ ἀεὶ καὶ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων.

Populus. *Ἀμήν.* *

* *Formulam* dimittendi populum neuter præbet: Syrus exhibet hæc tantum: "Benedic omnibus, conserva omnes, etc., vel etiam benedictionem pro ecclesiarum consuetudine et festorum varietate diversam: qua recitata Diaconus incipit cantare psalmum: Benedicam Dominum in omni tempore. (Ps. 33.) Quo dicto abeunt et finitur Liturgia." Quæ ideo hic exscribo, quod diserte probant, nullam revera fuisse in Liturgiæ antiquæ libris formulam præscriptam dimittendi populum.

APPENDIX.

ECCLESIÆ ANTIOCHENÆ LITURGIA, QUÆ DICITUR APOSTOLICA,

UT

IN OCTAVO CONSTITUTIONUM APOSTOLICARUM LIBRO

NUNC LEGITUR,

A DOCTO EXEUNTIS SECULI TERTII VIRO EX VETERI EXEMPLARI AD MENTEM ILLIUS TEMPORIS EFFICTA.

Textus ex codice Vindobonensi a Clerico collato accurate expressus.

Episcopo rite ordinato et in cathedra collocato, atque a ceteris episcopis per osculum pacis salutato, incipit ordo divini officii Lectione Legis et Prophetarum, Epistolarum deinde et Actuum Apostolorum, denique Evangeliorum. Quibus omnibus peractis Episcopus ecclesiam salutat his verbis:

Ἡ χάρις τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, ἡ ἀγάπη τοῦ Θεοῦ καὶ πατρὸς, καὶ ἡ κοινωνία τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος μετὰ πάντων ὑμῶν·

Καὶ πάντες ἀποκρινέσθωσαν·

Καὶ μετὰ τοῦ πνεύματός σου.

Καὶ μετὰ τὴν πρόσρησιν, προσλαλησάτω τῷ λαῷ λόγους παρακλήσεως, καὶ πληρώσαντος αὐτοῦ τὸν τῆς διδασκαλίας λόγον· φημὶ ἐγὼ Ἀνδρέας ὁ ἀδελφὸς Πέτρου·[1] ἀναστάντων ἁπάντων, ὁ διάκονος, ἐφ' ὑψηλοῦ τινὸς ἀνελθών, κηρυττέτω·

Μή τις τῶν ἀπίστων.

Καὶ ἡσυχίας γενομένης λεγέτω·

[2]Προσφώνησις ὑπὲρ τῶν κατηχουμένων.
(Adclamatio sive exhortatio pro catechumenis.)

Εὔξασθε οἱ κατηχούμενοι.

Καὶ πάντες οἱ πιστοὶ κατὰ διάνοιαν ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν προσλεχέσθωσαν, λέγοντες·

Κύριε ἐλέησον.

Διακονείτω δὲ ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν, λέγων·

Ὑπὲρ τῶν κατηχουμένων πάντες ἐκτενῶς[3] τὸν Θεὸν παρακαλέσωμεν, ἵνα ὁ ἀγαθὸς, φιλάνθρωπος εὐμενῶς εἰσακούσῃ τῶν δεήσεων αὐτῶν καὶ τῶν παρακλήσεων, καὶ προσδεξάμενος αὐτῶν τὴν ἱκεσίαν ἀντιλάβηται αὐτῶν, καὶ δῷ αὐτοῖς τὰ αἰτήματα τῶν καρδιῶν αὐτῶν πρὸς τὸ συμφέρον, ἀποκαλύψῃ αὐτοῖς τὸ εὐαγγέλιον τοῦ Χριστοῦ αὐτοῦ, φωτίσῃ αὐτοὺς καὶ συνετίσῃ, παιδεύσῃ αὐτοὺς τὴν θεογνωσίαν, διδάξῃ αὐτοὺς τὰ προστάγματα αὐτοῦ καὶ τὰ δικαιώματα, ἐγκαταφυτεύσῃ ἐν αὐτοῖς τὸν ἁγνὸν αὐτοῦ καὶ σωτήριον φόβον, διανοίξῃ τὰ ὦτα τῶν καρδιῶν αὐτῶν πρὸς τὸ ἐν τῷ νόμῳ αὐτοῦ καταγίνεσθαι ἡμέρας καὶ νυκτὸς, βεβαιώσῃ δὲ αὐτοὺς ἐν τῇ εὐσεβείᾳ, ἑνώσῃ καί ἐγκαταριθμήσῃ αὐτοὺς τῷ ἁγίῳ αὐτοῦ ποιμνίῳ, καταξιώσας αὐτοὺς τοῦ λουτροῦ τῆς παλιγγενεσίας, τοῦ ἐνδύματος τῆς ἀφθαρσίας, τῆς ὄντος ζωῆς, ῥύσηται δὲ αὐτοὺς ἀπὸ πάσης ἀσεβείας, καὶ μὴ δῷ τόπον τῷ ἀλλοτρίῳ

[1] Hoc est in suggestum inferius, Lectoribus destinatum. Inde acclamatio illa interpretanda est, quæ in nonnullis liturgiis in Eucharistia celebranda ante Communionem ad Diaconos dirigitur : Κατέλθετε, descendite a suggesto vestro.

[2] V. Ἡ θεία λειτουργία ἐν ᾗ προσφ. etc.

[3] Om. vulg.

κατ' αὐτῶν· καθαρίσῃ[1] δὲ αὐτοὺς ἀπὸ παντὸς μολυσμοῦ σαρκὸς καὶ πνεύματος, ἐνοικήσῃ[2] τε ἐν αὐτοῖς καὶ ἐμπεριπατήσῃ διὰ τοῦ Χριστοῦ αὐτοῦ· εὐλογήσῃ[3] τὰς εἰσόδους αὐτῶν καὶ τὰς ἐξόδους, καὶ κατευθύνῃ αὐτοῖς τὰ προκείμενα εἰς τὸ συμφέρον.

Ἔτι ἐντενῶς ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν ἱκετεύσωμεν, ἵνα ἀφέσεως τυχόντες τῶν πλημμεληµάτων διὰ τῆς μυήσεως, ἀξιωθῶσι τῶν ἁγίων μυστηρίων, καὶ τῆς μετὰ τῶν ἁγίων διαμονῆς.

Ἐγείρεσθε οἱ κατηχούμενοι· τὴν εἰρήνην τοῦ Θεοῦ διὰ τοῦ Χριστοῦ αὐτοῦ αἰτήσασθε, τὴν[4] εἰρηνικὴν ἡμέραν καὶ ἀναμάρτητον [καὶ][5] πάντα τὸν χρόνον τῆς ζωῆς ὑμῶν, χριστιανὰ ὑμῶν τὰ τέλη, ἵλεων καὶ εὐμενῆ τὸν Θεὸν, ἄφεσιν πλημμεληµάτων, ἑαυτοὺς τῷ μόνῳ ἀγεννήτῳ Θεῷ διὰ τοῦ Χριστοῦ αὐτοῦ παράθεσθε. Κλίνατε καὶ εὐλογεῖσθε.

Ἐφ' ἑκάστῳ δὲ τούτων ὧν ὁ διάκονος προσφωνεῖ, ὡς προείπομεν, λεγέτω ὁ λαός·

Κύριε ἐλέησον.

Καὶ πρὸ πάντων τὰ παιδία. Κλινόντων δὲ αὐτῶν τὰς κεφαλὰς, εὐλογείτω αὐτοὺς ὁ χειροτονηθεὶς ἐπίσκοπος εὐλογίαν τοιάνδε·

Ὁ Θεὸς ὁ παντοκράτωρ, ὁ ἀγέννητος καὶ ἀπρόσιτος, ὁ μόνος ἀληθινὸς Θεὸς, ὁ Θεὸς καὶ πατὴρ τοῦ Χριστοῦ σου, τοῦ μονογενοῦς υἱοῦ σου, ὁ τοῦ παρακλήτου προβολεὺς[6] καὶ τῶν ὅλων κύριος· ὁ διὰ Χριστοῦ διδασκάλους τοὺς μαθητὰς ἐπιστήσας πρὸς μάθησιν τῆς εὐσεβείας· αὐτὸς καὶ νῦν ἔπιδε ἐπὶ τοὺς δούλους σου, τοὺς κατηχουμένους τὸ εὐαγγελιον τοῦ Χριστοῦ σου· καὶ δὸς αὐτοῖς καρδίαν καινήν· καὶ πνεῦμα

[1] 2 Cor. vii. 1.
[2] 2 Cor. vi. 16.
[3] Ps. cxxi. 18.
[4] Om. vulg.
[5] Ita omnes codd., at inepte.
[6] V. *ὁ θεὸς τοῦ παρακλήτου, καί.* Infra cap. 37., ubi in vulgatis Deus et Pater dicitur *ὁ τοῦ πνεύματος κύριος*, alter cod. Vindob. præbet *ὁ τοῦ πν. προβολεύς.* In libro vi. c. 11. ubi legitur *ἕνα θεὸν, ἑνὸς υἱοῦ πατέρα οὐ πλειόνων, ἑνὸς παρακλήτου διὰ Χριστοῦ*, idem codex legit *ἑνὸς παρακλήτου προβολέα.*

εὐθὲς ἐγκαίνισον ἐν τοῖς ἐγκάτοις αὐτῶν[1], πρὸς τὸ εἰδέναι καὶ ποιεῖν τὸ θέλημά σου, ἐν καρδίᾳ πλήρει καὶ ψυχῇ θελούσῃ. Καταξίωσον αὐτοὺς τῆς ἁγίας μυήσεως, καὶ ἕνωσον αὐτοὺς τῇ ἁγίᾳ σου ἐκκλησίᾳ, καὶ μετόχους ποίησον τῶν θείων μυστηρίων, διὰ Χριστοῦ, τῆς ἐλπίδος ἡμῶν, τοῦ ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν ἀποθανόντος· δι' οὗ σοι δόξα καὶ τὸ σέβας ἐν ἁγίῳ πνεύματι, εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας. Ἀμήν.

Καί μετὰ τοῦτο ὁ διάκονος λεγέτω·

Προέλθετε[2] οἱ κατηχούμενοι ἐν εἰρήνῃ.

Καὶ μετὰ τὸ ἐξελθεῖν αὐτοὺς λεγέτω·

[3] Προσφώνησις ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐνεργουμένων.
(Adclamatio vel exhortatio pro energumenis.)

Εὔξασθε οἱ ἐνεργούμενοι ὑπὸ πνευμάτων ἀκαθάρτων. Ἐκτενῶς πάντες ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν δεηθῶμεν, ὅπως ὁ φιλάνθρωπος Θεὸς, διὰ Χριστοῦ ἐπιτιμήσῃ τοῖς ἀκαθάρτοις καὶ πονηροῖς πνεύμασι, καὶ ῥύσηται τοὺς αὐτοῦ ἱκέτας[4] ἀπὸ τῆς τοῦ ἀλλοτρίου καταδυναστείας· ὁ ἐπιτιμήσας τῷ λεγεῶνι τῶν δαιμόνων, καὶ τῷ ἀρχεκάκῳ διαβόλῳ, ἐπιτιμήσῃ αὐτὸς καὶ νῦν τοῖς ἀποστάταις τῆς εὐσεβείας, καὶ ῥύσηται τὰ ἑαυτοῦ πλάσματα ἀπὸ τῆς ἐνεργείας αὐτοῦ, καὶ καθαρίσῃ αὐτὰ, ἃ μετὰ πολλῆς σοφίας ἐποίησεν.[5] Ἔτι ἐκτενῶς ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν δεηθῶμεν. Σῶσον καὶ ἀνάστησον αὐτοὺς ὁ Θεὸς, ἐν τῇ δυνάμει σου. Κλίνατε οἱ ἐνεργούμενοι καὶ εὐλογεῖσθε.

[1] Sunt verba Ps. li. 10.

[2] Usu solemni pro ἐξέλθετε, ut docent quæ sequuntur : καὶ μετὰ τὸ ἐξελθεῖν αὐτούς.

[3] Deest rubr. in vulg.

[4] Cod. B. οἰκέτας.

[5] Produnt hæc interpolatoris ætatem. Verba ὁ ἐπιτίμησας τῷ λεγεῶνι τῶν δαιμόνων respiciunt Christi verba apud Marc. iii. 9, 10. (cf Zachar. iii. 2.). Cetera simillima sunt, ut observarunt editores, loco apud secundum Ignatianæ ad Smyrnæos epistolæ interpolatorem c. 7.; qui de hæreticis sui temporis ita loquentem inducit Ignatium : ἔγγονοί εἰσι τοῦ ἀρχεκάκου πνεύματος . . . τοῦ καὶ νῦν ἐνερ-

Καὶ ὁ ἐπίσκοπος ἐπευχέσθω λέγων·

Χειροθεσία ἐπὶ τῶν ἐνεργουμένων.[1]
(Manuum impositio super energumenos.)

Ὁ τὸν ἰσχυρὸν δήσας[2], καὶ πάντα τὰ σκεύη αὐτοῦ διαρπάσας· ὁ δοὺς ἡμῖν ἐξουσίαν ἐπάνω ὄφεων καὶ σκορπίων πατεῖν[3], καὶ ἐπὶ πάσην τὴν δύναμιν τοῦ ἐχθροῦ· ὁ τὴν ἀνθρωποκτόνον ὄφιν δεσμώτην παραδοὺς ἡμῖν, ὡς στρουθίον παιδίοις[4]· ὃν πάντα φρίττει καὶ τρέμει ἀπὸ προσώπου δυνάμεώς σου[5]· ὁ ῥήξας αὐτὸν ὡς ἀστραπὴν ἐξ οὐρανοῦ εἰς γῆν[6], οὐ τοπικῷ ῥήγματι, ἀλλὰ ἀπὸ τιμῆς εἰς ἀτιμίαν, δι' ἑκούσιον αὐτοῦ κακόνοιαν·[7] οὗ τὸ βλέμμα ξηραίνει ἀβύσσους, καὶ ἡ ἀπειλὴ τήκει ὄρη[8], καὶ ἡ ἀλήθεια μένει εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα· ὃν αἰνεῖ τὰ νήπια, καὶ εὐλογεῖ τὰ θηλάζοντα, ὃν ὑμνοῦσι καὶ προσκυνοῦσιν ἄγγελοι· ὁ ἐπιβλέπων ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν, καὶ ποιῶν αὐτὴν τρέμειν· ὁ ἁπτόμενος τῶν ὀρέων καὶ καπνίζονται[9]. ὁ ἀπειλῶν θαλάσσῃ καὶ ξηραίνων αὐτὴν[10] καὶ πάντας τοὺς ποταμοὺς ἐξηρεμῶν· οὗ νεφέλαι κονιορτὸς τῶν ποδῶν· ὁ περιπατῶν ἐπὶ θαλάσσης ὡς ἐπ' ἐδάφους· μονογενὲς Θεὲ, μεγάλου πατρὸς υἱέ, ἐπιτίμησον τοῖς πονηροῖς πνεύμασι, καὶ ῥῦσαι τὰ ἔργα τῶν χειρῶν σου ἐκ τῆς τοῦ ἀλλοτρίου πνεύματος ἐνεργείας· ὅτι σοὶ δόξα τιμὴ καὶ σέβας καὶ διὰ σοῦ τῷ σῷ πατρὶ ἐν ἁγίῳ πνεύματι εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας. Ἀμήν.

γοῦντος ἐν τοῖς υἱοῖς τῆς ἀπειθείας· ὧν ῥύσεται ἡμᾶς ὁ κύριος, i. e. Credo Ignatianum interpolatorem nostra ante oculos habuisse, et utpote apostolicam auctoritatem ante se ferentia imitatum esse: non nostra ex Ignatianis fluxisse.

[1] Ita codex Vindob. uterque. In vulgatis: Ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐνεργουμένων·

[2] Codd. et edd. barbare δείσας. V. Matth. xii. 29., et Marc. loco parallelo.

[3] Luc. x. 19.

[4] Inconcinne hæc in editis conjunguntur cum iis quæ præcedunt.

[5] Job. xl. 24. [6] Luc. x. 18.

[7] δι' ἑκούσιον κακόνοιαν sunt verba falsarii Ignatiani in ep. ad Philipp. c. iv.

[8] Nah. i. 5. [9] Ps. civ. 32. [10] Ps. cvi. 9.

Καὶ ὁ διάκονος λεγέτω·

Προέλθετε οἱ ἐνεργούμενοι.

Καὶ μετ' αὐτοὺς προσφωνείτω·

Προσφώνησις τῶν φωτιζομένων.[1]
(Adclamatio vel exhortatio ad competentes.)

Εὔξασθε οἱ φωτιζόμενοι.

Ἐκτενῶς οἱ πιστοὶ πάντες ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν παρακαλέσωμεν, ὅπως ὁ κύριος καταξιώσῃ αὐτοὺς μνηθέντας εἰς τὸν τοῦ Χριστοῦ θάνατον συναναστῆναι αὐτῷ, καὶ μετόχους γενέσθαι τῆς βασιλείας αὐτοῦ, καὶ κοινωνοὺς τῶν μυστηρίων αὐτοῦ, ἑνώσῃ καὶ συγκαταλέξῃ αὐτοὺς μετὰ τῶν σωζομένων ἐν τῇ ἁγίᾳ αὐτοῦ ἐκκλησίᾳ. Ἔτι ἐκτενῶς ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν δεηθῶμεν.[2] Σῶσον καὶ ἀνάστησον αὐτοὺς ἐν τῇ σῇ χάριτι· κατασφραγισάμενοι τῷ Θεῷ διὰ τοῦ Χριστοῦ αὐτοῦ, κλίναντες εὐλογείσθωσαν παρὰ τοῦ ἐπισκόπου τήνδε τὴν εὐλογίαν.

Χειροθεσία ἐπὶ τῶν βαπτιζομένων.[3]
(Impositio manuum super baptizandis.)

Ὁ προειπὼν διὰ τῶν ἁγίων σου προφητῶν τοῖς μυουμένοις, λούσασθε, καθαροὶ γίνεσθε[4] καὶ διὰ τοῦ Χριστοῦ σου νομοθετήσας τὴν πνευματικὴν ἀναγέννησιν, αὐτὸς καὶ νῦν ἔπιδε ἐπὶ τοὺς βαπτιζομένους, καὶ εὐλόγησον αὐτούς, καὶ ἁγίασον, καὶ παρασκεύασον ἀξίους γενέσθαι τῆς πνευματικῆς σου δωρεᾶς, καὶ τῆς ἀληθινῆς υἱοθεσίας, τῶν πνευματικῶν σου μυστηρίων, τῆς μετὰ τῶν σωζομένων ἐπισυναγωγῆς· διὰ Χριστοῦ τοῦ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν, δι' οὗ σοὶ δόξα, τιμὴ καὶ σέβας ἐν ἁγίῳ πνεύματι εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας. Ἀμήν.

Καὶ λεγέτω ὁ διάκονος·

Προέλθετε οἱ φωτιζόμενοι.

[1] Abest in vulg.
[2] Abest in vulg.
[3] V. Ὑπὲρ τῶν β.
[4] Jes. i, 16.

Καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο κηρυττέτω·
Προσφώνησις, ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐν μετανοίᾳ.[1]
(Adclamatio vel exhortatio super pœnitentes.)

Εὔξασθε οἱ ἐν τῇ μετανοίᾳ.

Ἐκτενῶς πάντες ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐν μετανοίᾳ ἀδελφῶν ἡμῶν[2] παρακαλέσωμεν· ὅπως ὁ φιλοικτίρμων Θεὸς ὑποδείξῃ αὐτοῖς ὁδὸν μετανοίας, προσδέξηται αὐτῶν τὴν παλινῳδίαν καὶ τὴν ἐξομολόγησιν καὶ συντρίψῃ τὸν Σατανᾶν ὑπὸ τοὺς πόδας αὐτῶν ἐν τάχει·[3] καὶ λυτρώσηται αὐτοὺς ἀπὸ τῆς παγίδος τοῦ διαβόλου καὶ τῆς ἐπηρείας τῶν δαιμόνων, καὶ ἐξέληται αὐτοὺς ἀπὸ παντὸς ἀθεμίτου λόγου, καὶ πάσης ἀτόπου πράξεως καὶ πονηρᾶς ἐννοίας. Συγχωρήσῃ δὲ αὐτοῖς πάντα τὰ παραπτώματα αὐτῶν, τά τε ἑκούσια καὶ τὰ ἀκούσια, καὶ ἐξαλείψῃ τὸ κατ' αὐτῶν χειρόγραφον[4], καὶ ἐγγράψηται αὐτοὺς ἐν βίβλῳ ζωῆς. Καθαρῇ δὲ αὐτοὺς ἀπὸ παντὸς μολυσμοῦ σαρκὸς καὶ πνεύματος[5], καὶ ἑνώσῃ αὐτοὺς ἀποκαταστήσας εἰς τὴν ἁγίαν αὐτοῦ ποίμνην, ὅτι αὐτὸς γινώσκεις τὸ πλάσμα ἡμῶν, ὅτι τίς καυχήσεται ἁγνὴν ἔχειν καρδίαν; ἢ τίς παῤῥησιάσεται καθαρὸς εἶναι ἀπὸ ἁμαρτίας[6]; πάντες γάρ ἐσμεν ἐν ἐπιτιμίαις.

Ἔτι ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν ἐκτενέστερον δεηθῶμεν· ὅτι χαρὰ γίνεται ἐν οὐρανῷ ἐπὶ ἑνὶ ἁμαρτωλῷ μετανοοῦντι[7], ὅπως ἀποστραφέντες πᾶν ἔργον ἀθέμιτον, προσοικειωθῶσι πάσῃ πράξει ἀγαθῇ· ἵνα ὁ φιλάνθρωπος Θεὸς ᾗ τάχος[8] εὐμενῶς προσδεξάμενος αὐτῶν τὰς λιτὰς, ἀποκαταστήσῃ αὐτοὺς εἰς τὴν προτέραν ἀξίαν καὶ ἀποδώσῃ αὐτοῖς τὴν ἀγαλλίασιν τοῦ σωτηρίου, καὶ πνεύματι ἡγεμονικῷ στηρίξῃ αὐτοὺς, ἵνα μηκέτι σαλευθῶσι τὰ διαβήματα αὐτῶν, ἀλλὰ καταξιώθωσιν κοινωνοὶ[9] γενέσθαι

[1] Deest in vulg. [2] Om. ἡμῶν vulg. [3] Rom. xvi. 20.
[4] Col. ii. 13, 14. [5] 2 Cor. vii. 1. [6] Prov. xx. 9. [7] Luc. xv. 7.
[8] Pro ὅτι τάχιστα, secundum usum hellenistarum, ut apud Josephum, v. Stephani Lex. s. v.
[9] Restituimus hæc ex optimis codd. Vindob. Bis omisso integro commate, hucusque ita legebantur: ἀποκαταστήσῃ αὐτοῖς ἀγαλλίασιν τοῦ σωτηρίου, καὶ πνεύματι ἡγεμονικῷ στηρίξῃ αὐτοὺς, ἵνα μηκέτι σαλευθῶσι κοινωνοὶ γενέσθαι: quæ sensu omnino carent.

τῶν ἁγίων αὐτοῦ ἱερῶν, καὶ μέτοχοι τῶν θείων μυστηρίων· ἵνα ἄξιοι ἀποφανθέντες τῆς υἱοθεσίας, τύχωσι τῆς αἰωνίου ζωῆς.

Ἔτι ἐκτενῶς πάντες ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν εἴπωμεν·

Κύριε ἐλέησον. Σῶσον αὐτοὺς ὁ Θεὸς, καὶ ἀναστήσον τῷ ἐλέει σου.

Ἀναστάντες τῷ Θεῷ διὰ τοῦ Χριστοῦ αὐτοῦ κλίνατε καὶ εὐλογεῖσθε.

Ἐπευχέσθω οὖν ὁ ἐπίσκοπος τοιάδε·

Χειροθεσία καὶ εὐχὴ ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐν μετανοίᾳ.
(Impositio manuum et oratio pro pœnitentibus.)

Παντοκράτορ Θεὲ αἰώνιε, δέσποτα τῶν ὅλων, κτίστα καὶ πρύτανι τῶν πάντων· ὁ τὸν ἄνθρωπον κόσμου κόσμον ἀναδείξας διὰ Χριστοῦ, καὶ νόμον δοὺς αὐτῷ ἔμφυτον καὶ γραπτὸν πρὸς τὸ ζῆν αὐτὸν ἐνθέσμως ὡς λογικὸν, καὶ ἁμαρτόντι ὑποθήκην δοὺς πρὸς μετάνοιαν τὴν σαυτοῦ ἀγαθότητα· ἔπιδε ἐπὶ τους κεκλικότας σοι αὐχένα ψυχῆς καὶ σώματος· ὅτι οὐ βούλει τὸν θάνατον τοῦ ἁμαρτωλοῦ, ἀλλὰ τὴν μετάνοιαν, ὥστε ἀποστρέψαι αὐτὸν ἀπὸ τῆς ὁδοῦ αὐτοῦ τῆς πονηρᾶς καὶ ζῆν.[1] Ὁ Νινευϊτῶν προσδεξάμενος τὴν μετάνοιαν· ὁ θέλων πάντας ἀνθρώπους σωθῆναι καὶ εἰς ἐπίγνωσιν ἀληθείας ἐλθεῖν·[2] ὁ τὸν υἱὸν προσδεξάμενος, τὸν καταφαγόντα τὸν βίον αὐτοῦ ἀσώτως, πατρικοῖς σπλάγχνοις, διὰ τὴν μετάνοιαν· αὐτὸς καὶ νῦν πρόσδεξαι τῶν ἱκετῶν σου τὴν μετάγνωσιν, ὅτι οὐκ ἐστὶν ὃς οὐχ ἁμαρτήσεται σοί. Ἐὰν γὰρ ἀνομίας παρατηρήσῃ κύριε, κύριε, τίς ὑποστήσεται;[3] ὅτι παρὰ σοὶ ὁ ἱλασμὸς ἐστί· καὶ ἀποκατάστησον αὐτοὺς τῇ ἁγίᾳ σου ἐκκλησίᾳ, ἐν τῇ προτέρᾳ ἀξίᾳ καὶ τιμῇ, διὰ τοῦ Χριστοῦ τοῦ Θεοῦ καὶ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν· δι' οὗ σοὶ δόξα καὶ προσκύνησις ἐν τῷ ἁγίῳ πνεύματι, εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας. Ἀμήν.

Καὶ ὁ διάκονος λεγέτω·

Ἀπολύεσθε οἱ ἐν μετανοίᾳ.

[1] Ezech. xviii. 23. [2] 1 Tim. ii. 4. [3] Ps. cxxx. 3. 4.

Καὶ προστιθέτω·

Μήτις τῶν μὴ δυναμένων προσελθέτω.[1] Ὅσοι πιστοι κλίνωμεν γόνυ· δεηθῶμεν τοῦ Θεοῦ διὰ τοῦ Χριστοῦ αὐτοῦ πάντες συντόνως τὸν Θεὸν διὰ τοῦ Χριστοῦ αὐτοῦ παρακαλέσωμεν.

Προσφώνησις ὑπὲρ τῶν πιστῶν.
(Adclamatio vel exhortatio pro fidelibus.)

Ὑπὲρ τῆς εἰρήνης καὶ τῆς εὐσταθείας τοῦ κόσμου καὶ τῶν ἁγίων ἐκκλησίων δεηθῶμεν· ὅπως ὁ τῶν ὅλων Θεὸς ἀΐδιον καὶ ἀνυφαίρετον τὴν ἑαυτοῦ εἰρήνην ἡμῖν παράσχοιτο, ἵνα ἐν πληροφορίᾳ τῆς κατ' εὐσέβειαν ἀρετῆς διατελοῦντας ἡμᾶς συντηρήσῃ.

Ὑπὲρ τῆς ἁγίας καθολικῆς καὶ ἀποστολικῆς ἐκκλησίας τῆς ἀπὸ περάτων ἕως περάτων δεηθῶμεν· ὅπως ὁ κύριος ἄσειστον αὐτὴν καὶ ἀκλυδώνιστον διαφύλαξῃ καὶ διατηρήσῃ μέχρι τῆς συντελείας τοῦ αἰῶνος, τεθεμελιωμένην ἐπὶ τὴν πέτραν.

Καὶ ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐνθάδε ἁγίας παροικίας δεηθῶμεν· ὅπως καταξιώσῃ ἡμᾶς ὁ τῶν ὅλων κύριος ἀνενδότως τὴν ἐπουράνιον αὐτοῦ ἐλπίδα μεταδιώκειν, καὶ ἀδιάλειπτον αὐτῷ τῆς δεήσεως ἀποδιδόναι τὴν ὀφειλήν.

Ὑπὲρ πάσης ἐπισκοπῆς τῆς ὑπὸ τὸν οὐρανὸν, τῶν ὀρθοτομούντων τὸν λόγον τῆς σῆς ἀληθείας δεηθῶμεν.

Καὶ ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἐπισκόπου ἡμῶν Ἰακώβου, καὶ τῶν παροικιῶν αὐτοῦ δεηθῶμεν.

Ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἐπισκόπου ἡμῶν Κλήμεντος καὶ τῶν παροικιῶν αὐτοῦ δεηθῶμεν· ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἐπισκόπου ἡμῶν Εὐοδίου, καὶ τῶν παροικιῶν αὐτοῦ δεηθῶμεν[2]· ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἐπισκόπου ἡμῶν Ἀν-

[1] Codd. inepte: προελθέτω. Interpres Bovius: nullus ex prohibitis accedat.

[2] In codice Vindobon. omittuntur hæc: ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἐπισκόπου ἡμῶν Εὐωδίου καὶ τῶν παροικιῶν αὐτοῦ δεηθῶμεν. Atqui Evodius primus fuisse fertur post Petrum Ecclesiæ Antiochenæ præsul, ut Annianus primus post Marcum Alexandrinæ. Utriusque nomen hic scriptum fuisse (quo majorem apostolici statuti speciem præ se ferret interpolatoris figmentum) probant quæ proxime sequuntur. Omissio illa igitur ex ὁμοιοτελεύτῳ orta.

νιανοῦ καὶ τῶν παροικιῶν αὐτοῦ δεηθῶμεν·[1] ὅπως ὁ οἰκτίρμων Θεὸς χαρίσηται αὐτοὺς ταῖς ἁγίαις αὐτοῦ ἐκκλησίαις σώους, ἐντίμους, μακροημερεύοντας· καὶ τίμιον αὐτοῖς τὸ γῆρας παράσχηται ἐν εὐσεβείᾳ καὶ δικαιοσύνῃ.

Καὶ ὑπὲρ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων ἡμῶν δεηθῶμεν· ὅπως ὁ κύριος ῥύσηται αὐτοὺς ἀπὸ παντὸς ἀτόπου καὶ πονηροῦ πράγματος, καὶ ζῶον καὶ ἔντιμον τὸ πρεσβυτήριον αὐτοῖς παράσχοι.

Ὑπὲρ πάσης τῆς ἐν Χριστῷ διακονίας καὶ ὑπηρεσίας δεηθῶμεν· ὅπως ὁ κύριος ἄμεμπτον τὴν διακονίαν αὐτοῖς παράσχηται.

Ὑπὲρ ἀναγνωστῶν, ψαλτῶν, παρθένων, χηρῶν τε καὶ ὀρφανῶν δεηθῶμεν.

Ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐν συζυγίαις καὶ τεκνογονίαις δεηθῶμεν· ὅπως ὁ κύριος τοὺς πάντας αὐτοὺς ἐλεήσῃ.

Ὑπὲρ εὐνούχων ὁσίως πορευομένων δεηθῶμεν.

Ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐν ἐγκρατείᾳ καὶ εὐλαβείᾳ δεηθῶμεν.

Ὑπὲρ τῶν καρποφορούντων ἐν τῇ ἁγίᾳ ἐκκλησίᾳ καὶ ποιούντων τοῖς πένησι τὰς ἐλεημοσύνας δεηθῶμεν.

Καὶ ὑπὲρ τῶν τὰς θυσίας καὶ τὰς ἀπαρχὰς προσφερόντων κυρίῳ τῷ Θεῷ ἡμῶν δεηθῶμεν· ὅπως ὁ πανάγαθος Θεὸς ἀμείψηται αὐτοὺς τοῖς ἐπουρανίοις αὐτοῦ δωρεαῖς, καὶ δῷ αὐτοῖς ἐν τῷ παρόντι ἑκατονταπλασίονα, καὶ ἐν τῷ μέλλοντι ζωὴν αἰώνιον, καὶ χαρίσηται αὐτοῖς ἀντὶ τῶν ἐπιγείων τὰ ἐπουράνια.

Ὑπὲρ τῶν νεοφωτίστων ἀδελφῶν ἡμῶν δεηθῶμεν· ὅπως ὁ κύριος στηρίξῃ αὐτοὺς καὶ βεβαιώσῃ.

Ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐν ἀῤῥωστίᾳ ἐξεταζομένων ἀδελφῶν ἡμῶν δεηθῶμεν· ὅπως ὁ κύριος ῥύσηται αὐτοὺς πάσης νόσου καὶ πάσης μαλακίας, καὶ σώους ἀποκαταστήσῃ τῇ ἁγίᾳ αὐτοῦ ἐκκλησίᾳ.

Ὑπὲρ πλεόντων καὶ ὁδοιπορούντων δεηθῶμεν.

Ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐν μετάλλοις, καὶ ἐξορίαις, καὶ φυλακαῖς, καὶ δεσμοῖς ὄντων διὰ τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ κυρίου δεηθῶμεν.

Ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐν πικρᾷ δουλείᾳ καταπονουμένων δεηθῶμεν.

[1] Sensu antiquissimo : pro civitate sive diœcesi.

Ὑπὲρ ἐχθρῶν καὶ μισούντων ἡμᾶς δεηθῶμεν.

Ὑπὲρ τῶν διωκόντων ἡμᾶς διὰ τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ κυρίου δεηθώμεν· ὅπως ὁ κύριος πραΰνας τὸν θυμὸν αὐτῶν διασκεδάσῃ τὴν καθ' ἡμῶν ὀργήν.[1]

Ὑπὲρ τῶν ἔξω ὄντων καὶ πεπλανημένων δεηθῶμεν, ὅπως ὁ κύριος αὐτοὺς ἐπιστρέψῃ.

Τῶν νηπίων τῆς ἐκκλησίας μνημονεύσωμεν· ὅπως ὁ κύριος τελειώσας αὐτὰ ἐν τῷ φόβῳ αὐτοῦ εἰς μέτρον ἡλικίας ἀγάγῃ.

Ὑπὲρ ἀλλήλων δεηθῶμεν· ὅπως ὁ κύριος διατηρήσῃ ἡμᾶς καὶ φυλάξῃ τῇ αὐτοῦ χάριτι εἰς τέλος, καὶ ῥύσηται ἡμᾶς τοῦ πονηροῦ καὶ πάντων τῶν σκανδάλων τῶν ἐργαζομένων τὴν ἀνομίαν, καὶ σώσῃ εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν αὐτοῦ τὴν ἐπουράνιον.

Ὑπὲρ πάσης ψυχῆς χριστιανῆς δεηθῶμεν. Σῶσον καὶ ἀνάστησον ἡμᾶς ὁ Θεὸς τῷ ἐλέει σου.

Ἐγειρώμεθα.

Δεηθέντες ἑκτενῶς ἑαυτοὺς καὶ ἀλλήλους τῷ ζῶντι Θεῷ διὰ τοῦ Χριστοῦ αὐτοῦ παραθώμεθα.

Ἐπευχέσθω οὖν ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς καὶ λεγέτω·

Ἐπίκλησις τῶν πιστῶν.
(Invocatio pro fidelibus.)

Κύριε παντοκράτορ, ὕψιστε, ὁ ἐν ὑψηλοῖς κατοικῶν, ἅγιε ἐν ἁγίοις ἀναπαυόμενε, ἄναρχε, μόναρχε· ὁ διὰ Χριστοῦ κήρυγμα γνώσεως δοὺς ἡμῖν εἰς ἐπίγνωσιν τῆς σῆς δόξης καὶ τοῦ ὀνόματός σου, οὗ ἐφανέρωσεν ἡμῖν εἰς κατάληψιν· αὐτὸς καὶ νῦν ἔπιδε δι' αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ τὸ ποίμνιόν σου τοῦτο· καὶ λύτρωσαι αὐτὸ πάσης ἀγνοίας, καὶ πονηρᾶς πράξεως· καὶ δὸς φόβῳ φοβεῖσθαί σε, καὶ ἀγάπῃ ἀγαπᾷν σε, καὶ στέλλεσθαι ἀπὸ προσώπου δόξης σου· εὐμενὴς αὐτοῖς γενοῦ καὶ ἵλεως καὶ ἐπήκοος ἐν ταῖς προσευχαῖς αὐτῶν· καὶ φύλαξον αὐτοὺς ἀτρέπτους, ἀμεμπτους, ἀνεγκλήτους, ἵνα ὦσιν ἅγιοι σώματι καὶ ψυχῇ, μὴ ἔχοντες σπῖλον ἢ ῥυτίδα ἤ τι τῶν τοιούτων· ἀλλ' ἵνα ὦσιν ἄρτιοι, καὶ

[1] Cod. Vindob. librarii lapsu hic inserit δεηθῶμεν.

μηδεὶς ἐν αὐτοῖς ᾖ κολοβὸς ἢ ἀτελής· ἀρωγὲ, δυνατὲ, ἀπροσωπόληπτε, γενοῦ ἀντιλήπτωρ τοῦ λαοῦ σου τούτου, ὃν ἐξελέξω ἐκ μυριάδων[1] τῷ τιμίῳ τοῦ Χριστοῦ σου αἵματι· προστάτης, ἐπίκουρος, ταμίας, φύλαξ, τεῖχος ἐρυμνότατον, φραγμὸς ἀσφάλεια· ὅτι ἐκ τῆς σῆς χειρὸς οὐδεὶς ἁρπᾶσαι δύναται·[2] οὐδὲ γάρ ἐστι Θεὸς ὥσπερ σὺ ἕτερος, ὅτι ἐν σοὶ ἡ ὑπομονὴ ἡμῶν. Ἁγίασον αὐτοὺς ἐν τῇ ἀληθείᾳ σου, ὅτι ὁ λόγος ὁ σὸς ἀλήθειά ἐστιν.[3] Ἀπροσχάριστε, ἀπαραλόγιστε, ῥῦσαι αὐτοὺς πάσης νόσου καὶ πάσης μαλακίας, παντὸς παραπτώματος, πάσης ἐπηρείας καὶ ἀπάτης, ἀπὸ φόβου ἐχθροῦ, ἀπὸ βέλους πετομένου ἡμέρας, ἀπὸ πράγματος ἐν σκότει διαπορευομένου·[4] καὶ καταξίωσον αὐτοὺς τῆς αἰωνίου ζωῆς τῆς ἐν Χριστῷ τῷ υἱῷ σου τῷ μονογενεῖ, τῷ Θεῷ καὶ σωτῆρι ἡμῶν· δι' οὗ σοὶ δόξα καὶ σέβας ἐν ἁγίῳ πνεύματι νῦν καὶ ἀεὶ καὶ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων. Ἀμήν.

Καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο λεγέτω ὁ διάκονος·

Πρόσχωμεν.

Καὶ ἀσπαζέσθω ὁ ἐπίσκοπος τὴν ἐκκλησίαν, καὶ λεγέτω·

Ἡ εἰρήνη τοῦ Θεοῦ μετὰ πάντων ὑμῶν.

Καὶ ὁ λαὸς ἀποκρινάσθω·

Καὶ μετὰ τοῦ πνεύματός σου.

Καὶ ὁ διάκονος εἰπάτω πᾶσιν·

Ἀσπάσασθε ἀλλήλους ἐν φιλήματι ἁγίῳ.

Καὶ ἀσπαζέσθωσαν οἱ τοῦ κλήρου τὸν ἐπίσκοπον, οἱ λαϊκοὶ ἄνδρες τοὺς λαϊκούς, αἱ γυναῖκες τὰς γυναῖκας· τὰ παιδία δὲ στηκέτωσαν πρὸς τῷ βήματι· καὶ διάκονος αὐτοῖς ἕτερος ἱστω ἐφεστὼς, ὅπως μὴ ἀτακτῶσι. Καὶ ἄλλοι διάκονοι περιπατείτωσαν, καὶ σκοπείτωσαν τοὺς ἄνδρας καὶ τὰς γυναῖκας, ὅπως μὴ θόρυβος[5] γένηται, καὶ μή τις νεύσῃ, ἢ ψιθυρίσῃ, ἢ

[1] Vulg. ὃν ἐξηγόρασας.
[2] Joh. x. 29.
[3] Joh. xvi. 17.
[4] Ps. xci. 6.
[5] V. add. τις.

νυστάξῃ· οἱ δὲ διάκονοι ἱστάσθωσαν εἰς τὰς τῶν ἀνδρῶν θύρας, καὶ οἱ ὑποδιάκονοι εἰς τὰς τῶν γυναικῶν· ὅπως μήτις ἐξέλθοι, μήτε ἀνοιχθῇ ἡ θύρα, κἂν πιστός τις ᾖ, κατὰ τὸν καιρὸν τῆς ἀναφορᾶς. Εἰς δὲ ὑποδιάκονος διδότω ἀπόνιψιν χειρῶν τοῖς ἱερεῦσι, σύμβολον καθαρότητος ψυχῶν Θεῷ ἀνακειμένων.

Διάταξις Ἰακώβου τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ Ἰωάννου τοῦ Ζεβεδαίου.
(Statutum Jacobi, fratris Johannis filii Zebedæi.)

Φημὶ δὴ καγὼ Ἰάκωβος, ὁ ἀδελφὸς Ἰωάννου τοῦ Ζεβεδαίου, ἵν' εὐθὺς ὁ διάκονος λέγῃ·

Μή τις τῶν κατηχουμένων· μή τις τῶν ἀκροωμένων· μή τις τῶν ἀπίστων· μή τις τῶν ἑτεροδόξων. Οἱ τὴν πρώτην εὐχὴν εὐχόμενοι προέλθετε· τὰ παιδία προσλαμβάνεσθε αἱ μητέρες. Μή τις κατά τινος· μή τις ἐν ὑποκρίσει. Ὀρθοὶ πρὸς κύριον μετὰ φόβου καὶ τρόμου ἑστῶτες ὦμεν προσφέρειν.[1]

Ὧν γενομένων οἱ διάκονοι προσαγέτωσαν τὰ δῶρα τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ πρὸς τὸ θυσιαστήριον· καὶ οἱ πρεσβύτεροι ἐκ δεξίων αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐξ εὐωνύμων στηκέτωσαν, ὡς ἂν μαθηταὶ παρεστῶτες διδασκάλῳ· δύο δὲ διάκονοι ἐξ ἑκατέρων τῶν μερῶν τοῦ θυσιαστηρίου κατεχέτωσαν ἐξ ὑμένων λεπτῶν ῥιπίδια, ἢ πτερῶν ταῶνος, ἢ ὀθόνης· καὶ ἥρεμα ἀποσοβείτωσαν τὰ μικρὰ τῶν ἱπταμένων ζώων, ὅπως ἂν μὴ ἐγχρίμπτωνται εἰς τὰ κύπελλα. Εὐξάμενος οὖν καθ' ἑαυτὸν ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς ἅμα τοῖς ἱερεῦσι, καὶ λαμπρὰν ἐσθῆτα μετενδὺς, καὶ στὰς πρὸς τῷ θυσιαστηρίῳ τὸ τρόπαιον τοῦ σταυροῦ κατὰ τοῦ μετώπου τῇ χειρὶ ποιησάμενος ξεἰς πάντας]², εἰπάτω·

[1] h. e. eamus (vel procedamus) ad oblationem.

[2] Om. codex B. Vindob. εἰς πάντας. Verba hæc, haud dubiè ab interpolatore inserta, cum iis quæ proxime antecedunt conjungenda sunt.

Ἡ χάρις τοῦ παντοκράτορος Θεοῦ, καὶ ἡ ἀγαπὴ τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, καὶ ἡ κοινωνία τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος, ἔστω μετὰ πάντων ὑμῶν.[1]

Καὶ πάντες συμφωνῶς λεγέτωσαν· ὅτι

Καὶ μετὰ τοῦ πνεύματός σου.

Καὶ ὁ ἀρχιερεύς·

Ἄνω τὸν νοῦν.

Καὶ πάντες·

Ἔχομεν πρὸς τὸν κυρίον.

Καὶ ὁ ἀρχιερεύς·

Εὐχαριστήσωμεν τῷ κυρίῳ.

Καὶ πάντες·

Ἄξιον καὶ δίκαιον.

Καὶ ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς εἰπάτω·

Ἄξιον ὡς ἀληθῶς καὶ δίκαιον, πρὸ πάντων ἀνυμνεῖν σε τὸν ὄντως ὄντα Θεὸν, τὸν πρὸ τῶν γεννητῶν ὄντα, ἐξ οὗ πᾶσα πατριὰ ἐν οὐρανῷ καὶ ἐπὶ γῆς ὀνομάζεται·[2] τὸν μόνον ἀγέννητον καὶ ἄναρχον καὶ ἀβασίλευτον, καὶ ἀδέσποτον, τὸν ἀνενδεῆ· τὸν παντὸς ἀγαθοῦ χορηγὸν, τῆς πάσης αἰτίας καὶ γενέσεως κρείττονα· τὸν πάντοτε κατὰ τὰ αὐτὰ καὶ ὡσαύτως ἔχοντα· ἐξ οὗ τὰ πάντα, καθάπερ ἔκ τινος ἀφετηρίας εἰς τὸ εἶναι παρῆλθεν. Σὺ γὰρ εἶ ἡ ἄναρχος γνῶσις, ἡ ἀΐδιος ὅρασις, ἡ ἀγέννητος ἀκοὴ, ἡ ἀδίδακτος σοφία· ὁ πρῶτος τῇ φύσει καὶ μόνος[3] τῷ εἶναι, καὶ κρείττων παντὸς ἀριθμοῦ· τὰ πάντα ἐκ τοῦ μὴ ὄντος εἰς τὸ εἶναι παραγαγὼν διὰ τοῦ μονογενοῦς σου υἱοῦ· αὐτὸν δὲ πρὸ πάντων αἰώνων γεννήσας βουλήσει καὶ δυνάμει καὶ ἀγαθότητι ἀμεσιτεύτως, υἱὸν μονο-

[1] Juvat hanc salutationis et benedictionis formulam conferre cum ea quæ initio hujus officii legitur, ad seriora tempora accommodata.

[2] Eph. iii. 15. solemnis hoc loco formula.

[3] V. *νόμος*. Εἶναι intelligendum ex *τὸ ὄντως εἶναι*, e Platonis sententia.

γενῆ, λόγον Θεὸν, σοφίαν ζῶσαν, πρωτότοκον πάσης κτίσεως, ἄγγελον τῆς μεγάλης βουλῆς σου, ἀρχιερέα σὸν, βασιλέα δὲ καὶ κύριον πάσης νοητῆς καὶ αἰσθητῆς φύσεως· τὸν πρὸ πάντων, δι' οὗ τὰ πάντα. Σὺ γὰρ Θεὲ αἰώνιε δι' αὐτοῦ τὰ πάντα πεποίηκας, καὶ δι' αὐτοῦ τῆς προσηκούσης προνοίας τὰ ὅλα ἀξιοῖς· δι' οὗ γὰρ τὸ εἶναι ἐχαρίσω, δι' αὐτοῦ καὶ τὸ εὖ εἶναι ἐδωρήσω: Ὁ Θεὸς καὶ πατὴρ τοῦ μονογενοῦς υἱοῦ σου· ὁ δι' αὐτοῦ πρὸ πάντων ποιήσας[1] τὰ Χερουβὶμ καὶ τὰ Σεραφὶμ, αἰῶνάς τε καὶ στρατιὰς, δυνάμεις τε καὶ ἐξουσίας, ἀρχάς τε καὶ θρόνους, ἀρχαγγέλους τε καὶ ἀγγέλους· καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα πάντα ποιήσας δι' αὐτοῦ τὸν φαινόμενον τοῦτον κόσμον, καὶ πάντα τὰ ἐν αὐτῷ. Σὺ γὰρ εἶ ὁ τὸν οὐρανὸν ὡς καμάραν στήσας[2], καὶ ὡς δέρριν ἐκτείνας[3], καὶ τὴν γῆν ἐπ' οὐδενὸς ἱδρύσας γνώμῃ μόνῃ· ὁ πήξας στερέωμα, καὶ νύκτα καὶ ἡμέραν κατασκευάσας· ὁ ἐξαγαγὼν φῶς ἐκ θησαυρῶν, καὶ τῇ τούτου συστολῇ[4] ἐπαγαγὼν τὰ σκότος, εἰς ἀνάπαυλαν τῶν ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ κινουμένων ζώων· ὁ τὸν ἥλιον τάξας εἰς ἀρχὰς τῆς ἡμέρας ἐν οὐρανῷ, καὶ τὴν σελήνην εἰς ἀρχὰς τῆς νυκτὸς, καὶ τὸν χόρον τῶν ἀστέρων ἐν οὐρανῷ καταγράψας εἰς αἶνον τῆς σῆς μεγαλοπρεπείας· ὁ ποίησας ὕδωρ πρὸς πόσιν καὶ κάθαρσιν, ἀέρα ζωτικὸν πρὸς εἰσπνοὴν καὶ ἀναπνοὴν[5], καὶ φωνῆς ἀπόδοσιν διὰ γλώττης πληττούσης τὸν ἀέρα, καὶ ἀκοὴν συνεργουμένην ὑπ' αὐτοῦ, ὡς ἐπαΐειν εἰσδεχομένην τὴν προσπίπτουσαν αὐτῇ λαλιάν· ὁ ποιήσας πῦρ πρὸς σκότους παραμυθίαν, πρὸς ἐνδείας ἀναπλήρωσιν, καὶ τὸ θερμαίνεσθαι ἡμᾶς καὶ σωτίζεσθαι ὑπ' αὐτοῦ· ὁ τὴν μεγάλην θάλασσαν χωρίσας τῆς γῆς, καὶ τὴν μὲν ἀναδείξας πλωτὴν, τὴν δὲ ποσὶ βάσιμον ποιήσας, καὶ τὴν μὲν ζώοις μικροῖς καὶ μεγάλοις πληθύνας, τὴν δὲ ἡμέροις καὶ ἀτιθάσσοις πληρώσας φυτοῖς τε διαφόροις στέψας καὶ βοτάναις στεφανώσας καὶ ἄνθεσι καλλύνας καὶ σπέρμασι πλουτίσας· ὁ συστησάμενος ἄβυσσον, καὶ μέγα κῦ-

[1] Cod. Vind. hic scholium habet adscriptum quod antiquitatem quandam sapit: ὅτι αἱ νοηταὶ δυνάμεις πρὸ τοῦ αἰσθητοῦ κόσμου γεγόνασι

[2] Jes. xl. 22. [3] Ps. cii. 2. [4] V. στολῇ.

[5] V. omitt. καὶ ἀναπνοήν.

τος[1] αὐτῇ περιθεὶς, ἁλμυρῶν ὑδάτων σεσωρευμένα πελάγη, περιφράξας δὲ αὐτὴν πύλαις ἄμμου λεπτοτάτης· ὁ πνεύμασί ποτε μὲν αὐτὴν κορυφῶν εἰς ὀρέων μέγεθος, ποτὲ δὲ στρωνύων αὐτὴν ὡς[2] πεδίον, καί ποτε μὲν ἐκμαίνων χειμῶνι, ποτὲ δὲ πραΰνων γαλήνῃ ὡς ναυσιπόροις πλωτήρσιν εὔκολον εἶναι πρὸς πορείαν· ὁ ποταμοῖς διαζώσας τὸν ὑπὸ σοῦ διὰ Χριστοῦ γενόμενον κόσμον, καὶ χειμάρροις ἐπικλύσας, καὶ πηγαῖς ἀεννάοις μεθύσας, ὄρεσι δὲ περισφίγξας εἰς ἕδραν ἀτρεμῆ γῆς ἀσφαλεστάτην· Ἐπλήρωσας γάρ σου τὸν κόσμον, καὶ διακόσμησας αὐτὸν βοτάναις εὐόσμοις καὶ ἰασίμοις, ζώοις πολλοῖς καὶ διαφόροις, ἀλκίμοις καὶ ἀσθενεστέροις, ἐδωδίμοις καὶ ἐνεργοῖς, ἡμέροις καὶ ἀτιθάσσοις, ἑρπετῶν συριγμοῖς, πτηνῶν ποικίλων κλαγγαῖς, ἐνιαυτῶν κύκλοις, μηνῶν καὶ ἡμερῶν ἀριθμοῖς, τροπῶν τάξεσι, νεφῶν ὀμβροτόκων διαδρομαῖς, εἰς καρπῶν γονὰς, καὶ ζώων σύστασιν· σταθμὸν ἀνέμων διαπνεόντων ὅτε προσταχθῶσι παρὰ σοῦ, τῶν φυτῶν καὶ τῶν βοτανῶν τὸ πλῆθος. Καὶ οὐ μόνον τὸν κόσμον ἐδημιούργησας, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸν κοσμοπολίτην ἄνθρωπον ἐν αὐτῷ ἐποίησας, κόσμου κόσμον[3] ἀναδείξας. Εἶπας γὰρ τῇ σῇ σοφίᾳ· Ποιήσωμεν ἄνθρωπον κατ' εἰκόνα ἡμετέραν, καὶ καθ' ὁμοίωσιν· καὶ ἀρχέτωσαν τῶν ἰχθύων τῆς θαλάσσης, καὶ τῶν πετεινῶν τοῦ οὐρανοῦ. Διὸ καὶ πεποίηκας αὐτὸν ἐκ ψυχῆς ἀθανάτου καὶ σώματος σκεδαστοῦ, τῆς μὲν ἐκ τοῦ μὴ ὄντος, τοῦ δὲ ἐκ τῶν τεσσάρων στοιχείων· καὶ δέδωκας αὐτῷ κατὰ μὲν τὴν ψυχὴν, τὴν λογικὴν διάγνωσιν, εὐσεβείας καὶ ἀσεβείας διάκρισιν, δικαίου καὶ ἀδίκου παρατήρησιν· κατὰ δὲ τὸ σῶμα τὴν πένταθλον ἐχαρίσω αἴθησιν, καὶ τὴν μεταβατικὴν κίνησιν. Σὺ γὰρ, Θεὲ παντοκράτορ, διὰ Χριστοῦ παράδεισον ἐν Ἐδὲμ κατὰ ἀνατολὰς ἐφύτευσας, παντοίων φυτῶν[4] ἐδωδίμων κόσμῳ, καὶ ἐν

[1] i. e. altitudo, profunditas. Ps. lx. 7.: *συντάρασσον τὸ κῦτος τῆς θαλάσσης*. V. *κῆτος*, quod monstrum est et naturæ et lectionis.

[2] V. *εἰς*.

[3] V. *αὐτὸν* ante *ἀναδείξας*.

[4] Ita libri omnes scripti et impressi. In Coteleriana editione Clerici omittitur *φυτῶν*.

αὐτῷ ὡς ἂν ἐν ἑστίᾳ πολυτελεῖ εἰσήγαγες αὐτόν· κἂν τὸ ποιεῖν νόμον δέδωκας αὐτῷ ἔμφυτον, ὅπως οἰκοθεν καὶ παρ' ἑαυτοῦ ἔχοι τὰ σπέρματα τῆς θεογνωσίας. Εἰσαγαγὼν δὲ εἰς τὸν τῆς τρυφῆς παράδεισον, πάντων μὲν ἀνῆκας αὐτῷ τὴν ἐξουσίαν πρὸς μετάληψιν, ἑνὸς δὲ μόνου τὴν γεῦσιν ἀπεῖπας, ἐπ' ἐλπίδι κρειττόνων, ἵνα ἐὰν φυλάξῃ τὴν ἐντολὴν, μισθὸν ταύτης τὴν ἀθανασίαν κομίσηται· ἀμελήσαντα δὲ τῆς ἐντολῆς καὶ γευσάμενον ἀπηγορευμένου καρποῦ, ἀπάτῃ ὄφεως καὶ συμβουλίᾳ γυναικὸς, τοῦ μὲν παραδείσου δικαίως ἔξωσας αὐτὸν, ἀγαθότητι δὲ εἰς τὸ παντελὲς ἀπολλύμενον οὐχ ὑπερεῖδες· σὸν γὰρ ἦν δημιούργημα· ἀλλὰ καθυποτάξας αὐτῷ τὴν κτίσιν, δέδωκας αὐτῷ οἰκείοις ἱδρῶσι καὶ πόνοις πορίζειν ἑαυτῷ τὴν τροφὴν, σοῦ πάντα φύοντος καὶ αὔξαντος καὶ πεπαίνοντος· χρόνῳ δὲ πρὸς ὀλίγον αὐτὸν κοιμίσας, ὅρκῳ εἰς παλιγγενεσίαν ἐκάλεσας· ὅρον θανάτου λύσας, ζωὴν ἐξ ἀναστάσεως ἐπηγγείλω. Καὶ οὐ τοῦτο μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς ἐξ αὐτοῦ εἰς πλῆθος ἀναρίθμητον[1] χέας· τοὺς ἐμμείναντάς σοι ἐδόξασας, τοὺς δὲ ἀποστάντας σου ἐκόλασας. Καὶ τοῦ μὲν Ἄβελ ὡς ὁσίου προσδεξάμενος τὴν θυσίαν, τοῦ δὲ ἀδελφοκτόνου Καΐν ἀποστραφεὶς τὸ δῶρον, ὡς ἐναγοῦς· καὶ πρὸς τούτοις τὸν Σὲθ, καὶ τὸν Ἐνὼς προσελάβου, καὶ τὸν Ἐνὼχ μετατέθεικας. Σὺ γὰρ εἶ ὁ δημιουργὸς τῶν ἀνθρώπων, καὶ τῆς ζωῆς χορηγὸς, καὶ τῆς ἐνδείας πληρωτὴς, καὶ τῶν νόμων δοτὴρ, καὶ τῶν φυλαττόντων αὐτοὺς μισθαποδοτῆς καὶ τῶν παραβαινόντων αὐτοὺς ἔκδικος· ὁ τὸν μέγαν κατακλυσμὸν ἐπαγαγὼν τῷ κόσμῳ διὰ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν ἀσεβησάντων, καὶ τὸν δίκαιον Νῶε ῥυσάμενος ἐκ τοῦ κατακλυσμοῦ ἐν λάρνακι σὺν ὀκτὼ ψυχαῖς, τέλος μὲν τῶν παρῳχηκότων, ἀρχὴν δὲ τῶν μελλόντων ἐπιγίνεσθαι. Ὁ τὸ φοβερὸν πῦρ κατὰ τῆς Σοδομηνῆς πενταπόλεως ἐξάψας, καὶ γῆν καρποφόρον εἰς ἁλμὴν θέμενος ἀπὸ κακίας τῶν κατοικούντων ἐν αὐτῇ, καὶ τὸν ὅσιον Λὼτ ἐξαρπάσας τοῦ ἐμπρησμοῦ. Σὺ εἶ ὁ τὸν Ἀβραὰμ ῥυσάμενος προγονικῆς ἀσεβείας, καὶ κληρονόμον τοῦ κόσμου καταστήσας, καὶ ἐμφανίσας αὐτῷ

[1] V ἀνάριθμον.

τὸν Χριστόν σου, ὁ τὸν Μελχισεδὲκ ἀρχιερέα τῆς λατρείας προχειρισάμενος· ὁ τὸν πολύτλαν θεραποντά σου Ἰὼβ νικητὴν τοῦ ἀρχεκάκου ὄφεως ἀναδείξας· ὁ τὸν Ἰσαὰκ ἐπαγγελίας υἱὸν ποιησάμενος· ὁ τὸν Ἰακὼβ πατέρα δώδεκα παίδων, καὶ τοὺς ἐξ αὐτοῦ εἰς πλῆθος χέας, καὶ εἰσαγαγὼν εἰς Αἴγυπτον ἐν ἑβδομήκοντα πέντε ψυχαῖς. Σὺ κύριε τὸν[1] Ἰωσὴφ οὐχ ὑπερεῖδες· ἀλλὰ μισθὸν τῆς διά σε σωφροσύνης ἔδωκας αὐτῷ τὸ τῶν Αἰγυπτίων ἄρχειν. Σὺ κύριε Ἑβραίους ὑπὸ Αἰγυπτίων καταπονουμένους οὐ περιεῖδες διὰ τὰς πρὸς τοὺς πατέρας αὐτῶν ἐπαγγελίας, ἀλλ' ἐῤῥῦσω κολάσας Αἰγυπτίους· παραφθειράντων δὲ τῶν ἀνθρώπων τὸν φυσικὸν νόμον καὶ τὴν κτίσιν, ποτὲ μὲν αὐτόματον νομισάντων, ποτὲ δὲ πλεῖον ἢ δεῖ τιμησάντων, καὶ σοὶ τῷ Θεῷ τῶν πάντων συνταττόντων, οὐκ εἴασας πλανᾶσθαι· ἀλλὰ ἀναδείξας τὸν ἅγιόν σου θεράποντα Μωϋσῆν, δι' αὐτοῦ πρὸς βοήθειαν τοῦ φυσικοῦ τὸν γραπτὸν νόμον δέδωκας, καὶ τὴν κτίσιν ἔδειξας σὸν ἔργον εἶναι· τὴν δὲ πολύθεον πλάνην ἐξώρισας· τὸν Ἀαρὼν καὶ τοὺς ἐξ αὐτοῦ ἱερατικῇ τιμῇ ἐδόξασας. Ἑβραίους ἁμαρτόντας ἐκόλασας, ἐπιστρέφοντας ἐδέξω· τοὺς Αἰγυπτίους δεκαπλήγῳ ἐτιμωρήσω· θάλασσαν διελὼν Ἰσραηλίτας διεβίβασας, Αἰγυπτίους ἐπιδιώξαντας ὑποβρυχίους ἀπώλεσας·[2] ξύλῳ πικρὸν ὕδωρ ἐγλύκανας· ἐκ πέτρας ἀκροτόμου ὕδωρ ἀνέχεας· ἐξ οὐρανοῦ τὸ μάννα ὗσας, τροφὴν ἐξ ἀέρος ὀρτυγομήτραν· στύλον πυρὸς τὴν νύκτα πρὸς φωτισμὸν, καὶ στύλον νεφέλης ἡμέραν πρὸς σκιασμὸν θάλπους. Τὸν Ἰησοῦν στρατηγὸν ἀναδείξας ἑπτὰ ἔθνη Χαναναίων δι' αὐτοῦ καθεῖλες, Ἰορδανὴν διέῤῥηξας· τοὺς ποταμοὺς Ἠθὰμ ἐξήρανας, τείχη κατέῤῥηξας[3] ἄνευ μηχανημάτων καὶ χειρὸς ἀνθρωπίνης. Ὑπὲρ ἁπάντων σοὶ ἡ δόξα, δέσποτα παντοκράτορ. Σὲ προσκυνοῦσιν ἀνάριθμοι στρατιαὶ ἀγγέλων, ἀρχαγγέλων, θρόνων, κυριοτήτων, ἀρχῶν, ἐξουσιῶν, δυνάμεων, στρατιῶν αἰωνίων· τὰ Χερουβὶμ καὶ τὰ ἑξαπτέρυ-

[1] τὸν om. v.

[2] In Cod. Vind. Librarii incuria hic legitur ἐκόλασας; quod proxime præcessit, et hic minus idoneum.

[3] V. κατέῤῥιψας.

γα Σεραφὶμ, ταῖς μὲν δυσὶ κατακαλύπτοντα τοὺς πόδας, ταῖς δὲ δυσὶ τὰς κεφαλὰς, ταῖς δὲ δυσὶ πετόμενα, καὶ λέγοντα ἅμα χιλίαις χιλιάσιν ἀρχαγγέλων, καὶ μυρίαις μυριάσιν ἀγγέλων[1] ἀκαταπαύστως καὶ ἀσιγήτως βοώσαις·

Καὶ πᾶς ὁ λαὸς ἅμα εἰπάτω·

Ἅγιος, ἅγιος, ἅγιος κύριος Σαβαώθ·
Πλήρης ὁ οὐρανὸς καὶ ἡ γῆ τῆς δόξης αὐτοῦ·
Εὐλογητὸς εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας. Ἀμήν.

Καὶ ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς ἑξῆς λεγέτω·

Ἅγιος γὰρ εἶ ὡς ἀληθῶς, καὶ πανάγιος, ὕψιστος καὶ ὑπερυψούμενος εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας· ἅγιος δὲ καὶ ὁ μονογενής σου υἱὸς, ὁ κύριος ἡμῶν καὶ Θεὸς Ἰησοῦς ὁ Χριστὸς, ὃς εἰς πάντα ὑπηρετησάμενός σοι τῷ Θεῷ αὐτοῦ καὶ πατρὶ, εἵς τε δημιουργίαν διάφορον καὶ πρόνοιαν κατάλληλον, οὐ περιεῖδε τὸ γένος τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἀπολλύμενον, ἀλλὰ μετὰ φυσικὸν νόμον, μετὰ νομικὴν παραίνεσιν, μετὰ προφητικοὺς ἐλέγχους καὶ τὰς τῶν ἀγγέλων ἐπισταστας, παραφθειρόντων σὺν τῷ θετῷ καὶ τὸν φυσικὸν νόμον καὶ τῆς μνήμης ἐκβαλλόντων τὸν κατακλυσμὸν, τὴν ἐκπύρωσιν, τὰς κατ' Αἰγυπτίων πληγὰς, τὰς κατὰ Παλαιστινῶν σφαγὰς, καὶ μελλόντων ὅσον οὐδέπω ἀπόλλυσθαι πάντων, εὐδόκησεν αὐτὸς γνώμῃ σῇ ὁ δημιουργὸς ἄνθρώπου ἄνθρωπος γενέσθαι, ὁ νομοθέτης ὑπὸ νόμους, ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς ἱερεῖον, ὁ ποιμὴν πρόβατον, καὶ ἐξευμενίσατό σε τὸν ἑαυτοῦ Θεὸν καὶ πατέρα, καὶ τῷ κοσμῷ κατήλλαξε, καὶ τῆς ἐπικειμένης ὀργῆς τοὺς πάντας ἠλευθέρωσε, γενόμενος ἐκ παρθένου, γενόμενος ἐν σαρκὶ, ὁ Θεὸς λόγος, ὁ ἀγαπητὸς υἱὸς, ὁ πρωτότοκος πάσης κτίσεως, κατὰ τὰς περὶ αὐτοῦ ὑπ' αὐτοῦ προρρηθείσας προφητείας ἐκ. σπέρματος Δαυὶδ καὶ Ἀβραὰμ, φυλῆς Ἰούδα· καὶ γέγονεν ἐν μήτρᾳ παρθένου ὁ διαπλάσσων πάντας τοὺς γεννωμένους, καὶ ἐνσαρκώθη ὁ ἄσαρκος, ὁ ἀχρόνως γεννηθεὶς ἐν χρόνῳ γεγέννηται· πολιτευσάμενος ὁσίως καὶ παιδεύσας ἐνθέσμως. Πᾶσαν νόσον καὶ πᾶσαν μαλακίαν

[1] Verba e Daniele vii. 7. desumta.

ἐξ ἀνθρώπων ἀπελάσας· σημεῖά τε καὶ τέρατα ἐν τῷ λαῷ ποιήσας· τροφῆς καὶ ποτοῦ καὶ ὕπνου μεταλαβὼν ὁ τρέφων πάντας τοὺς χρήζοντας τροφῆς, καὶ ἐμπιπλῶν πᾶν ζῶον εὐδοκίας. Ἐφανέρωσέ σου τὸ ὄνομα τοῖς ἀγνοοῦσιν αὐτό· τὴν ἄγνοιαν ἐφυγάδευσε, τὴν εὐσέβειαν ἀνεζωπύρωσε, τὸ θέλημά σου ἐπλήρωσε, τὸ ἔργον ὃ ἔδωκες αὐτῷ ἐτελείωσε. Καὶ ταῦτα πάντα κατορθώσας χερσὶν ἀνόμων κατασχεθεὶς ἱερέων καὶ ἀρχιερέων ψευδωνύμων καὶ λαοῦ παρανόμου, προδοσίᾳ τοῦ τὴν κακίαν νοσήσαντος, καὶ πολλὰ παθῶν ὑπ' αὐτῶν καὶ πάσην ἀτιμίαν ὑποστὰς σῇ συγχωρήσει, παραδοθεὶς Πιλάτῳ τῷ ἡγεμόνι, καὶ κριθεὶς ὁ κριτὴς, καὶ κατακριθεὶς ὁ σωτὴρ, σταυρῷ προσηλώθη ὁ ἀπαθὴς, καὶ ἀπέθανεν ὁ τῇ φύσει ἀθάνατος, καὶ ἐτάφη ὁ ζωοποιὸς, ἵνα πάθους λύσῃ καὶ θανάτου ἐξέληται τούτους[1] δι' οὓς παρεγένετο, καὶ ῥέξῃ τὰ δεσμὰ τοῦ διαβόλου, καὶ ῥύσηται τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἐκ τῆς ἀπάτης αὐτοῦ. Καὶ ἀνέστη ἐκ νεκρῶν τῇ τρίτῃ ἡμέρᾳ, καὶ τεσσαράκοντα ἡμέρας συνδιατρίψας[2] τοῖς μαθηταῖς ἀνελήφθη εἰς τοὺς οὐρανοὺς, καὶ ἐκαθέσθη ἐκ δεξιῶν σου τοῦ Θεοῦ καὶ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ.

Μεμνημένοι οὖν ὧν δι' ἡμᾶς ὑπέμεινεν, εὐχαριστοῦμέν σοι, Θεὲ παντοκράτορ, οὐχ ὅσον ὀφείλομεν, ἀλλ' ὅσον δυνάμεθα, καὶ τὴν διάταξιν αὐτοῦ πληροῦμεν. Ἐν ᾗ γὰρ νυκτὶ παρεδίδοτο λαβὼν ἄρτον ταῖς ἁγίαις καὶ ἀμώμοις αὐτοῦ χερσὶ, καὶ ἀναβλέψας πρὸς σὲ τὸν Θεὸν αὐτοῦ καὶ πατέρα, καὶ κλάσας ἔδωκε τοῖς μαθηταῖς εἰπών· τοῦτο τὸ μυστήριον τῆς καινῆς διαθήκης· λάβετε ἐξ αὐτοῦ, φάγετε· τοῦτο ἐστὶ τὸ σῶμά μου, τὸ περὶ πολλῶν θρυπτόμενον εἰς ἄφεσιν ἁμαρτιῶν. Ὡσαύτως καὶ τὸ ποτήριον κεράσας ἐξ οἴνου καὶ ὕδατος· καὶ ἁγιάσας ἐπέδωκεν αὐτοῖς λέγων· πίετε ἐξ αὐτοῦ πάντες· τοῦτό ἐστι τὸ αἷμά μου, τὸ περὶ πολλῶν ἐκχυνόμενον εἰς ἄφεσιν ἁμαρτιῶν· τοῦτο ποιεῖτε εἰς τὴν ἐμὴν ἀνάμνησιν. Ὁσάκις γὰρ ἐὰν ἐσθίητε τὸν ἄρτον τοῦτον καὶ πίνητε τὸ ποτήριον τοῦτο, τὸν θάνατον τὸν ἐμὸν καταγγέλλετε, ἄχρις ἂν ἔλθω.

[1] V. *τούτους τούς.* [2] V. *ἐνδιατρίψας.*

Μεμνημένοι τοίνυν τοῦ πάθους αὐτοῦ καὶ τοῦ θανάτου, καὶ τῆς ἐκ νεκρῶν ἀναστάσεως, καὶ τῆς εἰς οὐρανοὺς ἐπανόδου, καὶ τῆς μελλούσης αὐτοῦ δευτέρας παρουσίας, ἐν ᾗ ἔρχεται μετὰ δόξης καὶ δυνάμεως κρῖναι ζῶντας καὶ νεκροὺς, καὶ ἀποδοῦναι ἑκάστῳ κατὰ τὰ ἔργα αὐτοῦ, προσφέρομέν σοι τῷ βασιλεῖ καὶ Θεῷ, κατὰ τὴν αὐτοῦ διάταξιν, τὸν ἄρτον τοῦτον καὶ τὸ ποτήριον τοῦτο, εὐχαριστοῦντές σοι δι' αὐτοῦ, ἐφ' οἷς κατηξίωσας ἡμᾶς ἑστάναι ἐνώπιόν σου καὶ ἱερατεύειν σοι, καὶ ἀξιοῦμέν σε, ὅπως εὐμενῶς ἐπιβλέψῃς ἐπὶ τὰ προκείμενα δῶρα ταῦτα ἐνώπιόν σου, σὺ ὁ ἀνενδεὴς Θεὸς, καὶ εὐδοκήσῃς ἐπ' αὐτοῖς εἰς τιμὴν τοῦ Χριστοῦ σου, καὶ καταπέμψῃς τὸ ἅγιόν σου πνεῦμα ἐπὶ τὴν θυσίαν ταύτην, τὸν μαρτύρα τῶν παθημάτων τοῦ κυρίου Ἰησοῦ, ὅπως ἀποφήνῃ τὸν ἄρτον τοῦτον σῶμα τοῦ Χριστοῦ σου, καὶ τὸ ποτήριον τοῦτο αἷμα τοῦ Χριστοῦ σου, ἵνα οἱ μεταλαβόντες αὐτοῦ βεβαιωθῶσι πρὸς εὐσέβειαν, ἀφέσεως ἁμαρτημάτων τύχωσι, τοῦ διαβόλου καὶ τῆς πλάνης αὐτοῦ ῥυσθῶσι, πνεύματος ἁγίου πληρωθῶσιν, ἄξιοι τοῦ Χριστοῦ σου γένωνται, ζωῆς αἰωνίου τύχωσι, σοῦ καταλλαγέντος αὐτοῖς, δέσποτα παντοκράτορ.

Ἔτι δεόμεθά σου, κύριε, καὶ ὑπὲρ τῆς ἁγίας σου ἐκκλησίας τῆς ἀπὸ περάτων ἕως περάτων, ἣν περιεποιήσω τῷ τιμίῳ αἵματι τοῦ Χριστοῦ σου, ὅπως αὐτὴν διαφυλάξῃς ἄσειστον καὶ ἀκλυδώνιστον, ἄχρι τῆς συντελείας τοῦ αἰῶνος· καὶ ὑπὲρ πάσης ἐπισκοπῆς τῆς ὀρθοτομούσης τὸν λόγον τῆς ἀληθείας.

Ἔτι παρακαλοῦμέν σε ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐμῆς τοῦ προσφέροντός σοι οὐδενίας, καὶ ὑπὲρ παντὸς τοῦ πρεσβυτερίου, ὑπὲρ τῶν διακόνων καὶ παντὸς τοῦ κλήρου, ἵνα πάντας σοφίσας πνεύματος ἁγίου πληρώσῃς.

Ἔτι παρακαλοῦμέν σε, κύριε, ὑπὲρ τοῦ βασιλέως καὶ τῶν ἐν ὑπεροχῇ καὶ παντὸς τοῦ στρατοπέδου, ἵνα εἰρηνεύωνται τὰ πρὸς ἡμᾶς, ὅπως ἐν ἡσυχίᾳ καὶ ὁμονοίᾳ διάγοντες τὸν πάντα χρόνον τῆς ζωῆς ἡμῶν δοξάζωμέν σε διὰ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ τῆς ἐλπίδος ἡμῶν.

Ἔτι προσφέρομέν σοι ὑπὲρ πάντων τῶν ἀπ' αἰῶνος εὐαρεστησάντων σοι ἁγίων, πατριαρχῶν, προφητῶν, δικαίων, ἀπο-

στόλων, μαρτύρων, ὁμολογητῶν, ἐπισκόπων, πρεσβυτέρων, διακόνων, ὑποδιακόνων, ἀναγνωστῶν, ψαλτῶν, παρθένων, χηρῶν, λαϊκῶν, καὶ πάντων ὧν αὐτὸς ἐπίστασαι τὰ ὀνόματα.

Ἔτι προσφέρομέν σοι ὑπὲρ τοῦ λαοῦ τούτου, ἵνα ἀναδείξῃς αὐτὸν εἰς ἔπαινον τοῦ Χριστοῦ σου βασίλειον ἱεράτευμα, ἔθνος ἅγιον· ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐν παρθενίᾳ, καὶ ἁγνείᾳ, ὑπὲρ τῶν χηρῶν τῆς ἐκκλησίας, ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐν σεμνοῖς γάμοις καὶ τεκνογονίαις, ὑπὲρ τῶν νηπίων τοῦ λαοῦ σου, ὅπως μηδένα ἡμῶν ἀπόβλητον ποιήσῃς.

Ἔτι ἀξιοῦμέν σε καὶ ὑπὲρ τῆς πόλεως ταύτης καὶ τῶν ἐνοικούντων· ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐν ἀῤῥωστίαις, ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐν πικρᾷ δουλείᾳ, ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐν ἐξορίαις, ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐν δημεύσει, ὑπὲρ τῶν πλεόντων καὶ ὁδοιπορούντων, ὅπως πάντων [1] ἐπίκουρος γένῃ, πάντων βοηθὸς καὶ ἀντιλήπτωρ. Ἔτι παρακαλοῦμέν σε καὶ ὑπὲρ τῶν μισούντων ἡμᾶς καὶ διωκόντων ἡμᾶς διὰ τὸ ὄνομά σου, ὑπὲρ τῶν ἔξω ὄντων καὶ πεπλανημένων, ὅπως ἐπιστρέψῃς αὐτοὺς εἰς ἀγαθὸν, καὶ τὸν θυμὸν αὐτῶν πραΰνῃς.

Ἔτι παρακαλοῦμέν σε καὶ ὑπὲρ τῶν κατηχουμένων τῆς ἐκκλησίας, καὶ ὑπὲρ τῶν χειμαζομένων ὑπὸ τοῦ ἀλλοτρίου, καὶ ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐν μετανοίᾳ ἀδελφῶν ἡμῶν· ὅπως τοὺς μὲν τελειώσῃς ἐν τῇ πίστει, τοὺς δὲ καθαρίσῃς ἐκ τῆς ἐνεργείας τοῦ πονηροῦ, τῶν δὲ τὴν μετάνοιαν προσδέξῃ, καὶ συγχωρήσῃς καὶ αὐτοῖς καὶ ἡμῖν τὰ παραπτώματα ἡμῶν.

Ἔτι προσφέρομέν σοι καὶ ὑπὲρ τῆς εὐκρασίας τοῦ ἀέρος καὶ τῆς εὐφορίας τῶν καρπῶν· ὅπως ἀνελλειπῶς μεταλαμβάνοντες τῶν παρὰ σοῦ ἀγαθῶν, αἰνῶμέν σε ἀπαύστως, τὸν διδόντα τροφὴν πάσῃ σαρκί.

Ἔτι παρακαλοῦμέν σε καὶ ὑπὲρ τῶν δι' εὔλογον αἰτίαν ἀπόντων· ὅπως ἅπαντας ἡμᾶς διατηρήσας ἐν τῇ εὐσεβείᾳ, ἐπισυναγαγῇς ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ τοῦ Χριστοῦ σου, τοῦ Θεοῦ πάσης αἰσθητῆς καὶ νοητῆς φύσεως, τοῦ βασιλέως ἡμῶν, ἀτρέπτους, ἀμέμπτους, ἀνεγκλήτους. Ὅτι σοὶ πᾶσα δόξα, σέβας

[1] πάντων omittit v.

καὶ εὐχαριστίᾳ, τίμη καὶ προσκύνησις, τῷ πατρὶ καὶ τῷ υἱῷ καὶ τῷ ἁγίῳ πνεύματι, καὶ νῦν καὶ ἀεὶ καὶ εἰς τοὺς ἀνελλειπεῖς καὶ ἀτελευτήτους αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων.

Καὶ πᾶς ὁ λαὸς λεγέτω·

Ἀμήν.

Καὶ ὁ ἐπίσκοπος εἰπάτω·

Ἡ εἰρήνη τοῦ Θεοῦ εἴη μετὰ πάντων ὑμῶν.

Καὶ πᾶς ὁ λαὸς λεγέτω·

Καὶ μετὰ τοῦ πνεύματός σου.

Καὶ ὁ διάκονος κηρυσσέτω πάλιν·[1]

Προσφώνησις ἐπὶ τῶν πιστῶν μετὰ τὴν θείαν ἀναφοράν.
(Adclamatio vel exhortatio ad fideles post divinam oblationem.)

Ἔτι καὶ ἔτι δεηθῶμεν τοῦ Θεοῦ διὰ τοῦ Χριστοῦ αὐτοῦ ὑπὲρ τοῦ δώρου τοῦ προσκομισθέντος κυρίῳ τῷ Θεῷ, ὅπως ὁ ἀγαθὸς Θεὸς προσδέξηται αὐτὸ διὰ τῆς μεσιτείας τοῦ Χριστοῦ αὐτοῦ εἰς τὸ ἐπουράνιον αὐτοῦ θυσιαστήριον εἰς ὀσμὴν εὐωδίας· ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐκκλησίας ταύτης καὶ τοῦ λαοῦ δεηθῶμεν· ὑπὲρ πάσης ἐπισκοπῆς, παντὸς πρεσβυτερίου, πάσης τῆς ἐν Χριστῷ διακονίας[2], παντὸς τοῦ πληρώματος τῆς ἐκκλησίας δεηθῶμεν· ὅπως ὁ κύριος πάντας διατηρήσῃ καὶ διαφυλάξῃ· Ὑπὲρ βασιλέων καὶ τῶν ἐν ὑπεροχῇ δεηθῶμεν, ἵνα εἰρηνεύωνται τὰ πρὸς ἡμᾶς, ὅπως ἥρεμον καὶ ἡσύχιον βίον ἔχοντες διάγωμεν ἐν πάσῃ εὐσεβείᾳ καὶ σεμνότητι. Τῶν ἁγίων μαρτύρων μνημονεύσωμεν· ὅπως κοινωνοὶ γενέσθαι τῆς ἀθλήσεως αὐτῶν καταξιωθῶμεν· ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐν πίστει ἀναπαυσαμένων δεηθῶμεν. Ὑπὲρ τῆς εὐκρασίας τῶν ἀέρων καὶ τελεσφορίας τῶν καρπῶν δεηθῶμεν. Ὑπὲρ τῶν νεοφωτίστων δεηθῶμεν, ὅπως βεβαιωθῶσιν ἐν τῇ πίστει· πάντες ὑπὲρ ἀλλήλων παρακαλέσωμεν[3]. Ἀνάστησον ἡμᾶς ὁ Θεὸς ἐν τῇ χάριτί σου· ἀνα-

[1] Hæ preces dum silentio peraguntur populus humi prostratus jacet. Vide quæ mox diaconus in exhortatione dicit.

[2] V. addit: καὶ ὑπηρεσίας.

[3] V. ὑπ' ἄλλων παρακαλέσθωσαν. Interpunxi post πίστει.

στάντες ἑαυτοὺς τῷ Θεῷ διὰ τοῦ Χριστοῦ αὐτοῦ παραθώμεθα[1].

Καὶ ὁ ἐπίσκοπος λεγέτω·

Ὁ Θεὸς ὁ μέγας καὶ μεγαλώνυμος, ὁ μέγας τε βουλῇ καὶ κραταιὸς τοῖς ἔργοις[2], ὁ Θεὸς καὶ πατὴρ τοῦ ἁγίου παιδός σου Ἰησοῦ τοῦ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν, ἐπίβλεψον ἐφ' ἡμᾶς καὶ ἐπὶ τὸ ποίμνιόν σου τοῦτο, ὃ δι' αὐτοῦ ἐξελέξω εἰς δόξαν τοῦ ὀνόματός σου, καὶ ἁγιάσας ἡμῶν τὰ σώματα[3] καὶ τὴν ψυχὴν, καταξίωσον καθαροὺς γενομένους ἀπὸ παντὸς μολυσμοῦ σαρκὸς καὶ πνεύματος[4], τυχεῖν τῶν προκειμένων ἀγαθῶν, καὶ μηδένα ἡμῶν ἀνάξιον κρίνῃς, ἀλλὰ βοηθὸς ἡμῶν γενοῦ, ἀντιλήπτωρ, ὑπερασπιστὴς, διὰ τοῦ Χριστοῦ σου· μεθ' οὗ σοὶ δόξα, τιμὴ, αἶνος, δοξολογία, εὐχαριστία, καὶ τῷ ἁγίῳ πνεύματι, εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας. Ἀμήν.

[Καὶ μετὰ τὸ πάντας εἰπεῖν, Ἀμήν· ὁ διάκονος λεγέτω·

Πρόσχωμεν.

Καὶ ὁ ἐπίσκοπος προσφωνησάτω τῷ λαῷ οὕτω·

Τὰ ἅγια τοῖς ἁγίοις.

Καὶ ὁ λαὸς ὑπακουέτω·

Εἷς ἅγιος, εἷς κύριος, εἷς Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς, εἰς δόξαν Θεοῦ πατρὸς εὐλογητὸς εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας. Ἀμήν.

Δόξα ἐν ὑψίστοις Θεῷ, καὶ ἐπὶ γῆς εἰρήνη, ἐν ἀνθρώποις εὐδοκία.

Ὡσαννὰ τῷ υἱῷ Δαυίδ· εὐλογημένος ὁ ἐρχόμενος ἐν ὀνόματι κυρίου.

Θεὸς κύριος καὶ ἐπεφάνη ἡμῖν.

Ὡσαννὰ ἐν τοῖς ὑψίστοις.

Καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο μεταλαμβανέτω ὁ ἐπίσκοπος, ἔπειτα οἱ πρεσβύτεροι, καὶ οἱ διάκονοι, καὶ ὑποδιάκονοι, καὶ οἱ ἀναγνώσται, καὶ οἱ ψάλται, καὶ οἱ ἀσκηταὶ, καὶ ἐν ταῖς γυναιξὶν αἱ διακόνισσαι, καὶ αἱ παρθένοι καὶ αἱ χῆραι, εἶτα τὰ παιδία, καὶ

[1] Surgit igitur populus.
[2] Jer. xxxii. 19.
[3] V. τὸ σῶμα.
[4] 2 Cor. vii. 1.

τότε πᾶς ὁ λαὸς κατὰ τάξιν μετὰ αἰδοῦς καὶ εὐλαβείας ἄνευ θορύβου. Καὶ ὁ μὲν ἐπίσκοπος διδότω τὴν προσφορὰν[1] λέγων·

Σῶμα Χριστοῦ.

Καὶ ὁ δεχόμενος λεγέτω·

Ἀμήν.

Ὁ δὲ διάκονος κατεχέτω τὸ ποτήριον, καὶ ἐπιδιδοὺς λεγέτω·

Αἷμα Χριστοῦ, ποτήριον ζωῆς.

Καὶ ὁ πίνων λεγέτω·

Ἀμήν.

Ψαλμὸς δὲ λεγέσθω τριακοστὸς τρίτος ἐν τῷ μεταλαμβάνειν πάντας τοὺς λοιποὺς. Καὶ ὅταν πάντες μεταλάβωσι καὶ πᾶσαι, λαβόντες οἱ διάκονοι τὰ περισσεύσαντα, εἰσφερέτωσαν εἰς τὰ παστοφόρια. Καὶ ὁ διάκονος λεγέτω παυσαμένου τοῦ ψάλλοντος·

Προσφώνησις μετὰ τὴν μετάληψιν.[2]
(Adclamatio vel exhortatio post communionem.)

Μεταλαβόντες τοῦ τιμίου σώματος καὶ τοῦ τιμίου αἵματος τοῦ Χριστοῦ, εὐχαριστήσωμεν τῷ καταξιώσαντι ἡμᾶς μεταλαβεῖν τῶν ἁγίων αὐτοῦ μυστηρίων, καὶ παρακαλέσωμεν μὴ εἰς κρίμα[3] ἀλλ' εἰς σωτηρίαν ἡμῖν γενέσθαι, εἰς ὠφέλειαν ψυχῆς καὶ σώματος, εἰς φυλακὴν εὐσεβείας, εἰς ἄφεσιν ἁμαρτιῶν, εἰς ζωὴν τοῦ μέλλοντος αἰῶνος. Ἐγειρώμεθα.—Ἐν χάριτι Χριστοῦ ἑαυτοὺς τῷ Θεῷ[4] καὶ τῷ Χριστῷ αὐτοῦ παραθώμεθα.

Καὶ ὁ ἐπίσκοπος εὐχαριστείτω·

Ἐπίκλησις μετὰ τὴν μετάληψιν.
(Invocatio post communionem.)

Δέσποτα ὁ Θεος ὁ παντοκράτωρ, ὁ πατὴρ τοῦ Χριστοῦ σου

[1] προσφορὰν, oblatam, panem sanctificatum.

[2] Populus genua flectit, oratque silentio, indicentem diaconum mente prosequens.

[3] 2 Cor. xi. 29.

[4] V. τῷ Θεῷ, τῷ μόνῳ ἀγεννήτῳ Θεῷ.

τοῦ εὐλογήτου παιδὸς, ὁ τῶν μέτ' εὐθύτητος ἐπικαλουμένων σε ἐπήκοος, ὁ καὶ τῶν σιωπώντων ἐπιστάμενος τὰς ἐντεύξεις. εὐχαριστοῦμέν σοι, ὅτι κατηξίωσας ἡμᾶς μεταλαβεῖν τῶν ἁγίων σου μυστηρίων, ἃ παρέσχου ἡμῖν, πληροφορίαν τῶν καλῶς ἐγνωσμένων, εἰς φυλακὴν τῆς εὐσεβείας, εἰς ἄφεσιν πλημμελημάτων· ὅτι τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ Χριστοῦ σου ἐπικέκληται ἐφ' ἡμᾶς, καὶ σοὶ προσῳκειώμεθα. Ὁ χωρίσας ἡμᾶς τῆς τῶν ἀσεβῶν κοινωνίας, ἕνωσον ἡμᾶς μετὰ τῶν καθωσιωμένων σοι, στήριξον ἡμᾶς ἐν τῇ ἀληθείᾳ τῇ τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος ἐπιφοιτήσει, τὰ ἀγνοούμενα ἀποκάλυψον, τὰ λειπόμενα[1] προσαναπλήρωσον, τὰ ἐγνωσμένα κράτυνον. Τοὺς ἱερεῖς ἀμώμους διαφύλαξον ἐν τῇ λατρείᾳ σου· τοὺς βασιλεῖς διατήρησον ἐν εἰρήνῃ, τοὺς ἄρχοντας ἐν δικαιοσύνῃ, τοὺς ἀέρας ἐν εὐκρασίᾳ, τοὺς καρποὺς ἐν εὐφορίᾳ, τὸν κόσμον ἐν παναρκεῖ[2] προνοίᾳ· τὰ ἔθνη τὰ πολεμικὰ πράϋνον· τὰ πεπλανημένα ἐπίστρεψον· τὸν λαόν σου ἁγίασον· τοὺς ἐν παρθενίᾳ διατήρησον· τοὺς ἐν γάμῳ διαφύλαξον ἐν πίστει· τοὺς ἐν ἁγνείᾳ ἐνδυνάμωσον· τὰ νήπια ἄδρυνον· τοὺς νεοτελεῖς βεβαίωσον· τοὺς ἐν κατηχήσει παίδευσον, καὶ τῆς μυήσεως ἀξίους ἀνάδειξον· καὶ πάντας ἡμᾶς ἐπισυνάγαγε εἰς τὴν τῶν οὐρανῶν βασιλείαν, ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ τῷ κυρίῳ ἡμῶν· μεθ' οὗ σοὶ δόξα, τιμὴ καὶ σέβας, καὶ τῷ ἁγίῳ πνεύματι, εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας· Ἀμήν.

Καὶ ὁ διάκονος λεγέτω·

Τῷ Θεῷ διὰ τοῦ Χριστοῦ αὐτοῦ κλίνατε, καὶ εὐλογεῖσθε.[3]

Καὶ ὁ ἐπίσκοπος ἐπευχέσθω, λέγων·

Ἐπίκλησις κεφαλοκλισίας πιστῶν ἀπολυτική.[4]
(Invocatio dimissoria populi cervices inclinantis.)

Ὁ Θεὸς ὁ παντοκράτωρ, ὁ ἀληθινὸς καὶ ἀσύγκριτος· ὁ παντοχοῦ ὢν καὶ τοῖς πᾶσι παρὼν καὶ ἐν οὐδενὶ ὡς ἐνόντι ὑπάρ-

[1] V. λείποντα.
[2] V. παναλκεῖ.
[3] Populus genua flectit.
[4] Deest rubrica in vulg. Sensus: Benedictio ante dimissionem.

χων[1], ὁ τόποις μὴ περιγραφόμενος, ὁ χρόνοις μὴ παλαιούμενος, ὁ αἰῶσι μὴ περατούμενος, ὁ λόγοις μὴ παραγόμενος, ὁ γενέσει μὴ ὑποκείμενος, ὁ φυλακῆς μὴ δεόμενος, ὁ φθορᾶς ἀνώτερος, ὁ τροπῆς ἀνεπίδεκτος, ὁ φύσει ἀναλλοίωτος, ὁ φῶς οἰκῶν ἀπρόσιτον[2], ὁ τῇ φύσει ἀόρατος, ὁ γνωστὸς πάσαις ταῖς μετ' εὐνοίας ἐκζητούσαις σε λογικαῖς φύσεσιν· ὁ καταλαμβανόμενος ὑπὸ τῶν ἐν εὐνοίᾳ ἐπιζητούντων σε· ὁ Θεὸς Ἰσραὴλ, τοῦ ἀληθινῶς ὁρῶντος, τοῦ εἰς Χριστὸν πιστεύσαντος λαοῦ σου· εὐμενὴς γενόμενος ἐπάκουσόν μου διὰ τὸ ὄνομά σου, καὶ εὐλόγησον τούς σοι κεκλικότας τοὺς ἑαυτῶν αὐχένας, καὶ δὸς αὐτοῖς τὰ αἰτήματα τῶν καρδιῶν αὐτῶν τὰ ἐπὶ συμφέροντι, καὶ μηδένα αὐτῶν ἀπόβλητον ποιήσῃς ἐκ τῆς βασιλείας σου· ἀλλὰ ἁγίασον αὐτοὺς, φρούρησον, σκέπασον, ἀντιλαβοῦ, ῥῦσαι τοῦ ἀλλοτρίου, παντὸς ἐχθροῦ, τοὺς οἴκους αὐτῶν φύλαξον, τὰς εἰσόδους αὐτῶν καὶ τὰς ἐξόδους φρούρησον. Ὅτι σοὶ δόξα, αἶνος, μεγαλοπρέπεια, σέβας, προσκύνησις, καὶ τῷ σῷ παιδὶ Ἰησοῦ τῷ Χριστῷ σου, τῷ κυρίῳ ἡμῶν καὶ Θεῷ καὶ βασιλεῖ, καὶ τῷ ἁγίῳ πνεύματι, νῦν καὶ ἀεὶ καὶ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων. Ἀμήν.

Καὶ ὁ διάκονος ἐρεῖ·

Ἀπολύεσθε ἐν εἰρήνῃ.

Ταῦτα περὶ τῆς μυστικῆς λατρείας διατασσόμεθα ἡμεῖς οἱ ἀπόστολοι ὑμῖν τοῖς ἐπισκόποις καὶ τοῖς πρεσβυτέροις καὶ τοῖς διακόνοις.

[1] h. e. qui a nemine contineris.

[2] 1 Tim. vi. 16.

CAPUT TERTIUM.

ECCLESIÆ CONSTANTINOPOLITANÆ LITURGIÆ ANTIQUISSIMÆ,

SIVE

S. BASILII ET S. JOANNIS CHRYSOSTOMI LITURGIÆ

COLLATÆ SECUNDUM TEXTUM CODICIS BARBERINI, SECULI OCTAVI, CUJUS LACUNA SUPPLETUR, NUNC PRIMUM EDITÆ.

DE LITURGIA CONSTANTINOPOLITANA TESTIMONIA GENERALIA.

BASILII de Prece Invocationis eucharistica literis non tradita locus classicus (De Spiritu Sancto, cxxvii. in editione Parisina, § 66, 67.).

66. *Τῶν ἐν τῇ Ἐκκλησίᾳ πεφυλαγμένων δογμάτων καὶ κηρυγμάτων, τὰ μὲν ἐκ τῆς ἐγγράφου διδασκαλίας ἔχομεν, τὰ δὲ ἐκ τῆς τῶν ἀποστόλων παραδόσεως διαδοθέντα ἡμῖν ἐν μυστηρίῳ παραδεξάμεθα, ἅπερ ἀμφότερα τὴν αὐτὴν ἰσχὺν ἔχει πρὸς τὴν εὐσέβειαν. Καὶ τούτοις οὐδεὶς ἀντερεῖ, οὐκοῦν ὅστις γε κατὰ μικρὸν γοῦν θεσμῶν ἐκκλησιαστικῶν πεπείραται. Εἰ γὰρ ἐπιχειρήσαιμεν τὰ ἄγραφα τῶν ἐθῶν ὡς μὴ μεγάλην ἔχοντα τὴν δύναμιν παραιτεῖσθαι, λάθοιμεν εἰς αὐτὰ τὰ καίρια ζημιοῦντες τὸ εὐαγγέλιον· μᾶλλον δὲ εἰς ὄνομα ψιλὸν περιστῶν-*

τες τὸ κήρυγμα. Οἷον (ἵνα τοῦ πρώτου καὶ κοινοτάτου πρῶτον μνησθῶ) τῷ τύπῳ τοῦ σταυροῦ τοὺς εἰς τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ ἠλπικότας κατασημαίνεσθαι, τίς ὁ διὰ γράμματος διδάξας; Τὸ πρὸς ἀνατολὰς τετράφθαι κατὰ τὴν προσευχὴν, ποῖον ἐδίδαξεν ἡμᾶς γράμμα; Τὰ τῆς ἐπικλήσεως ῥήματα ἐπὶ τῇ ἀναδείξει τοῦ ἄρτου τῆς Εὐχαριστίας καὶ τοῦ ποτηρίου τῆς εὐλογίας, τίς τῶν ἁγίων ἐγγράφως ἡμῖν καταλέλοιπεν; Οὐ γὰρ δὴ τούτοις ἀρκούμεθα, ὧν ὁ ἀπόστολος ἢ τὸ εὐαγγέλιον ἐπεμνήσθη, ἀλλὰ καὶ προλέγομεν καὶ ἐπιλέγομεν ἕτερα, ὡς μεγάλην ἔχοντα πρὸς τὸ μυστήριον τὴν ἰσχὺν, ἐκ τῆς ἀγράφου διδασκαλίας παραλαβόντες. Εὐλογοῦμεν δὲ τό τε ὕδωρ τοῦ βαπτίσματος, καὶ τὸ ἔλαιον τῆς χρίσεως, καὶ προσέτι αὐτὸν τὸν βαπτιζόμενον. Ἀπὸ ποίων ἐγγράφων; Οὐκ ἀπὸ τῆς σιωπωμένης καὶ μυστικῆς παραδόσεως; Τί δέ; αὐτὴν τοῦ ἐλαίου τὴν χρίσιν τίς λόγος γεγραμμένος ἐδίδαξε; Τὸ δὲ τρὶς βαπτίζεσθαι τὸν ἄνθρωπον, πόθεν; Ἄλλα δὲ ὅσα περὶ τὸ βάπτισμα, ἀποτάσσεσθαι τῷ σατανᾷ καὶ τοῖς ἀγγέλοις αὐτοῦ, ἐκ ποίας ἐστὶ γραφῆς; Οὐκ ἐκ τῆς ἀδημοσιεύτου ταύτης καὶ ἀπορρήτου διδασκαλίας, ἣν ἐν ἀπολυπραγμονήτῳ καὶ ἀπεριεργάστῳ σιγῇ οἱ πατέρες ἡμῶν ἐφύλαξαν, καλῶς ἐκεῖνο δεδιδαγμένοι, τῶν μυστηρίων τὸ σεμνὸν σιωπῇ διασώζεσθαι; Ἃ γὰρ οὐδὲ ἐποπτεύειν ἔξεστι τοῖς ἀμυήτοις, τούτων πῶς ἂν ἦν εἰκὸς τὴν διδασκαλίαν ἐκθριαμβεύειν ἐν γράμμασιν. . . . . .

67. Ἐπιλείψει με ἡ ἡμέρα τὰ ἄγραφα τῆς Ἐκκλησίας μυστήρια διηγούμενον. Ἐῶ τἄλλα· αὐτὴν δὲ τὴν ὁμολογίαν τῆς πίστεως εἰς Πατέρα καὶ Υἱὸν καὶ ἅγιον

Πνεῦμα, ἐκ ποιων γραμμάτων ἔχομεν; Εἰ μὲν γὰρ ἐκ τῆς τοῦ βαπτίσματος παραδόσεως, κατὰ τὸ τῆς εὐσεβείας ἀκόλουθον, ὡς βαπτιζόμεθα οὕτω καὶ πιστεύειν ὀφείλοντες, οὐσίαν τῷ βαπτίσματι τὴν ὁμολογίαν κατατιθέμεθα, συγχωρησάτωσαν καὶ ἡμῖν ἐκ τῆς αὐτῆς ἀκολουθίας ὁμοίαν τῇ πίστει τὴν δόξαν ἀποδιδόναι. Εἰ δὲ τὸν τρόπον τῆς δοξολογίας ὡς ἄγραφον παραιτοῦνται, δότωσαν ἡμῖν τῆς τε κατὰ τὴν πίστιν ὁμολογίας, καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν, ὧν ἀπηριθμησάμεθα, ἐγγράφους τὰς ἀποδείξεις.

Basilius, Epist. ccxli. (p. 243.; Bingh. xiii. 5, 6.): Μέμνησαι γὰρ πάντως τῶν κηρυγμάτων τῶν ἐκκλησιαστικῶν, πιστὸς ὢν τῇ τοῦ Θεοῦ χάριτι· ὅτι καὶ ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐν ἀποδημίαις ἀδελφῶν δεόμεθα, καὶ ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐν ταῖς στρατίαις ἐξεταζομένων, καὶ ὑπὲρ τῶν παῤῥησιαζομένων διὰ τὸ ὄνομα κυρίου, καὶ ὑπὲρ τῶν τοὺς πνευματικοὺς καρποὺς ἐπιδεικνυμένων, ἐν τῇ ἁγίᾳ ἐκκλησίᾳ τὰς εὐχὰς ποιούμεθα.

Epist. lxviii. (p. 104.; c. Bingh. l. l.): Ἐν εἰρήνῃ μένειν τοὺς λειπομένας ἡμῶν ἡμέρας εὐχόμεθα· ἐν εἰρήνῃ δὲ γενέσθαι τὴν κοίμησιν ἡμῶν αἰτοῦμεν.

Petrus Diaconus de Incarnatione, inter Fulgentii Opera, c. viii. p. 633.: "Basilius Cæsariensis in oratione sacri altaris, quam pene universus frequentat oriens, inter cetera, 'Dona', inquit, 'Domine, virtutem ac tutamentum; malos, quæsumus, bonos facito; bonos in bonitate conserva; omnia enim potes, et non est qui contradicat tibi, quem enim volueris salvas, et nullus resistit voluntati tuæ.'"

Addemus hic, coronidis loco, indicem eorum quæ continentur in Codice Barberinorum, ex quo Basilii et Chrysostomi Liturgiæ hic primum expressæ sunt.

Codex Barberinus, No. LXXVII., inscribitur:

Orationes Missæ et totum Officium secundum Basilium, conventus S. Marci de Florentia, ordinis Fratrum prædicatorum de hereditate Nicholai de Nicholis.

1. Liturgia S. Basilii, pag. 1—49. (Goar, Euchol. p. 135—149.)
2. Liturgia S. Chrysostomi sine titulo, p. 45—73. (Goar, Euchol. p. 85. sqq.)
3. Liturgia Præsanctificatorum, p. 74—86. (Goar, Euchol. p. 175.)
4. Orationes vespertinæ, p. 87—112. (Goar, λυχνικά.)
5. Orationes in media nocte dicendæ, p. 113—118.
6. Orationes matutinæ, p. 118—134.
7. Ad Laudes, p. 134—156.
8. Ad Laudes in Jejuniis, p. 156—170. (Laudes, *αἶνοι*, dicuntur Ps. cxlviii.—cl. propter frequentem in iis vocem *αἰνεῖτε*. Goar.)
9. Liturgia Baptismi, p. 171—215.
10. *Διακονικὰ εἰς τὸν ἁγιασμὸν τῶν ἁγίων Θεοφανῶν*, p. 215—241.
11. *Εὐχὴ ἑσπερινὴ . . . τὰ παννύχια*, p. 242—251.
12. Chrismatis confectio et preces ea in re faciundæ feria V. septimanæ sanctæ, p. 251—260.
13. *Ἀπόταξις καὶ σύνταξις γινομένη ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἀρ-*

χιεπισκόπου τῇ ἁγίᾳ παρασκευῇ τοῦ πάσχα συναγομένων πάντων τῶν κατηχουμένων ἐν τῇ ἁγιωτάτῃ ἐκκλησίᾳ Εἰρήνῃ τῇ ἀρχαίᾳ, p. 260—293.

14. Ἐπὶ *θεμελίου τιθεμένου ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ*, p. 293—295.
15. *Καθιέρωσις τοῦ ναοῦ*, 295—317.
16. Ἐγκαίνια, p. 317—322.
17. Χειροτονία *ἐπισκόπου*, p. 322—329.
18. *ἐπὶ χειροτονίᾳ πρεσβυτέρου*, p. 329—335.
19. *διακόνου*, p. 336—342.
20. *διακονίσσης*, p. 342—347.
21. *ὑποδιακόνου*, p. 348—350.
22. *ἐπὶ προχειρήσεως ἀναγνώστου καὶ ψάλτου*, p. 350—351.
23. *εὐχὴ ἐπὶ προχειρήσεως ἡγουμένου ἐν τῷ εὐαγεῖ πατριαρχείῳ*, p. 351—363.
24. *εὐχὴ ἐπὶ βασιλέως γινομένη, ὁσάκις εἰσέλθῃ πρὸς αὐτὸν ὁ πατριάρχης*, p. 363—365.; altera, p. 365—370.
25. *εὐχὴ ἐπὶ προσαγωγῆς ἀρχόντων*, p. 370—372.
26. *εὐχὴ λεγομένη ὑπὸ τοῦ πατριάρχου ἐν τῷ δρόμωνι*, p. 372—375. (in navigatione).
27. *εὐχὴ ἐπὶ μνηστείας*, p. 376—377.
28. *εἰς γάμους*, p. 377—381.; altera, p. 381—386.
29. *εὐχὴ ἐν τῷ μέλλειν ἀριστᾶν*, p. 386.
μετὰ τὸ ἀναστῆναι ἐκ τοῦ ἀρίστου, p. 387.
30. *εὐχὴ ἐπὶ ἀποδημούντων*, p. 388.
ἐπὶ πλοίου μέλλοντος πλεῖν, p. 388—390.
31. *εὐχὴ ἐπὶ ἀνομβρίας*, p. 390.; altera, p. 392.

32. *εὐχὴ ἐπὶ ἀῤῥώστου*, p. 394.; *εἰς νοσοῦντας ἄλλη*, p. 395.
33. *ἐπὶ ἐλαίου ἀῤῥώστων*, p. 398. sqq.
34. *εὐχὴ ἐπὶ ἐξομολογουμένων*, p. 402.
ἐπὶ προπετῶς ὀμνύοντα, p. 402.
ἐπὶ τῶν ἐν βρώμασιν σκανδαλισθέντων, p. 403.
ἐπὶ μιαροφαγήσαντος, p. 405.
ὑπὲρ χειμαζομένων ὑπὸ πνευμάτων ἀκαθάρτων, p. 406.
ἐπὶ πασχόντων ὑπὸ δαιμόνων, p. 408.
35. *εὐχὴ εἰς τὸ κουρεῦσαι παιδίον*, p. 409.
εἰς πωγωνοκουρίαν, p. 411.
εἰς ἀδελφοποίησιν, p. 413.
εἰς τὸ κουρεῦσαι παιδίον, p. 415.
36. *εὐχὴ ἐπὶ ποίμνης*, p. 417.
εἰς ψυχὴν κρινομένην, p. 418.
ἐπὶ τρυγώντων, p. 419.
εἰς ἀρχὴν σπορίμων, p. 420.
ὑπὲρ εὐκρασίας ἀέρων, p. 422.
ὑπὲρ τῶν καρποφορούντων, p. 423.
ἐπὶ θέρους, p. 424.
37. *εἰς τὸ δοῦναι τὰ βαΐα τοῖς βαϊοφόροις*, p. 425. altera
εἰς τὰ βαΐα, p. 427.
38. *διακονικὰ τοῦ νιπτῆρος*, p. 428—431.
εἰς τὸ ἁγιάσαι τὸ ὕδωρ τοῦ νιπτῆρος, p. 431—434.
39. *εὐχὴ τῆς γονυκλισίας τῆς ἁγίας* ΝΑ (*πεντη-*

κοστῆς? cf. Goar), p. 434—440.; altera, p. 440—447.

40. *εὐχὴ εἰς κούκια ἁγίων,** p. 448.

ἐπὶ θυσίας βοῶν, p. 449.

ἐπὶ διακονίᾳ λεγομένη ἐν τῷ ἐμβάτῃ† . . . . p. 452.

ἐπὶ οἰκοδομούντων οἶκον, p. 452.

ἐπὶ σεισμόν, p. 454.

εἰς τὸν εἰσερχόμενον εἰς διακονίαν, p. 455.

ἐπὶ προσφερόντων κάρπον νέον,‡ p. 457.

τῶν κολλύβων ἤγουν τῶν κοκοδίων,§ p. 457.

ὅτε ἐνυπνιάζεται ἀδελφός, p. 459.

ἐπὶ τοῖς προσφέρουσιν ἀμνόν, p. 462.

* i. e. *εἰς κόκκια*, quod corrupte scribi a Græcis infimæ ætatis *κούκια* affirmat Goar, Euchol. p. 524. ed. Venet. V. infra. *κούκια ἁγίων* sunt favæ in festis Sanctorum ecclesiæ propositæ, et opponuntur eis quæ pro pauperibus præparabantur in commemorationibus defunctorum fidelium.

† Codex præbet *ἐνβατ . . .* Goar (p. 363.) dat *ἐν τῷ ἐμβάτῃ ἐκφωνητικῶς*. Habetur oratio in benedicendo ad communem usum fonte vel cisterna (quam significationem lexica attribuunt feminino *ἡ ἐμβάτη*). Notanda verba: *Κύριε . . . ὁ πάντα ποιῶν καὶ μετασκενάζων· μεταποίησον καὶ μετασκεύασον καὶ ἁγίασον τὸ ὕδωρ τοῦτο, καὶ ἐνίσχυσον αὐτὸ κατὰ πάσης ἐπικειμένης ἐνεργείας.*

‡ Cod.: ϵος pro *νέον*. V. Goar. p. 522.

§ *εὐχὴ τῶν κολύβων ἤγουν τῶν κουκουδίων*, i. e. favarum pro pauperibus in mortuorum commemorationibus coctarum (v. Goar. l. l.), qui antiquorum Romanorum mos erat in festo manibus placandis celebrato, Ovidio teste in Fastis: unde ad hunc usque diem Romæ in festo mortuorum (2. Nov.) favæ, aut potius liba mellita in favarum speciem confecta, publice venditantur. Pythagoreorum de favis non edendis præceptum ad eundem morem Italicum spectat.

εις το ποιῆσαι ἐκ λαϊκοῦ κληρικόν, p. 462.
εἰς οἶκον, p. 464.; altera, p. 465.
ἐπὶ ἐνεργουμένων ὑπὸ πνευμάτων ἀκαθάρτων, p. 465.
41. Ἀκολουθία * ἤγουν διακονικὰ καὶ εὐχαὶ τοῦ ἀγγελικοῦ σχήματος, p. 466—488.
42. εὐχὴ ἐπὶ οἰκίας περιεργασμένης ἢ ἄλλως πῶς ὀχλουμένης ὑπὸ πνευμάτων πονηρῶν, p. 488—492.
43. εὐχὴ ἐπὶ μελλούσης λαμβάνειν σχῆμα μοναστρίας, p. 492—502.
44. εὐχαὶ ἐπὶ τελευτήσαντος, p. 502—509.; εἰς ἀσθενοῦντας, p. 509.
45. εἰς τὸ ἀναδήσασθαι γυναῖκα, p. 510—512. †
46. εὐχαὶ ὀπισθάμβωνος, p. 512—527.
47. διακονία τῶν προηγιασμένων, p. 527—530.
Vacua folia, p. 531—535.
48. Fragmentum ex Constitutionibus Apostolorum de ordinationibus, p. 536—562.

* Cod.: ἀκολουθεία.

† Cod.: ἀναδύσασθαι. V. Goar. p. 309. Est oratio ad velandum et exornandum mulieris caput, secundum præceptum Apostoli.

S. BASILII ET S. JOANNIS CHRYSOSTOMI LITURGIÆ,

COLLATÆ SECUNDUM TEXTUM CODICIS BARBERINI SECULI OCTAVI,

CUJUS LACUNA SUPPLETUR.

(*Oratio Præparationis a Sacerdote facta in sacello.*)

Liturgia S. Basilii.

Εὐχὴ ἣν ποιεῖ ὁ ἱερεὺς ἐν τῷ σκευοφυλακίῳ ἀποτιθεμένου τοῦ ἄρτου ἐν τῷ δίσκῳ.

1. Ὁ Θεὸς ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν, ὁ τὸν οὐράνιον ἄρτον τὴν τροφὴν τοῦ παντὸς κόσμου τὸν κύριον ἡμῶν καὶ Θεὸν Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν ἐξαποστείλας σωτῆρα καὶ λυτρωτὴν καὶ εὐεργέτην, εὐλογοῦντα καὶ ἁγιάζοντα ἡμᾶς· αὐτὸς εὐλόγησον τὴν πρόθεσιν ταύτην καὶ πρόσδεξαι αὐτὴν εἰς τὸ ὑπερουράνιόν σου θυσιαστήριον· μνημόνευσον ὡς ἀγαθὸς καὶ φιλάνθρωπος τῶν προσενεγκάντων καὶ δι' οὓς προσήγαγον, καὶ ἡμᾶς ἀκατακρίτους διαφύλαξον ἐν τῇ ἱερουργίᾳ τῶν θείων σου μυστηρίων· ὅτι ἡγίασται καὶ δεδόξα-

Liturgia S. Chrysostomi.

I. (ιε Codicis.)

Κύριε ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν, ὁ προθεὶς ἑαυτὸν ἀμνὸν ἄμωμον ὑπὲρ τῆς τοῦ κόσμου ζωῆς· ἔφιδε ἐφ' ἡμᾶς καὶ ἐπὶ τὸν ἄρτον τοῦτον καὶ ἐπὶ τὸ ποτήριον τοῦτο· καὶ ποίησον αὐτὸ ἄχραντόν σου σῶμα καὶ τίμιόν σου αἷμα, εἰς μετάληψιν ψυχῶν καὶ σωμάτων·

ὅτι ἡγίασται καὶ δεδόξα-

Liturgia S. Basilii.

σται τὸ πάντιμον καὶ μεγαλοπρεπὲς ὄνομά σου πατρός.

(I. Introitus Sacerdotis.)

Εὐχὴ ἀντιφώνου πρώτου.

(Collecta pro misericordia super præsentes.)

II. Κύριε ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν, οὗ τὸ κράτος ἀνείκαστον καὶ ἡ δόξα ἀκατάληπτος, οὗ τὸ ἔλεος ἀμέτρητον καὶ ἡ φιλανθρωπία ἄφατος· αὐτὸς δέσποτα κατὰ τὴν εὐσπλαγχνίαν σου ἐπίβλεψον ἐφ' ἡμᾶς καὶ ἐπὶ τὸν ἅγιον οἶκον τοῦτον, καὶ ποίησον μεθ' ἡμῶν καὶ τῶν συνοιχομένων ἡμῖν πλούσια τὰ ἐλέη σου καὶ τοὺς οἰκτιρμούς σου. Ἐκφών. ὅτι πρέπει σοι πᾶσα δόξα, τιμὴ καὶ προσκύνησις τοῦ πατρός, κ.τ.λ.

Εὐχὴ ἀντιφώνου δευτέρου.

(Collecta pro salvatione populi Dei et glorificatione ecclesiæ.)

III. Κύριε ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν σῶσον τὸν λαόν σου καὶ εὐλόγησον τὴν κληρονομίαν σου, τὸ πλήρωμα τῆς ἐκκλησίας σου ἐν εἰρήνῃ διαφύλαξον, ἁγίασον τοὺς ἀγαπῶντας τὴν εὐπρέπειαν τοῦ οἴκου σου. Σὺ αὐτὸς ἀντιδόξασον τῇ θείκῃ σου δυνάμει καὶ μὴ ἐγκαταλίπῃς ἡμᾶς ὁ Θεὸς τοὺς ἐλπίζοντας

Liturgia S. Chrysostomi.

σται τὸ πάντιμον καὶ μεγαλοπρεπὲς ὄνομά σου πατρός.

Liturgia S. Basilii.

ἐπὶ σοί· Ἐκφών. ὅτι σὸν τὸ κράτος καὶ σοῦ ἐστιν ἡ βασιλεία καὶ ἡ δύναμις, κ.τ.λ.

Εὐχὴ ἀντιφώνου τρίτου.

(Collecta finalis, ut exaudiat Deus orationes, et pro cognitione veritatis vitaque æterna.)*

IV. Ὁ τὰς κοινὰς ταύτας καὶ συμφώνας ἡμῖν χαρισάμενος προσευχὰς, ὁ καὶ δύο καὶ τρισὶ συμφωνοῦσιν ἐπὶ τῷ ὀνόματί σου τὰς αἰτήσεις παρέχειν ἐπαγγειλάμενος· αὐτὸς καὶ νῦν τῶν δούλων σου τὰ αἰτήματα πρὸς τὸ συμφέρον πλήρωσον, χορηγῶν ἡμῖν ἐν τῷ παρόντι αἰῶνι τὴν ἐπίγνωσιν τῆς ἀληθείας, καὶ ἐν τῷ μέλλοντι ζωὴν αἰώνιον χαριζόμενος· Ἐκφών. ὅτι ἀγαθὸς καὶ φιλάνθρωπος θεὸς ὑπάρχεις καὶ σοὶ τὴν δόξαν.†

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* Nobilissima oratio quæ vulgo Chrysostomo tribuitur.

† Hic lectiones e sacra scriptura solemniter et eo quidem ordine fiebant, ut primum *Lectio prophetica* proferretur (teste Chrysostomo pluribus in locis quos vide apud Bingh.), deinde *Epistola*, tunc *Evangelium*, quo annunciato populus exsurgens exclamabat: Δόξα σοι κύριε (Homil. lii.). Vide inter alia locum ex Homil. xix. in Acta App.: κοινὸς διάκονος ἕστηκεν, μέγα βοῶν καὶ λέγων· Πρόσχωμεν· καὶ τοῦτο πολλάκις . . . μετ' ἐκεῖνον ἄρχεται ὁ ἀναγνώστης τῆς προφητείας Ἡσαΐου . . . εἶτα εἰς ἐπήκοον ἐκφωνεῖ λέγων· Τάδε λέγει Κύριος. (Opp. t. ix. p. 159, 160. ed. Benedict. Paris.)

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(II. Introitus Evangelii.)

Εὐχὴ τῆς εἰσόδου.

(Collecta introitus evangelii, ut adstent angeli orationi et laudi.)

v. Δέσποτα κύριε ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν, ὁ καταστήσας ἐν οὐρανοῖς τάγματα καὶ στρατειὰς ἀγγέλων καὶ ἀρχαγγέλων πρὸς λειτουργίαν τῆς σῆς δόξης· ποίησον σὺν τῇ εἰσόδῳ ἡμῶν εἴσοδον ἁγίων ἀγγέλων γενέσθαι, συλλειτουργούντων ἡμῖν καὶ συνδοξολογούντων τὴν σὴν ἀγαθότητα. Ἐκφών. ὅτι πρέπει σοι πᾶσα δόξα, τιμὴ καὶ προσκύνησις τῷ πατρί, κ.

Εὐχὴ τοῦ τρισαγίου.

vi. Ὁ Θεὸς ὁ ἅγιος ὁ ἐν ἁγίοις ἀναπαυόμενος, ὁ τρισαγίᾳ φωνῇ ὑπὸ τῶν Σεραφὶμ ἀνυμνούμενος καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν Χερουβὶμ δοξολογούμενος, καὶ ὑπὸ πάσης ἐπουρανίου δυνάμεως προσκυνούμενος, ὁ ἐκ τοῦ μὴ ὄντος εἰς τὸ εἶναι παραγα-

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II. (Codicis ϊϵ.)

Εὐεργέτα καὶ τῆς κτίσεως πάσης δημιουργὲ, πρόσδεξαι προσιοῦσαν τὴν ἐκκλησίαν καὶ ἑκάστου τὸ σύμφορον ἐκπλήρωσον, καὶ ἄγαγε πάντας εἰς τελειότητα καὶ ἀξίους ἡμᾶς ἀπέργασαι τῆς βασιλείας σου. Χάριτι καὶ οἰκτιρμοῖς καὶ φιλανθρωπίᾳ τοῦ μονογενοῦς σου υἱοῦ, μεθ' οὗ εὐλογητὸς εἶ.

Εὐχὴ τοῦ τρισαγίου.

III. (Cod. ιζ.)

(Oratio hymni ter sancti, pro remissione peccatorum, et ut benigne accipiat sacrificium nostrum.)

* Ἅγιε ἁγίων, ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν, ὁ μόνος ἅγιος καὶ ἐν ἁγίοις ἀναπαυόμενος, ἅγιος ὑπάρχεις ὁ τὴν ἀνυπέρβλητον δόξαν ἐν αὐτῷ κεκτημένος· ἅγιος ὁ Θεὸς ὁ λόγῳ τὰ πάντα συστησάμενος· ἅγιος ὁ Θεὸς, ὃν τὰ τετράμορφα ζῶα ἀκαταπαύστῳ

* Deest in vulg. ubi hic oratio Lit. Basil. repetitur.

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γὼν τὰ σύμπαντα, ὁ κτίσας τὸν ἄνθρωπον κατ' εἰκόνα σὴν καὶ ὁμοίωσιν, καὶ παντί σου χαρίσματι κατακοσμήσας, καὶ * διδοὺς αἰτοῦντι σοφίαν καὶ σύνεσιν, καὶ μὴ παρορῶν ἁμαρτάνοντα, ἀλλὰ θέμενος ἐπὶ σωτηρίᾳ μετάνοιαν· ὁ καταξιώσας ἡμᾶς τοὺς ταπεινοὺς καὶ ἀναξίους δούλους σου ἐν τῇ ὥρᾳ ταύτῃ στῆναι κατενώπιον τῆς δόξης τοῦ ἁγίου σου θυσιαστηρίου, καὶ τὴν ὀφειλομένην σοι προσκύνησιν καὶ δοξολογίαν προσάγειν. Αὐτὸς δέσποτα πρόσδεξαι‡ καὶ ἐκ στόματος ἡμῶν τῶν ἁμαρτωλῶν τὸν τρισάγιον ὕμνον, καὶ ἐπίσκεψαι ἡμᾶς ἐν τῇ χρηστότητί σου· συγχώρησον ἡμῖν πᾶν πλημμέλημα ἑκούσιόν τε καὶ ἀκούσιον†· ἁγίασον ἡμῶν τὰς ψυ-

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φωνῇ δοξάζουσι· ἅγιος ὁ Θεὸς ὁ ὑπὸ πλήθους ἁγίων ἀγγέλων καὶ ἀρχαγγέλων ἄφραστα† τρεμόντων προσκυνούμενος καὶ δοξολογούμενος· ἅγιος ὁ Θεὸς ὁ τοῖς πολυόμμασι Χερουβὶμ τῇ ἀσιγήτῳ φωνῇ τῷ ἀκοιμήτῳ ὄμματι ἐπιβλέπων καὶ ἐπικλίνων τὸ οὖς σου. ἅγιος ὁ Θεὸς ὁ τοῖς ἑξαπτερύγοις Σεραφὶμ ἐποχούμενος, καὶ κροτούντων τὰς ἑαυτῶν πτέρυγας καὶ τὸν ἐπινίκιον ὕμνον ὑμνούντων τὸ ἅγιος ἅγιος ἅγιος κύριος Σαβαὼθ ὁ προσδεχόμενος. ἅγιος γὰρ εἶ ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν, ὃν ἀρχαὶ καὶ ἐξουσίαι καὶ κυριότητες § ἐν οὐρανῷ προσκυνοῦσι καὶ ἐπὶ γῆς ἄνθρωποι ἀνυμνοῦσι‖ καὶ σέβουσιν. Αὐτὸς, φιλάνθρωπε, πρόσδεξαι καὶ ἐκ στόματος ἡ-

* Vulg. ὁ.

† Cod.: ΑΩΡΑCΙΑ, vox lexicis ignota. Ἀορασία idem quod "cæcitas" significat. Ἄφραστα sunt ineffabilia.

‡ Addidi ex vulgato verbum πρόσδεξαι.

§ Cod.: ἐξουσίαι κυριότητος: cf. Eph. i. 21.; Col. i. 16.

‖ Cod.: ἀνυμνοῦσιν.

† Hæc fere verba: Συγχώρησον ἡμῖν πᾶν πλημμέλημα ἑκούσιόν τε καὶ ἀκούσιον, a Chrysostomo tamquam liturgiæ communis verba laudantur loco memorabili Homiliæ xvii. in Ep. ad Hebr. (apud Bingh.): ἐπὶ τῆς προσφορᾶς ἧς ἀναφέρομεν, προφέρομεν καὶ ἁμαρτήματα λέγοντες· εἴτε ἑκόντες εἴτε ἄκοντες ἡμάρτομεν συγχώρησον· τοῦτ' ἔστι, μεμνήμεθα αὐτῶν πρῶτον καὶ

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χας καὶ τὰ σώματα, καὶ δὸς ἡμῖν ἐν ὁσιότητι λατρεύειν σοι πάσας τὰς ἡμέρας τῆς ζωῆς ἡμῶν· Πρεσβείαις τῆς ἁγίας Θεοτόκου καὶ πάντων τῶν ἁγίων τῶν ἀπ' αἰῶνός σοι εὐαρεστησάντων· Ἐκφών. ὅτι ἅγιος εἶ, ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν, καὶ σοὶ τὴν δόξαν ἀναπέμπομεν.

Εὐχὴ τῆς ἄνω καθέδρας.

(Oratio, accessus ad cathedram.) (Cod. I. 2.)†

VII. Δέσποτα κύριε, Θεὸς τῶν δυνάμεων, σῶσον τὸν λαόν σου καὶ εἰρήνευσον αὐτὸν τῇ δυνάμει τοῦ ἁγίου σου πνεύματος, διὰ τοῦ τύπου τοῦ τι-

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μῶν τῶν ἁμαρτωλῶν τὸν τρισάγιον ὕμνον* προσφερόμενον παρ' ἡμῶν καὶ παρὰ παντὸς τοῦ λαοῦ σου· καὶ κατάπεμψον ἡμῖν πλούσια τὰ ἐλέη καὶ τοὺς οἰκτιρμούς σου· Πρεσβείαις τῆς ἁγίας θεοτόκου καὶ πάντων τῶν ἁγίων τῶν ἀπ' αἰῶνός σοι εὐαρεστησάντων· Ἐκφών. ὅτι ἅγιος εἶ ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν καὶ ἐν ἁγίοις ἐπαναπαύῃ καὶ σοὶ τὴν δόξαν ἀναπέμπομεν.

Εὐχὴ τῆς καθέδρας τοῦ θυσιαστηρίου.

(*Eadem ut apud Sanctum Basilium*; unde igitur deprompta sunt nec propria. Deest in Vulgata Sancti Chrysostomi.)

τότε τὴν συγχώρησιν αἰτοῦμεν. Quæ igitur verba solemnia a Chrysostomo tamquam vox ejus ecclesiæ in qua sacerdotio vel episcopatu fungebatur memorantur, non inveniuntur in ea liturgia quæ summi illius viri nomen præ se fert. Nam in vulgato, admisso et proprio ecclesiarum Orientis, textu reperiuntur quidem, sed desumta e Basilii liturgia; in ea vero oratione quam hoc loco optimus codex tamquam Chrysostomi propriam exhibet verba illa non occurrunt. At quis crediderit Chrysostomum, si revera ordinem officii composuisset, mutasse eum quem invenerat, quem adornare firmiusque constituere, minime vero abolere potuit, nec si potuisset voluerit?

* Hæc verbo tenus cum Basilii oratione concordant.

† Episcopus ad cathedram (θρόνον) accedens Pacem dabat

Liturgia S. Basilii.	Liturgia S. Chrysostomi.
μίου σταυροῦ τοῦ μονογενοῦς σου υἱοῦ, μεθ' οὗ εὐλογητὸς εἶ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων. Ἀμήν.	
Εὐχὴ τῆς ἐκτενῆς τοῦ Κύριε ἐλέησον.	Εὐχὴ τῆς ἐκτενῆς (Litaniæ*) (Cod. ιθ)
VIII. Κύριε ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν, τὴν ἐκτενὴν ταύτην ἱκεσίαν πρόσδεξαι παρὰ τῶν σῶν δούλων καὶ ἐλέησον ἡμᾶς κατὰ τὸ πλῆθος τοῦ ἐλέους σου, καὶ τοὺς οἰκτιρμούς σου κατάπεμψον ἐφ' ἡμᾶς καὶ ἐπὶ πάντα τὸν λαόν σου τὸν ἀπεκδεχόμενον τὸ παρὰ σοῦ πλούσιον ἔλεος· Ἐκφών. ὅτι ἐλεήμων καὶ φιλάνθρωπος Θεὸς ὑπάρχεις, καὶ σοὶ τὴν δόξαν ἀναπέμπομεν.	*Eadem ut apud Sanctum Basilium* (ut ea quæ præcedit deprompta, non propria).

verbis illis solemnibus Εἰρήνη πᾶσιν, populo respondente: καὶ τῷ πνεύματί σου, ut docet ipse Chrysostomus ap. Bingh. Homil. xxxix.

* Litania a fidelibus et a catechumenis solemniter peracta, tres illæ fiebant quas hoc loco memorat ipse Chrysostomus (Homil. lxxiii. ap. Bingh.) orationes: prima pro energumenis, secunda pro pœnitentibus, tertia pro fidelibus, quam ultimam pueri puellæque ecclesiæ proferebant una precantes et Dei misericordiam pro peccatis invocantes. Verba hæc sunt: Ἡ πρώτη δέησις ἐλέους γέμει, ὅταν ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐνεργουμένων παρακαλοῦμεν· καὶ ἡ δευτέρα πάλιν ὑπὲρ ἑτέρων, τῶν ἐν μετανοίᾳ, πολὺ τὸ ἔλεος ἐπιζητοῦσα· καὶ ἡ τρίτη δὲ πάλιν ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν αὐτῶν· καὶ αὕτη τὰ παιδία τοῦ δήμου προβάλλεται τὸν Θεὸν ἐπὶ ἔλεον παρακαλοῦντα· ἐπειδὴ γὰρ αὐτοὶ κατεγνώκαμεν ἑαυτῶν ἁμαρτήματα ὑπὲρ μὲν τῶν πολλὰ ἡμαρτηκότων καὶ ἐγκληθῆναι ὀφειλόντων αὐτοὶ

Oratio Catechumenorum.

Liturgia S. Basilii.	Liturgia S. Chrysostomi.
Εὐχὴ κατηχουμένων.	Εὐχὴ κατηχουμένων πρὸ τῆς ἁγίας ἀναφορᾶς τοῦ Χρυσοστόμου. IV. (Cod. κ.)
(Oratio catechumenorum.)	(Or. catechum. oblationi S. Chrysostomi præmissa.)
IX. Κύριε ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν, ὁ ἐν οὐρανοῖς κατοικῶν καὶ ἐπι-	Κύριε ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν, ὁ ἐν ὑψηλοῖς κατοικῶν καὶ τὰ τα-

βοῶμεν· ὑπὲρ δὲ ἡμῶν αὐτῶν οἱ παῖδες, ὧν τῆς ἁπλότητος τοὺς ζηλωτὰς ἡ βασιλεία τῶν οὐρανῶν μένει.

Conjunctas fuisse cum precibus pro catechumenis litanias (*τὰ εἰρηνικὰ*, ita indicente Diacono: "*τὸν ἄγγελον τῆς εἰρήνης αἰτήσατε*, Chrys. ap. Bingh. Homil. lv. xxxviii.) probat illustris ipsius Chrysostomi locus ap. Bingh. Homil. lxxvii.: *Διὰ τοῦτο . . . . καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ἀμυήτων κοιναὶ ποιούμεθα τὰς εὐχάς, λιτανεύοντες ὑπὲρ νοσούντων, καὶ τῶν κάρπων τῆς οἰκουμένης καὶ γῆς καὶ θαλάττης.*

Eandem seriem orationum alio loco ita describit Chrysostomus: Oratio pro energumenis, deinde Litania cum catechumenis, tum, remotis catechumenis, Oratio fidelium et Osculum pacis. Verba sunt hæc (Homil. xviii. apud Bingh.): *Καὶ ἐν ταῖς εὐχαῖς δὲ πολὺ τὸν λαὸν ἴδοι τις ἂν συνεισφέροντα· καὶ γὰρ, ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐνεργουμένων, ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐν μετανοίᾳ κοιναὶ καὶ παρὰ τοῦ ἱερέως καὶ παρ' αὐτῶν γίνονται αἱ εὐχαὶ, καὶ πάντες μίαν λέγοῦσιν εὐχὴν, εὐχὴν τοῦ ἐλέους γέμουσαν· ἐπειδὰν εἴρξωμεν τῶν ἱερῶν περιβόλων τοὺς οὐ δυναμένους τῆς ἱερᾶς μετασχεῖν τραπέζης, ἑτέραν δὲ γενέσθαι εὐχὴν, καὶ πάντες ὁμοίως ἐπ' ἐδάφους κείμεθα, καὶ πάντες ὁμοίως ἀνιστάμεθα· ὅταν εἰρήνης πάλιν μεταλαμβάνειν καὶ μεταδιδόναι δέῃ, πάντες ὁμοίως ἀσπαζόμεθα· ἐπ' αὐτῶν πάλιν τῶν φρικωδεστάτων μυστηρίων ἐπεύχεται ὁ ἱερεὺς τῷ λαῷ, ἐπεύχεται καὶ ὁ λαὸς τῷ ἱερεῖ· τὸ γὰρ Μετὰ τοῦ πνεύματός σου οὐδὲν ἄλλο ἐστὶν ἢ τοῦτο.* — De energumenis et precibus ab universo populo pro iis factis loci classici sunt in Homil. xxviii. et xxix. ap. Bingh. In hac legitur: *τοὺς δαιμονιῶντας καὶ μανίᾳ πονηρᾷ κατεχομένους εἰσάγεσθαι κελεύει τότε ὁ διάκονος καὶ κλίνειν τὰς κεφαλὰς . . . ἵνα . . . κοιναὶ*

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Ἐλέπων ἐπὶ πάντα τὰ ἔργα σου· ἐπίβλεψον ἐπὶ τοὺς δούλους σου τοὺς κατηχουμένους, τοὺς κεκλικότας τοὺς ἑαυτῶν αὐχένας ἐνώπιόν σου, καὶ δὸς αὐτοῖς τὸν ἐλαφρὸν ζυγόν· ποίησον αὐτοὺς μέλη τίμια τῆς ἁγίας σου ἐκκλησίας καὶ καταξίωσον αὐτοὺς τοῦ λούτρου τῆς παλιγγενεσίας, τῆς ἀφέσεως τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν, καὶ τοῦ ἐνδύματος τῆς ἀφθαρσίας· εἰς ἐπίγνωσίν σου τοῦ ἀληθινοῦ Θεοῦ ἡμῶν· Ἐκφών. Ἵνα καὶ αὐτοὶ σὺν ἡμῖν δοξάζωσι τὸ πάντιμον, κ.τ.λ.

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πεινὰ ἐφορῶν, ὁ τὴν σωτηρίαν τῷ γένει τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἐξαποστείλας τὸν μονογενῆ σου υἱὸν καὶ Θεὸν, τὸν κύριον ἡμῶν, Ἰησοῦν Χριστόν· ἐπίβλεψον ἐπὶ τοὺς δούλους σου τοὺς κατηχουμένους τοὺς ὑποκεκλικότας σοι τὸν ἑαυτῶν αὐχένα· καὶ καταξίωσον αὐτοὺς ἐν καιρῷ εὐθέτῳ τῆς τοῦ λούτρου παλιγγενεσίας, τῆς ἀφέσεως τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν καὶ τοῦ ἐνδύματος τῆς ἀφθαρσίας. Ἕνωσον αὐτοὺς τῇ ἁγίᾳ σου καθολικῇ καὶ ἀποστολικῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ καὶ συγκαταρίθμησον αὐτοὺς τῇ ἐκλεκτῇ σοῦ ποίμνῃ· Ἐκφων. Ἵνα καὶ αὐτοὶ σὺν ἡμῖν δοξάζωσιν τὸ πάντιμον καὶ μεγαλοπρεπές.*

περὶ αὐτῶν ἱκετηρίαι γένωνται πάντων ὁμοθυμαδὸν τὸν πάντων δεσπότην ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν ἐξαιτουμένων καὶ ἐλεῆσαι παρακαλούντων μετὰ σφοδρᾶς τῆς βοῆς. De his ne verbum quidem in nostris liturgiis. Formulam dimittendi pœnitentes exhibet locus in Homil. iii. (Diaconus): ὅσοι ἐν μετανοίᾳ ἀπέλθετε πάντες. Ibidem legas formulam qua diaconus ad communes preces faciendas populum exhortabatur: Δεηθῶμεν πάντες κοινῇ.

* Chrysostomus in Hom. Secunda in 2 Corinth., Constantinopoli habita, hæc de oratione pro catechumenis a diacono indicta:

Diaconus. Στῶμεν καλῶς· δεηθῶμεν. (Catechumeni genua flectunt.)

Ἵνα ὁ πανελεήμων καὶ οἰκτίρμων Θεὸς ἐπακούσῃ τῶν δεήσεων αὐτῶν· ἵνα διανοίξῃ τὰ ὦτα τῶν καρδιῶν αὐτῶν· ὥστε ἀκοῦσαι ἃ ὀφθαλμὸς οὐκ εἶδε, καὶ οὖς οὐκ ἤκουσε, καὶ ἐπὶ καρδίαν ἀνθρώπου οὐκ

(*Missæ Fidelium Preces præparatoriæ.*)

Liturgia S. Basilii.	Liturgia S. Chrysostomi.
Εὐχὴ πιστῶν πρώτη μετὰ τὸ ἀπλωθῆναι τὸ εἰλητόν.	Εὐχὴ πιστῶν πρώτη μετὰ τὸ ἀπλωθῆναι τὸ εἰλητόν. V. (Cod. κα.)
(Fidelium or. prima, post corporale expansum.)	(Fidelium or. prima.)
Ϗ. Σὺ κύριε κατέδειξας ἡμῖν τὸ μέγα τοῦτο τῆς σωτηρίας μυστήριον· σύ καταξιώ-	Εὐχαριστοῦμέν σοι, κύριε, ὁ Θεὸς τῶν δυνάμεων τῷ καταξιώσαντι ἡμᾶς παραστῆναι καὶ

ἀνέδη· καὶ κατηχήσῃ αὐτοὺς τὸν λόγον τῆς ἀληθείας· ἵνα κατασπείρῃ τὸν φόβον αὐτοῦ ἐν αὐτοῖς, καὶ βεβαιώσῃ τὴν πίστιν αὐτοῦ ἐν ταῖς διανοίαις αὐτῶν· ἵνα ἀποκαλύψῃ αὐτοῖς τὸ εὐαγγέλιον τῆς δικαιοσύνης· ἵνα αὐτὸς δοίῃ νοῦν ἔνθεον, σάφρονον λογισμὸν, καὶ ἐνάρετον πολιτείαν, διὰ παντὸς τὰ αὐτοῦ νοεῖν, τὰ αὐτοῦ φρονεῖν, τὰ αὐτοῦ μελετᾷν, ἡμέρας καὶ νυκτὸς ἐν τῷ νόμῳ αὐτοῦ καταγίνεσθαι·. ἔτι ἐκτενέστερον ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν παρακαλέσωμεν, ἵνα ἐξέληται αὐτοὺς ἀπὸ παντὸς πονηροῦ καὶ ἀτόπου πράγματος, ἀπὸ παντὸς ἁμαρτήματος διαβολικοῦ, καὶ πάσης περιστάσεως τοῦ ἀντικειμένου· ἵνα καταξιώσῃ αὐτοὺς ἐν καιρῷ εὐθέτῳ τῆς τοῦ λουτροῦ παλιγγενεσίας, τῆς ἀφέσεως τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν, τοῦ ἐνδύματος τῆς ἀφθαρσίας· ἵνα εὐλογήσῃ τὰς εἰσόδους αὐτῶν καὶ τὰς ἐξόδους, πάντα τὸν βίον αὐτῶν, τοὺς οἴκους αὐτῶν καὶ τὰς οἰκετίας· τὰ τέκνα αὐτῶν ἵνα αὐξήσας εὐλογήσῃ, καὶ εἰς μέτρον ἡλικίας ἀγαγὼν σοφίσῃ· ἵνα κατευθύνῃ αὐτοῖς πάντα τὰ προκείμενα, ἀλλὰ πρὸς τὸ συμφέρον.

Catechumeni surgunt, diacono jubente, ut pro semetipsis precentur; ipse ita præit:

Τὸν ἄγγελον τῆς εἰρήνης αἰτήσατε οἱ κατηχούμενοι· εἰρηνικὰ ὑμῖν πάντα τὰ προκείμενα· εἰρηνικὴν τὴν παροῦσαν ἡμέραν καὶ πάσας τὰς ἡμέρας τῆς ζωῆς ὑμῶν αἰτήσασθε· χριστιανὰ ὑμῶν τὰ τέλη· ἑαυτοὺς ζῶντι Θεῷ καὶ τῷ Χριστῷ αὐτοῦ παραθέσθαι.

Prece in silentio secundum hanc exhortationem facta, capita inclinant ad accipiendam benedictionem sacerdotis, populo adclamante *Amen.*

Ceterum de Angelo Pacis, vide Binghamum docte et sapienter, ut solet, disserentem, lib. xiv. 5. 4.

Liturgia S. Basilii.

σας ἡμᾶς, τοὺς ταπεινοὺς καὶ ἀναξίους δούλους σου, γενέσθαι λειτουργοὺς τοῦ ἁγίου σου θυσιαστηρίου, σὺ ἱκάνωσον ἡμᾶς τῇ δυνάμει τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος εἰς τὴν διακονίαν ταύτην, ἵνα ἀκατακρίτως στάντες ἐνώπιον τῆς ἁγίας δόξης σου προσάγωμέν σοι θυσίαν αἰνέσεως. σὺ γὰρ εἶ ὁ ἐνεργῶν τὰ πάντα ἐν πᾶσι· δὸς κύριε καὶ ὑπὲρ τῶν ἡμετέρων ἁμαρτημάτων καὶ τῶν τοῦ λαοῦ ἀγνοημάτων δεκτὴν γενέσθαι τὴν θυσίαν ἡμῶν καὶ εὐπρόσδεκτον ἐνώπιόν σου· Ἐκφών. ὅτι πρέπει σοὶ πᾶσα δόξα τιμὴ καὶ προσκύνησις, τῷ πατρί, κ.τ.λ.

Εὐχὴ πιστῶν δευτέρα.

XI. Ὁ Θεὸς ὁ ἐπισκεψάμενος ἐν ἐλέει καὶ οἰκτιρμοῖς τὴν ταπείνωσιν ἡμῶν, ὁ στήσας ἡμᾶς τοὺς ταπεινοὺς καὶ ἁμαρτωλοὺς καὶ ἀναξίους δούλους σου κατενώπιον τῆς ἁγίας δόξης σου λειτουργεῖν τῷ ἁγίῳ σου θυσιαστηρίῳ. Σὺ ἐνίσχυσον ἡμᾶς τῇ δυνάμει τοῦ ἁγίου σου πνεύματος εἰς τὴν διακονίαν ταύτην, ἵνα ἀκατακρίτως στάντες ἐνώπιον τῆς ἁγίας δόξης σου προσάγωμέν σοι θυσίαν αἰνέσεως. σὺ γὰρ εἶ ὁ ἐνεργῶν τὰ πάντα ἐν πᾶσι· δὸς κύριε καὶ ὑπὲρ τῶν ἡμετέρων ἁμαρτημάτων καὶ τῶν τοῦ λαοῦ ἀγνοημάτων δεκτὴν γενέσθαι τὴν θυσίαν ἡμῶν καὶ εὐπρόσδεκτον ἐνώπιόν σου· Ἐκφών. ὅτι πρέπει σοὶ πᾶσα δόξα τιμὴ καὶ προσκύνησις, τῷ πατρί, κ.τ.λ.

Liturgia S. Chrysostomi.

νῦν τῷ ἁγίῳ σου θυσιαστηρίῳ καὶ προσπεσεῖν τοῖς οἰκτιρμοῖς σου ὑπὲρ τῶν ἡμετέρων ἁμαρτημάτων καὶ τῶν τοῦ λαοῦ ἀγνοημάτων. Πρόσδεξαι ὁ Θεὸς τὴν δέησιν ἡμῶν, ποίησον ἡμᾶς ἀξίους γενέσθαι τοῦ προσφέρειν σοι δεήσεις καὶ ἱκεσίας καὶ θυσίας ἀναιμάκτους ὑπὲρ παντὸς τοῦ λαοῦ σου, καὶ ἱκάνωσον ἡμᾶς, οὓς ἔθου εἰς τὴν διακονίαν σου ταύτην, ἐν τῇ δυνάμει τοῦ πνεύματός σου τοῦ ἁγίου ἀκαταγνώστως καὶ ἀπροσκόπως ἐν καθαρῷ τῷ μαρτυρίῳ τῆς συνειδήσεως ἡμῶν ἐπικαλεῖσθαί σε ἐν παντὶ καιρῷ καὶ τόπῳ, ἵνα εἰσακούων ἡμᾶς ἵλεως ἡμῶν ἔσῃ* ἐν τῷ πλήθει τῆς σῆς ἀγαθότητος· Ἐκφών. ὅτι πρέπει σοι πᾶσα δόξα τιμὴ καὶ προσκύνησις.

Εὐχὴ πιστῶν δευτέρα.

VI. (Cod. κβ.)

Πάλιν καὶ πολλάκις σοὶ προσπίπτομεν καὶ σοῦ δεόμεθα ἀγαθὲ καὶ φιλάνθρωπε, ὅπως ἐπιβλέψας ἐπὶ τὴν δέησιν ἡμῶν καθαρίσῃς ἡμῶν τὰς ψυχὰς καὶ τὰ σώματα ἀπὸ παντὸς μολυσμοῦ σαρκὸς καὶ πνεύματος, καὶ δῷς† ἡμῖν ἀνένοχον καὶ ἀκατάκριτον τὴν παράστασιν τοῦ ἁγίου σου

* Cod.: ἔσει.

† Cod.: δῴης.

Liturgia S. Basilii.

κονίαν ταύτην, καὶ δὸς ἡμῖν λόγον ἐν ἀνοίξει τοῦ στόματος ἡμῶν εἰς τὸ ἐπικαλεῖσθαι τὴν χάριν τοῦ ἁγίου σου πνεύματος ἐπὶ τῶν μελλόντων προτίθεσθαι δώρων· Ἐκφών. ὅπως ὑπὸ τοῦ κράτους σου πάντοτε φυλαττόμενοι σοὶ δόξαν, κ.τ.λ.

Εὐχὴ, ἣν λέγει ὁ ἱερεὺς ὑπὲρ ἑαυτοῦ τῶν Χερουβικῶν λεγομένων.

XII. Οὐδεὶς ἄξιος τῶν συνδεδεμένων ταῖς σαρκικαῖς ἐπιθυμίαις καὶ ἡδοναῖς, προσέρχεσθαι ἢ προσεγγίζειν ἢ λειτουργεῖν σοι, βασιλεῦ τῆς δόξης· τὸ γὰρ διακονεῖν σοι μέγα καὶ φοβερὸν καὶ ταῖς ἐπουρανίοις δυνάμεσιν ἀπρόσιτον. Ὅμως διὰ τὴν ἄφατον φιλανθρωπίαν ἀτρέπτως καὶ ἀναλλοιότως γέγονας ἄνθρωπος, καὶ ἀρχιερεὺς ἡμῶν ἐχρημάτισας, καὶ τῆς λειτουργικῆς ταύτης καὶ ἀναιμάκτου θυσίας τὴν ἱερουργίαν παρέδωκας ὡς δεσπότης τῶν ἁπάντων. Σὺ γὰρ δεσπόζεις τῶν ἐπουρανίων καὶ ἐπιγείων, ὁ ἐπὶ θρόνου χερουβικοῦ ἐποχούμενος, ὁ τῶν

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θυσιαστηρίου. Χάρισαι δὲ ὁ Θεὸς καὶ τοῖς συνοιχομένοις ἡμῖν προκοπὴν βίου καὶ πίστεως καὶ συνέσεως πνευματικῆς. δὸς αὐτοῖς πάντοτε μετὰ φόβου καὶ ἀγαπῆς λατρεύοντάς σοι ἀνενόχως καὶ ἀκατακρίτως μετέχειν τῶν ἁγίων σου μυστηρίων καὶ τῆς ἐπουρανίου σου βασιλείας ἀξιωθῆναι· Ἐκφών. ὅπως ὑπὸ τοῦ κράτους σου πάντοτε φυλαττόμενοί σοι δόξαν ἀναπέμπομεν, κ.τ.λ.

Liturgia S. Basilii.	Liturgia S. Chrysostomi.
Σεραφὶμ κύριος καὶ βασιλεὺς τοῦ Ἰσραὴλ, ὁ μόνος ἅγιος καὶ ἐν ἁγίοις ἀναπαυόμενος. Σὲ δυσωπῶ τὸν μόνον ἀγαθὸν καὶ εὐήκοον, ἐπίβλεψον ἐπ' ἐμὲ τὸν ἁμαρτωλὸν καὶ ἀχρεῖον δοῦλόν σου καὶ ἱκάνωσόν με τῇ δυνάμει τοῦ ἁγίου σου πνεύματος, ἐνδεδυμένον τὴν τῆς ἱερατείας χάριν παραστῆναι τῇ ἁγίᾳ σου ταύτῃ τραπέζῃ καὶ ἱερουργῆσαι τὸ ἅγιον καὶ ἄχραντόν σου σῶμα καὶ τὸ τίμιον αἷμα. σοὶ γὰρ κλίνω τὸν ἐμαυτοῦ αὐχένα καὶ δέομαι σου, μὴ ἀποστρέψῃς τὸ πρόσωπόν σου ἀπ' ἐμοῦ μηδὲ ἀποδοκιμάσῃς με ἐκ παίδων σου. ἀλλ' ἀξίωσον προσενεχθῆναί σοι τὰ δῶρα ταῦτα καὶ ὑπ' ἐμοῦ τοῦ ταπεινοῦ καὶ ἁμαρτωλοῦ καὶ ἀναξίου δούλου σου. Σὺ γὰρ εἶ ὁ προσφέρων καὶ ὁ προσφερόμενος, καὶ ἁγιάζων καὶ ἁγιαζόμενος, Χριστὲ ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν· καὶ σοὶ τὴν δόξαν ἀναπέμπομεν τῷ πατρὶ καὶ τῷ υἱῷ, κ.τ.λ.	
*Oratio oblationis.**	
Εὐχὴ τῆς προσκομιδῆς τοῦ ἁγίου Βασιλείου μετὰ τὸ	Εὐχὴ τῆς προσκομιδῆς τοῦ ἁγίου Ἰωάννου τοῦ Χρυσο-

* Hæc oratio proxime præcedit Eucharistiam vel Liturgiam propriam: quod in uno textu Basilii, in altero Chrysostomi esse dicitur cetera non iisdem tribuendum esse probat.

Liturgia S. Basilii.

πληρῶσαι τῶν ᾀδόντων μυστικὸν ὕμνον.

XIII. Κύριε ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν ὁ κτίσας ἡμᾶς καὶ ἀγαγὼν εἰς τὴν ζωὴν ταύτην, ὁ ὑποδείξας ἡμῖν ὁδοὺς εἰς σωτηρίαν, ὁ χαρισάμενος ἡμῖν οὐρανίων μυστηρίων ἀποκάλυψιν, σὺ εἶ ὁ θέμενος ἡμᾶς εἰς τὴν διακονίαν ταύτην ἐν τῇ δυνάμει τοῦ πνεύματός σου τοῦ ἁγίου. Εὐδόκησον δὴ κύριε τοῦ γενέσθαι ἡμᾶς διακόνους τῆς καινῆς σου διαθήκης, λειτουργοὺς τῶν ἁγίων σου μυστηρίων· πρόσδεξαι ἡμᾶς προσεγγίζοντας τῷ ἁγίῳ σου θυσιαστηρίῳ κατὰ τὸ πλῆθος τοῦ ἐλέους σου· ἵνα γενώμεθα ἄξιοι τοῦ προσφέρειν σοι τὴν λογικὴν ταύτην καὶ ἀναίμακτον θυσίαν ὑπὲρ τῶν ἡμετέρων ἁμαρτημάτων καὶ τῶν τοῦ λαοῦ ἀγνοημάτων. ἣν προσδεξάμενος εἰς τὸ ἅγιον καὶ ὑπερουράνιον καὶ νοερόν σου θυσιαστήριον εἰς ὀσμὴν εὐωδίας ἀντικατάπεμψον ἡμῖν τὴν χάριν τοῦ ἁγίου σου πνεύματος. Ἐπίβλεψον ἐφ' ἡμᾶς ὁ Θεὸς καὶ ἔπιδε ἐπὶ τὴν λατρείαν ἡμῶν ταύτην καὶ πρόσδεξαι αὐτήν, ὡς προσεδέξω

Liturgia S. Chrysostomi.

στόμου μετὰ τὸ ἀποτεθῆναι τὰ ἅγια δῶρα ἐν τῇ ἁγίᾳ τραπέζῃ καὶ πληρῶσαι τὸν λαὸν τὸν μυστικὸν ὕμνον.

VII. (Cod. κγ.)

Κύριε ὁ Θεὸς ὁ παντοκράτωρ, ὁ μόνος ἅγιος, ὁ δεχόμενος θυσίαν αἰνέσεων παρὰ τῶν ἐπικαλουμένων σε ἐν ὅλῃ καρδίᾳ, πρόσδεξαι καὶ ἡμῶν τῶν ἁμαρτωλῶν τὴν δέησιν καὶ προσάγαγε τῷ ἁγίῳ σου θυσιαστηρίῳ, καὶ ἱκάνωσον ἡμᾶς προσενεγκεῖν σοι δῶρα καὶ θυσίας πνευματικὰς ὑπὲρ τῶν ἡμετέρων ἁμαρτημάτων καὶ τῶν τοῦ λαοῦ ἀγνοημάτων, καὶ καταξίωσον ἡμᾶς εὑρεῖν χάριν ἐνώπιόν σου τοῦ γενέσθαι εὐπρόσδεκτον τὴν θυσίαν ἡμῶν καὶ ἐπισκηνῶσαι τὸ πνεῦμα τῆς χάριτός σου τὸ ἀγαθὸν ἐφ' ἡμᾶς καὶ ἐπὶ τὰ προκείμενα δῶρα ταῦτα καὶ ἐπὶ πάντα τὸν λαόν σου· Ἐκφών. διὰ τῶν οἰκτιρμῶν τοῦ μονογενοῦς σοῦ υἱοῦ, μεθ' οὗ εὐλογητός, κ.τ.λ.

Liturgia S. Basilii.	Liturgia S. Chrysostomi.
Ἄβελ τὰ δῶρα, Νῶε τὰς θυσίας, Ἀβραὰμ τὰς ὁλοκαρπώσεις, Μωσέως καὶ Ἀαρὼν τὰς ἱερωσύνας, Σαμουὴλ τὰς εἰρηνικάς· ὡς προσεδέξω ἐκ των ἁγίων σου ἀποστόλων τὴν ἀληθινὴν ταύτην λατρείαν, οὕτως καὶ ἐκ τῶν χειρῶν ἡμῶν τῶν ἁμαρτωλῶν πρόσδεξαι τὰ δῶρα ταῦτα ἐν τῇ χρηστότητί σου κύριε, ἵνα καταξιωθέντες λειτουργεῖν ἀμέμπτως τῷ ἁγίῳ σου θυσιαστηρίῳ εὕρωμεν τὸν μισθὸν τῶν πιστῶν καὶ φρονίμων οἰκονόμων ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τῆς ἀνταποδόσεώς σου τῆς δικαίας· Ἐκφών. διὰ τῶν οἰκτιρμῶν τοῦ μονογενοῦς σου υἱοῦ, μεθ' οὗ εὐλογητὸς εἶ σὺν τῷ παναγίῳ καὶ ἀγαθῷ καὶ ζωοποιῷ σου πνεύματι.	

(*Osculum Pacis.*)

Καὶ μετὰ τὸ Ἀμὴν ὁ ἱερεύς·	ὁ λαός· Ἀμήν.
Εἰρήνη πᾶσιν.	ὁ ἱερεύς· Εἰρήνη πᾶσιν.
ὁ λαός· Καὶ τῷ πνεύματί σου.	ὁ λαός· Καὶ τῷ πνεύματί σου.
ὁ διάκ. Ἀγαπήσωμεν ἀλλήλους.	
Καὶ μετὰ τὸ δοθῆναι τὴν ἀγάπην, λέγει·	Καὶ μετὰ τὸ δοθῆναι τὴν ἀγάπην λέγει ὁ διάκονος·
Τὰς θύρας· τὰς θύρας· πρόσχωμεν.	Τὰς θύρας· τὰς θύρας. Πρόσχωμεν.
ὁ λαὸς τὸ Πιστεύω.	ὁ λαὸς τὸ πιστεύω λέγει.
Καὶ μετὰ τὸ Πιστεύω λέγει ὁ διάκονος·	ὁ διάκονος·

ANAPHORÆ SS. BASILII ET CHRYSOSTOMI.

Anaphora S. Basilii.	Anaphora S. Chrysostomi.
ὁ διάκονος·	ὁ διάκονος·
Στῶμεν καλῶς.*	Στῶμεν καλως.
	ὁ λαός·
	Ἔλεος· εἰρήνη.
ὁ ἱερεύς·	ὁ ἱερεὺς λέγει·
Ἡ χάρις τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ καὶ ἡ ἀγάπη τοῦ Θεοῦ καὶ πατρὸς καὶ ἡ κοινωνία τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος εἴη μετὰ πάντων ἡμῶν.	Ἡ χάρις τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ καὶ ἡ ἀγάπη τοῦ Θεοῦ καὶ πατρὸς καὶ ἡ κοινωνία τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος εἴη μετὰ πάντων ὑμῶν·
ὁ λαός·	ὁ λαός·
Καὶ μετὰ τοῦ πνεύματός σου.†	Καὶ μετὰ τοῦ πνεύματός σου.

* Στῶμεν καλῶς initium Liturgiæ s. Anaphoræ indicant nobilissima musei Fejervariani diptycha, seculi octavi, de quibus in Nota ad Prolegomena diximus. Ceterum solemnis quam laudat ipse Chrysostomus ecclesiæ formula (ex Homil. xxix. ap. Bingh.) est: Ὀρθοὶ στῶμεν καλῶς. Verba hæc sunt: Καὶ γὰρ αὐτὸ τοῦτο παρακελεύεσθαι τὸν διάκονον ἅπασι καὶ λέγειν· Ὀρθοὶ στῶμεν καλῶς, οὐχ ἁπλῶς οὐδὲ εἰκῇ νενομοθέτηται.

† Chrysostomus apud Bingh., in Homil. xxxviii. (xli.): Τί ποιεῖς ἄνθρωπε; οὐχ ὑπέσχου τῷ ἱερεῖ εἰπόντι· Ἀνασχῶμεν ἡμῶν τὸν νοῦν καὶ τὰς καρδίας· καὶ εἶπας· Ἔχομεν πρὸς τὸν κύριον.

Præfatio.

Anaphora S. Basilii.	Anaphora S. Chrysostomi.
ὁ ἱερεύς·	ὁ ἱερεύς.
Ἄνω σχῶμεν τὰς καρδίας.	Ἄνω σχῶμεν τὰς καρδίας.
ὁ λαός·	ὁ λαός.
Ἔχομεν πρὸς τὸν κύριον.	Ἔχομεν πρὸς τὸν κύριον.
ὁ ἱερεύς·	ὁ ἱερεύς·
Εὐχαριστήσωμεν τῷ κυρίῳ.	Εὐχαριστήσωμεν τῷ κυρίῳ.
ὁ λαός·	ὁ λαός·.
Ἄξιον καὶ δίκαιον.	Ἄξιον καὶ δίκαιον.
Καὶ ὁ ἱερεὺς ἀπάρχεται τῆς ἁγίας ἀναφορᾶς.	Ὁ ἱερεὺς ἀπάρχεται τῆς ἁγίας ἀναφορᾶς.

Eucharistia s. Gratiarum Actio.

I. Ὁ ὢν, δέσποτα κύριε, Θεὲ πάτερ, παντόκρατορ, προσκυνητὲ, ἄξιον ὡς ἀληθῶς καὶ δίκαιον καὶ πρέπον τῇ μεγαλοπρεπείᾳ τῆς ἁγιωσύνης σου, σὲ αἰνεῖν, σὲ ὑμνεῖν, σὲ εὐλογεῖν, σὲ προσκυνεῖν, σοὶ εὐχαριστεῖν, σὲ δοξάζειν τὸν μόνον ὄντως ὄντα Θεόν· καὶ σοὶ προσφέρειν ἐν καρδίᾳ

I. Ἄξιον καὶ δίκαιόν σὲ ὑμνεῖν, σὲ εὐλογεῖν, σὲ αἰνεῖν, σοὶ εὐχαριστεῖν, σὲ προσκυνεῖν ἐν παντὶ τόπῳ τῆς δεσποτείας σου· σὺ γὰρ εἶ Θεὸς ἀνέκφραστος, ἀπερινόητος, ἀόρατος, ἀκατάληπτος, ἀεὶ ὢν, ὡσαύτως ὢν, σὺ καὶ ὁ μονογενής σου υἱὸς καὶ τὸ πνεῦμά σου τὸ ἅγιον. Σὺ ἐκ τοῦ μὴ ὄντος

Anaphora S. Basilii.

συντετριμμένη καὶ πνεύματι ταπεινώσεως τὴν λογικὴν ταύτην λατρείαν ἡμῶν, ὅτι σὺ εἶ ὁ χαρισάμενος ἡμῖν τὴν ἐπίγνωσιν τῆς σῆς ἀληθείας· καὶ τίς ἱκανὸς λαλῆσαι τὰς δυναστείας σου, ἀκουστὰς ποιῆσαι πάσας τὰς αἰνέσεις σου, ἢ διηγήσασθαι πάντα τὰ θαυμάσιά σου ἐν παντὶ καιρῷ; Δέσποτα τῶν ἁπάντων, κύριε οὐρανοῦ καὶ γῆς καὶ πάσης κτίσεως ὁρωμένης τε καὶ οὐχ ὁρωμένης, ὁ καθήμενος ἐπὶ θρόνου δόξης καὶ ἐπιβλέπων ἀβύσσους, ἄναρχε, ἀόρατε, ἀκατάληπτε, ἀπερίγραπτε, ἀναλλοίωτε, ὁ πατὴρ τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ τοῦ μεγάλου Θεοῦ καὶ σωτῆρος, τῆς ἐλπίδος ἡμῶν, ὅς ἐστιν εἰκὼν τῆς σῆς ἀγαθότητος, σφραγὶς ἰσότυπος, ἐν ἑαυτῷ δεικνὺς σὲ τὸν πατέρα, λόγος ζῶν, Θεὸς ἀληθινὸς πρὸ

Anaphora S. Chrysostomi.

εἰς τὸ εἶναι ἡμᾶς παρήγαγες καὶ παραπεσόντας ἀνέστησας πάλιν καὶ οὐκ ἀπέστης πάντα ποιῶν ἕως ἡμᾶς εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν ἀνήγαγες καὶ τὴν βασιλείαν ἐχαρίσω τὴν μέλλουσαν. Ὑπὲρ τούτων ἁπάντων εὐχαριστοῦμέν σοι καὶ μονογενεῖ σου υἱῷ καὶ τῷ πνεύματί σου τῷ ἁγίῳ· ὑπὲρ πάντων, ὧν ἴσμεν καὶ ὧν οὐκ ἴσμεν, τῶν φανερῶν καὶ ἀφανῶν εὐεργεσιῶν σου τῶν εἰς ἡμᾶς γεγενημένων. εὐχαριστοῦμέν σοι καὶ ὑπὲρ τῆς λειτουργίας ταύτης, ἣν ἐκ τῶν χειρῶν ἡμῶν δέξασθαι καταξίωσον, καίτοι σοι παρεστήκεισαν χιλιάδες ἀρχαγγέλων καὶ μυριάδες ἀγγέλων, τὰ Χερουβὶμ καὶ τὰ Σεραφὶμ, ἑξαπτέρυγα, πολυόμματα, μετάρσια, πτερωτά·

(Sanctus, Sanctus, Sanctus.)

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αἰώνων, σοφία, ζωὴ, ἁγιασμὸς, δύναμις, τὸ φῶς τὸ ἀληθινόν· παρ' οὗ τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον ἐξεφάνη, τὸ τῆς ἀληθείας πνεῦμα, τὸ τῆς υἱοθεσίας χάρισμα, ὁ ἀρραβὼν τῆς μελλούσης κληρονομίας, ἡ ἀπαρχὴ τῶν αἰωνίων ἀγαθῶν, ἡ ζωοποιὸς δύναμις, ἡ πηγὴ τοῦ ἁγιασμοῦ, παρ' οὗ πᾶσα κτίσις λογική τε καὶ νοερὰ δυναμουμένη σοὶ λατρεύει καὶ σοὶ τὴν ἀΐδιον ἀναπέμπει δοξολογίαν, ὅτι τὰ σύμπαντα δοῦλα σά. Σὲ γὰρ αἰνοῦσιν ἄγγελοι, ἀρχάγγελοι, θρόνοι, κυριότητες, ἀρχαὶ, ἐξουσίαι, δυνάμεις, καὶ τὰ πολυόμματα Χερουβίμ· σοὶ παρίστανται κύκλῳ τὰ Σεραφὶμ, ἓξ πτέρυγες τῷ ἑνὶ καὶ ἓξ πτέρυγες τῷ ἑνὶ, καὶ ταῖς μὲν δυσὶ κατακαλύπτουσιν τὰ πρόσωπα ἑαυτῶν, ταῖς δὲ δυσὶ τοὺς ποδὰς, καὶ ταῖς δυσὶ

Anaphora S. Chrysostomi.

Anaphora S. Basilii.	Anaphora S. Chrysostomi.
πετόμενα, κέκραγεν ἕτερον πρὸς ἕτερον ἀκαταπαύστοις στόμασι, ἀσιγήτοις θεολογίαις,	
(Ἐκφώνως.)	
Τὸν ἐπινίκιον ὕμνον ᾄδοντα βοῶντα κεκραγότα καὶ λέγοντα.	Ἐκφ. *τὸν ἐπινίκιον ὕμνον ᾄδοντα.**

* Hymnum triumphalem (*τὸν ἐπινίκιον ὕμνον*) a populo in eucharistiæ celebratione esse cantatum, multi Chrysostomi loci probant. Nos hic illum ex homilia in Ep. ad Ephesios a Binghamo inter alios adlatum exhibemus: *Ἐννόησον μετὰ τίνων ἕστηκας κατὰ τὸν καιρὸν τῶν μυστηρίων, μετὰ τῶν Χερουβὶμ μετὰ τῶν Σεραφίμ . . . πῶς οὖν δυνήσῃ μετ' ἐκείνων λέγειν· Ἅγιος, ἅγιος, ἅγιος, εἰς ὕβριν τῷ στόματι κεχρημένος;*

Utar hac occasione ad pauca de nominibus antiquissimorum ecclesiæ hymnorum sacramentalium dicenda, quoniam ne a veteribus quidem scriptoribus accurate distincta esse videntur.

1. *Hymnus angelicus*, qui idem *Doxologia major* dicitur, est omnium antiquissimus Christianorum hymnus matutinus, verbis illis auspicatis incipiens quæ in Lucæ Evangelio angelis de nativitate Domini exultantibus tribuuntur: *Δόξα ἐν ὑψίστοις Θεῷ·* de quo in volumine tertio pluribus egimus; ubi etiam diximus de Doxologia minore, Gloria Patri, etc.

2. *Hymnus seraphicus* (minus accurate dictus etiam *cherubicus*) est sacer ille seraphici chori cantus quem Jesaia propheta audivit:

Sanctus, sanctus, sanctus, Dominus Sabaoth:
Pleni sunt cœli et terra gloria tua.

Proclus, episcopus Constantinopolitanus et Theodosius junior, anno 446, hæc addidisse dicuntur:

Ἅγιος ὁ Θεὸς, ἅγιος ἰσχυρὸς, ἅγιος ἀθάνατος, ἐλέησον ἡμᾶς·

quæ verba agnoscit Concilium Chalcedonense in condemnatione

Anaphora S. Basilii.

Ὁ λαός·

Ἅγιος κύριος Σαβαὼθ, πλήρης ὁ οὐρανὸς καὶ ἡ γῆ τῆς δόξης σου·

Ὡσαννὰ ἐν τοῖς ὑψίστοις.

Εὐλογημένος ὁ ἐρχόμενος ἐν ὀνόματι κυρίου.

Ὡσαννὰ ὁ ἐν τοῖς ὑψίστοις.

ὁ ἱερεύς μυστικῶς λέγει·

II. Μετὰ τούτων τῶν μακαρίων δυνάμεων, δέσποτα φιλάνθρωπε, καὶ ἡμεῖς οἱ ἁμαρτωλοὶ βοῶμεν καὶ λέγομεν· Ἅγιος εἶ ὡς ἀληθῶς καὶ πανάγιος, καὶ οὐκ ἔστι μέτρον τῆς μεγαλοπρεπείας τῆς ἁγιωσύνης σου, καὶ ὅσιος ἐν πᾶσιν τοῖς ἔργοις σου, ὅτι ἐν δικαιοσύνῃ καὶ κρίσει ἀληθινῇ πάντα ἐπήγαγες ἡμῖν. Πλάσας γὰρ τὸν ἄνθρωπον

Anaphora S. Chrysostomi.

ὁ ἱερεύς μυστικῶς·

II. Μετὰ τούτων καὶ ἡμεῖς τῶν δυνάμεων, δέσποτα φιλάνθρωπε, βοῶμεν καὶ λέγομεν· ἅγιος εἶ καὶ πανάγιος καὶ ὁ μονογενής σου υἱὸς καὶ τὸ πνεῦμά σου τὸ ἅγιον. ἅγιος εἶ καὶ πανάγιος καὶ μεγαλοπρεπὴς ἡ δόξα σου· ὃς τὸν κόσμον σου οὕτως ἠγάπησας, ὥστε τὸν σὸν υἱὸν τὸν μονογενῆ δοῦναι, ἵνα πᾶς ὁ πιστεύων εἰς αὐτὸν μὴ ἀπόληται, ἀλλ'

Dioscori. Postquam ante lectionem epistolæ hæc verba sola cani consueverunt, a multis *Trisagion* nomine appellata sunt.

3. *Hymnum cherubicum* Græci scriptores *Alleluia* appellant, quod et mysticum dicitur (Apoc. xix.).

Anaphora S. Basilii.	Anaphora S. Chrysostomi.
χοῦν λαβὼν ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς καὶ τῇ εἰκόνι τῇ σῇ ὁ Θεὸς τιμήσας αὐτὸν τέθεικας αὐτὸν ἐν τῷ παραδείσῳ τῆς τρυφῆς, ἀθανασίαν ζωῆς καὶ ἀπόλαυσιν αἰωνίων ἀγαθῶν ἐν τῇ τηρήσει τῶν ἐντολῶν σου ἐπαγγειλάμενος αὐτῷ· ἀλλὰ παρακούσαντά σου τοῦ ἀληθινοῦ Θεοῦτοῦ κτίσαντος αὐτὸν καὶ τῇ ἀπάτῃ τοῦ ὄφεως ὑπαχθέντα, νε-	ἔχῃ ζωὴν αἰώνιον.*

* Desunt igitur in liturgia quæ Chrysostomo tribuitur solemnia illa verba, quæ et in Antiochena leguntur et in ea quæ Basilii dicitur. At ipse Chrysostomus in Homilia xxiv. in primam ad Cor. Ep. eundem morem tamquam ecclesiis illis communem memorat. Verba hæc sunt (ap. Bingh.): *καὶ ἡμεῖς ἐπιλέγοντες ποτηρίῳ τὰς ἀφάτους εὐεργεσίας τοῦ Θεοῦ καὶ ὅσων ἀπολελαύκαμεν οὕτως αὐτὸ προάγομεν καὶ κοινωνοῦμεν, εὐχαριστοῦντες ὅτι τῆς πλάνης ἀπήλλαξε τὸ τῶν ἀνθρώπων γένος· ὅτι μακρὰν ὄντας ἐγγὺς ἐποίησεν· ὅτι ἐλπίδα μὴ ἔχοντας καὶ ἀθέους ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ ἀδελφοῦς ἑαυτοῦ κατεσκεύασε καὶ συγκληρονόμους· ὑπὲρ τούτων καὶ τῶν τοιούτων ἁπάντων εὐχαριστοῦντες οὕτω πρόσιμεν.* Eadem quidem verba in liturgiis quæ nobis servatæ sunt non occurrunt, at similia quædam. Quæ, ut multa alia, ecclesiam probant Chrysostomi tempore multa liturgica (quod ad verba attinet) sacerdoti vel episcopo libere precanti demandasse, ita tamen ut ordo et tenor generalis orationis traditioni et mori ecclesiæ consentaneus esset. Confer cum his verba Basilii fronti hujus capituli inscripta de iis, quæ tantummodo traditione ad nos pervenerunt.

Anaphora S. Basilii.

κρωθεντα τε αὐτὸν τοῖς οἰκείοις αὐτοῦ παραπτώμασιν ἐξώρισας αὐτὸν ἐν τῇ δικαιοκρισίᾳ σου ὁ Θεὸς ἐκ τοῦ παραδείσου εἰς τὸν κόσμον τοῦτον καὶ ἀπέστρεψας εἰς τὴν γῆν, ἐξ ἧς ἐλήφθη, οἰκονομῶν αὐτῷ τὴν ἐκ παλιγγενεσίας σωτηρίαν τὴν ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ Χριστῷ σου. Οὐ γὰρ ἀπεστράφης τὸ πλάσμα σου εἰς τέλος, ὃ ἐποίησας, ἀγαθὲ, οὐδὲ ἐπελάθου ἔργων χειρῶν σου, ἀλλ' ἐπεσκέψω πολυτρόπως διὰ σπλάγχνα ἐλέους σου, προφήτας ἐξαπέστειλας, ἐποίησας δυνάμεις διὰ τῶν ἁγίων σου τῶν καθ' ἑκάστην γενεὰν καὶ γενεὰν εὐαρεστησάντων σοι· ἐλάλησας ἡμῖν διὰ στόματος τῶν δούλων σου τῶν προφητῶν, προκαταγγέλλων ἡμῖν τὴν μέλλουσαν ἔσεσθαι σωτηρίαν· νόμον ἔδωκας εἰς βοήθειαν, ἀγγέλους

Anaphora S. Chrysostomi.

Anaphora S. Basilii.

ἐπέστησας φύλακας. Ὅτε δὲ ἦλθεν τὸ πλήρωμα τῶν καιρῶν, ἐλάλησας ἡμῖν ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ υἱῷ σου, δι' οὗ καὶ τοὺς αἰῶνας ἐποίησας, ὃς ὢν ἀπαύγασμα τῆς δόξης καὶ χαρακτὴρ τῆς ὑποστάσεώς σου, φέρων τε τὰ πάντα τῷ ῥήματι τῆς δυνάμεως αὐτοῦ, οὐχ ἁρπαγμὸν ἡγήσατο τὸ εἶναι ἴσα σοὶ τῷ Θεῷ καὶ πατρί· ἀλλὰ Θεὸς ὢν προαιώνιος ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς ὤφθη καὶ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις συνανεστράφη, καὶ ἐκ παρθένου ἁγίας σαρκωθεὶς ἐκένωσεν ἑαυτὸν μορφὴν δούλου λαβών, σύμμορφος γενόμενος τῷ σώματι τῆς ταπεινώσεως ἡμῶν, ἵνα καὶ ἡμᾶς συμμόρφους ποιήσῃ τῆς εἰκόνος τῆς δόξης αὐτοῦ. Ἐπειδὴ γὰρ δι' ἀνθρώπου ἡ ἁμαρτια εἰσῆλθεν εἰς τὸν κόσμον καὶ διὰ τῆς ἁμαρτίας ὁ θάνατος, εὐδόκησεν ὁ μονογενής σου

Anaphora S. Chrysostomi.

Anaphora S. Basilii.

υἱὸς, ὁ ὢν ἐν τοῖς κόλποις σου τοῦ Θεοῦ καὶ πατρὸς, γενόμενος ἐκ γυναικὸς, τῆς ἁγίας Θεοτόκου καὶ ἀειπαρθένου Μαρίας, γενόμενος ὑπὸ νόμον, κατακρῖναι τὴν ἁμαρτίαν ἐν τῇ σαρκὶ αὐτοῦ, ἵνα οἱ ἐν τῷ Ἀδὰμ ἀποθνήσκοντες ζωοποιηθῶσιν ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ Χριστῷ σου· καὶ ἐμπολιτευσάμενος τῷ κόσμῳ τούτῳ, δοὺς προστάγματα σωτηρίας, ἀποστήσας ἡμᾶς τῆς πλάνης τῶν εἰδώλων, προσήγαγεν ἡμᾶς τῇ ἐπιγνώσει σου τοῦ ἀληθινοῦ Θεοῦ καὶ πατρὸς, κτησάμενος ἡμᾶς ἑαυτῷ λαὸν περιούσιον, βασίλειον ἱεράτευμα, ἔθνος ἅγιον· καὶ καθαρίσας ἡμᾶς ἐν ὕδατι καὶ ἁγιάσας τῷ πνεύματι τῷ ἁγίῳ, ἔδωκεν ἑαυτὸν ἀντάλλαγμα τῷ θανάτῳ, ἐν ᾧ κατειχόμεθα πεπραμένοι ὑπὸ τὴν ἁμαρτίαν· καὶ κατελθὼν διὰ τοῦ σταυροῦ εἰς

Anaphora S. Chrysostomi.

Anaphora S. Basilii.

τὸν Ἅιδην, ἵνα πληρώσῃ ἑαυτῷ τὰ πάντα, ἔλυσε τὰς ὠδῖνας τοῦ θανάτου· καὶ ἀναστὰς τῇ τριτῃ ἡμέρᾳ καὶ ὁδοιποιήσας πάσῃ σαρκὶ τὴν ἐκ νεκρῶν ἀνάστασιν, καθότι οὐκ ἦν δυνατὸν κρατεῖσθαι ὑπὸ τῆς φθορᾶς τὸν ἀρχηγὸν τῆς ζωῆς, ἐγένετο ἀπαρχὴ τῶν κεκοιμημένων, πρωτότοκος ἐκ τῶν νεκρῶν· ἵνα ᾖ αὐτὸς τὰ πάντα ἐν πᾶσι πρωτεύων· καὶ ἀνελθὼν εἰς τοὺς οὐρανοὺς ἐκάθισεν ἐν δεξιᾷ τῆς μεγαλωσύνης ἐν ὑψηλοῖς· ὃς καὶ ἥξει ἀποδοῦναι ἑκάστῳ κατὰ τὰ ἔργα αὐτοῦ. Κατέλιπεν δὲ ἡμῖν ὑπομνήματα τοῦ σωτηρίου αὐτοῦ πάθους ταῦτα ἃ προτεθείκαμεν* κατὰ τὰς αὐτοῦ ἐντολάς.

Anaphora S. Chrysostomi.

* Hæc est ultima vox folii xvi. Deest quaternio tertius foliorum viii., quæ si secundum literarum numerum, qui primo et secundo quaternione continetur, computantur, circiter ix. milia literarum comprehenderunt. Quæ in vulgato textu sequuntur usque ad prima quarti nostri quaternionis verba, omissis solitis interpolationibus, ad amussim hunc litera-

(Verba institutionis.)

Anaphora S. Basilii.	Anaphora S. Chrysostomi.
Μέλλων γὰρ ἐξιέναι ἐπὶ τὸν ἑκούσιον καὶ ἀοίδιμόν καὶ ζωοποιὸν αὐτοῦ θάνατον, τῇ νυκτὶ ᾗ παρεδίδου ἑαυτὸν ὑπὲρ τῆς τοῦ κόσμου ζωῆς, λαβὼν ἄρτον ἐπὶ τῶν ἁγίων αὐτοῦ καὶ ἀχράντων χειρῶν, ἀναδείξας σοὶ τῷ Θεῷ καὶ πατρὶ, εὐχαριστήσας, εὐλογήσας, ἁγιάσας, κλάσας, (Ἐκφών.) ἔδωκε τοῖς ἁγίοις αὐτοῦ μαθηταῖς καὶ ἀποστόλοις εἰπών·	Ὃς ἐλθὼν καὶ πᾶσαν τὴν ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν οἰκονομίαν πληρώσας τῇ νυκτὶ, ᾗ παρεδίδου ἑαυτὸν, λαβὼν ἄρτον ἐν ταῖς ἁγίαις αὐτοῦ καὶ ἀχράντοις καὶ ἀμωμήτοις χερσὶν, εὐχαριστήσας καὶ εὐλογήσας ἔκλασεν καὶ ἔδωκεν τοῖς ἁγίοις αὐτοῦ μαθηταῖς καὶ ἀποστόλοις, εἰπών·
Λάβετε, φάγετε, τοῦτό μου ἐστὶ τὸ σῶμα, τὸ ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν κλώμενον εἰς ἄφεσιν ἁμαρτιῶν. Ὁμοίως καὶ τὸ ποτήριον ἐκ τοῦ γεννήματος τῆς ἀμπέλου λαβὼν κεράσας, εὐχαριστήσας, εὐλογήσας, ἁγιάσας, ἔδωκε τοῖς ἁγίοις αὐτοῦ μαθηταῖς καὶ ἀποστόλοις, εἰπών· Πίετε ἐξ	Ἐκφών. Λάβετε, φάγετε· τοῦτ' ἐστὶν τὸ σῶμά μου τὸ ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν Ὁμοίως καὶ τὸ ποτήριον μετὰ τὸ δειπνῆσαι, λέγων· Πίετε ἐξ αὐ-

rum numerum præbent. Textus deperditus nostri codicis hac ratione quodammodo videtur restitutus esse.

Anaphora S. Basilii.

αὐτοῦ πάντες, τοῦτο ἔστι τὸ αἷμά μου τὸ τῆς καινῆς διαθήκης, τὸ ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν καὶ πολλῶν ἐκχυνόμενον εἰς ἄφεσιν ἁμαρτιῶν. Τοῦτο ποιεῖτε εἰς τὴν ἐμὴν ἀνάμνησιν. ὁσάκις γὰρ ἂν ἐσθίητε τὸν ἄρτον τοῦτον, καὶ τὸ ποτήριον τοῦτο πίνητε, τὸν ἐμὸν θάνατον καταγγέλλετε, τὴν ἐμὴν ἀνάστασιν ὁμολογεῖτε.

Anaphora S. Chrysostomi.

τοῦ πάντες· τοῦτ' ἔστι τὸ αἷμά μου τὸ τῆς καινῆς διαθήκης, τὸ ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν καὶ πολλῶν ἐκχυνόμενον εἰς ἄφεσιν ἁμαρτιῶν.

ὁ λαός·

Ἀμήν.

(*Oratio Memores igitur.*)

Ο ἱερεὺς μυστικῶς·

Μεμνημένοι οὖν, δέσποτα, καὶ ἡμεῖς τῶν σωτηρίων σου παθημάτων, τοῦ ζωοποιοῦ σταυροῦ, τῆς τριημέρου ταφῆς, τῆς ἐκ νεκρῶν ἀναστάσεως, τῆς εἰς οὐρανοὺς ἀνόδου, τῆς ἐκ δεξιῶν σου τοῦ Θεοῦ καὶ Πατρὸς καθέδρας, καὶ τῆς ἐνδόξου καὶ φοβερᾶς σαυτοῦ* παρουσίας.

Ὁ ἱερεὺς μυστικῶς·

Μεμνημένοι τοίνυν τῆς σωτηρίου ταύτης ἐντολῆς καὶ πάντων τῶν ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν γεγενημένων, τοῦ σταυροῦ, τοῦ τάφου, τῆς τριημέρου ἀναστάσεως, τῆς εἰς οὐράνους ἀναβάσεως, τῆς ἐκ δεξιῶν καθέδρας, τῆς δευτέρας καὶ ἐνδόξου παλινπαρουσίας·

* Cod. inepte: αὐτοῦ.

Anaphora S. Basilii.

Ἐκφών. Τὰ σὰ ἐκ των σῶν σοὶ προσφέροντες, κατὰ πάντα καὶ διὰ πάντα.

Ὁ χορὸς ψάλλει τὸ Σὲ ὑμνοῦμεν, σὲ εὐλογοῦμεν, σοὶ εὐχαριστοῦμεν, κύριε.

Anaphora S. Chrysostomi.

Ἐκφών.

τὰ σὰ ἐκ τῶν σῶν προσφέροντες κατὰ πάντα καὶ διὰ πάντα·

ὁ λαός·

Σὲ ὑμνοῦμεν.

(*Invocatio Spiritus Sancti.*)

Ὁ ἱερεὺς μυστικῶς·

Διὰ τοῦτο, δέσποτα πανάγιε, καὶ ἡμεῖς οἱ ἁμαρτωλοὶ καὶ ἀνάξιοι δοῦλοί σου, οἱ καταξιωθέντες λειτουργεῖν τῷ ἁγίῳ σου θυσιαστηρίῳ, οὐ διὰ τὰς δικαιοσύνας ἡμῶν, οὐ γὰρ ἐποιήσαμέν τι ἀγαθὸν ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς, ἀλλὰ διὰ τὰ ἐλέη σου καὶ τοὺς οἰκτιρμούς σου οὓς ἐξέχεας πλουσίως ἐφ' ἡμᾶς, προσεγγίζομεν τῷ ἁγίῳ σοῦ θυσιαστηρίῳ· καὶ προσθέντες τὰ ἀντίτυπα τοῦ ἁγίου σώματος καὶ αἵματος τοῦ Χριστοῦ σου, σοῦ δεόμεθα καὶ σὲ παρακαλοῦμεν, ἅγιε ἁγίων, εὐδοκίᾳ τῆς σῆς ἀγα-

Ὁ ἱερεὺς μυστικῶς λέγει·

Ἔτι προσφέρομέν σοι τὴν λογικὴν ταύτην καὶ ἀναίμακτον λατρείαν, καὶ παρακαλοῦμεν καὶ δεόμεθα καὶ ἱκετεύομεν· κατάπεμψον τὸ πνεῦμά σου τὸ ἅγιον ἐφ' ἡμᾶς καὶ ἐπὶ τὰ προκείμενα δῶρα ταῦτα·

Anaphora S. Basilii.

θότητος, ἐλθεῖν τὸ πνεῦμά σου τὸ ἅγιον ἐφ' ἡμᾶς, καὶ ἐπὶ τὰ προκείμενα δῶρα ταῦτα, καὶ εὐλογῆσαι αὐτὰ καὶ ἁγιάσαι, καὶ ἀναδεῖξαι τὸν μὲν ἄρτον τοῦτον [ποίησον αὐτὸ]* τὸ τίμιον σῶμα τοῦ κυρίου, καὶ Θεοῦ καὶ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ· τὸ δὲ ποτήριον τοῦτο, αὐτὸ τὸ τίμιον αἷμα τοῦ κυρίου καὶ Θεοῦ καὶ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ τὸ ἐκχυθὲν ὑπὲρ τῆς τοῦ κόσμου ζωῆς, μεταβαλὼν τῷ πνεύματί σου τῷ ἁγίῳ.

Ἡμᾶς δὲ πάντας, τοὺς ἐκ τοῦ ἑνὸς ἄρτου καὶ τοῦ ποτηρίου μετέχοντας, ἑνώσαις ἀλλήλοις εἰς ἑνὸς πνεύματος ἁγίου κοινωνίαν, καὶ μηδένα ἡμῶν εἰς κρίμα ἢ εἰς κατάκριμα ποιήσαις μετασχεῖν τοῦ ἁγίου σώμα-

Anaphora S. Chrysostomi.

(καὶ ἀνιστάμενος σφραγίζει λέγων μυστικῶς)

καὶ ποίησον τὸν μὲν ἄρτον τοῦτον τίμιον σῶμα τοῦ Χριστοῦ σου,

μεταβαλὼν τῷ πνεύματί σου τῷ ἁγίῳ. Ἀμήν.

τὸ δὲ ἐν τῷ ποτηρίῳ τούτῳ τίμιον αἷμα τοῦ Χρίστοῦ σου,

μεταβαλὼν τῷ πνεύματί σου τῷ ἁγίῳ.

Ὁ ἱερεὺς μυστικῶς·

ὥστε γενέσθαι τοῖς μεταλαμβάνουσιν εἰς νῆψιν ψυχῆς, εἰς ἄφεσιν ἁμαρτιῶν, εἰς κοινωνίαν τοῦ ἁγίου σου πνεύματος, εἰς βασιλείας

* Verba uncis inclusa contra sententiarum ordinem huc transposita sunt ex formula quæ Chrysostomi nomine insignitur.

Anaphora S. Basilii.

τος καὶ αἵματος τοῦ Χριστοῦ σου· ἀλλ' ἵνα εὕρωμεν ἔλεος καὶ χάριν μετὰ πάντων τῶν ἁγίων, τῶν ἀπ' αἰῶνός σοι εὐαρεστησάντων προπατέρων, πατριαρχῶν, προφητῶν, ἀποστόλων, κηρύκων, εὐαγγελιστῶν, μαρτύρων, ὁμολογητῶν, διδασκάλων, καὶ παντὸς πνεύματος δικαίου, ἐν πίστει τετελειωμένου.

Ἐκφών. Ἐξαιρέτως τῆς παναγίας ἀχράντου ὑπερευλογημένης ἐνδόξου δεσποίνης ἡμῶν Θεοτόκου καὶ ἀειπαρθένου Μαρίας· τοῦ ἁγίου Ἰωάννου προφήτου προδρόμου καὶ βαπτιστοῦ, τῶν ἁγίων καὶ πανευφήμων ἀποστόλων, καὶ πάντων τῶν ἁγίων σου, ὧν ταῖς ἱκεσίαις ἐπίσκεψαι ἡμᾶς ὁ Θεός·

†Καὶ μνήσθητι παντων

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πλήρωμα, εἰς παῤῥησίαν τὴν πρὸς σὲ, μὴ εἰς κρίμα ἢ εἰς κατάκριμα.

Ἔτι προσφέρομέν σοι τὴν λογικὴν ταύτην λατρείαν ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐν πίστει ἀναπαυσαμένων πατερῶν, πατριαρχῶν, προφητῶν, ἀποστόλων, κηρύκων, εὐαγγελιστῶν, μαρτύρων, ὁμολογητῶν, ἐγκρατικῶν καὶ παντὸς δικαίου ἐν πίστει τετελειωμένου.

Ἐκφών. Ἐξαιρέτως τῆς παναγίας ἀχράντου ὑπερενδόξου εὐλογημένης δεσποίνης ἡμῶν Θεοτόκου καὶ ἀειπαρθένου Μαρίας· τοῦ ἁγίου Ἰωάννου τοῦ Προδρόμου καὶ Βαπτιστοῦ, καὶ τῶν ἁγίων καὶ πανευφήμων Ἀποστόλων, [καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου τοῦδε, οὗ καὶ τὴν μνήμην ἐπιτελοῦμεν,]* καὶ πάντων τῶν ἁγίων σου, ὧν ταῖς ἱκε-

* Verba posteriori ætate ex festo sancti cujusdam in liturgiam generalem illata.

† De his Commemorationibus, quas Jacobus Edessenus appellat

Anaphora S. Basilii.

τῶν προκεκοιμημένων ἐπ' ἐλπίδι ἀναστάσεως ζωῆς αἰωνίου, καὶ ἀνάπαυσον αὐτοὺς, ὅπου ἐπισκοπεῖ τὸ φῶς τοῦ προσώπου σου.

Ἔτι σοῦ δεόμεθα, μνήσθητι, κύριε, τῆς ἁγίας σοῦ καθολικῆς καὶ ἀποστολικῆς ἐκκλησίας, τῆς ἀπὸ περάτων ἕως περάτων τῆς οἰκουμένης, καὶ εἰρήνευσον αὐτὴν, ἣν περιεποιήσω τῷ τιμίῳ αἵματι τοῦ Χριστοῦ σου, καὶ τὸν ἅγιον οἶκον τοῦτον στερέωσον μέχρι τῆς συντελείας τοῦ αἰῶνος.

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σίαις ἐπίσκεψαι ἡμᾶς ὁ Θεὸς, καὶ μνήσθητι πάντων τῶν κεκοιμημένων ἐν ἐλπίδι ἀναστάσεως ζωῆς αἰωνίου, καὶ ἀνάπαυσον αὐτοὺς, ὅπου ἐπισκοπεῖ τὸ φῶς τοῦ προσώπου σου.

Admonitiones, illustria exstant Chrysostomi testimonia, quæ Binghamus collegit: v. imprimis Homil. xli. in priorem Ep. ad Corinthios: οὐδὲ μάτην ὁ παρεστὼς τῷ θυσιαστηρίῳ τῶν φρικτῶν μυστηρίων τελουμένων βοᾷ ὑπὲρ πάντων τῶν ἐν Χριστῷ κεκοιμημένων καὶ τῶν τὰς μνείας ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν ἐπιτελούντων. . . . διὰ τοῦτο θαῤῥοῦντες ὑπὲρ τῆς οἰκουμένης δεόμεθα τότε, καὶ μετὰ μαρτύρων αὐτοὺς καλοῦμεν, μετὰ ὁμολογητῶν μετὰ ἱέρων· καὶ γὰρ ἓν σῶμα ἐσμὲν ἅπαντες κἂν λαμπρότερα μέλη μέλων. Et in Homilia ii. in alteram Ep. ad Cor. hæc Chrysostomus dicit: καὶ γὰρ ἐπὶ τῶν πιστῶν, ὑπὲρ ἐπισκόπων, ὑπὲρ βασιλέων, ὑπὲρ τῶν κρατούντων, ὑπὲρ τῆς καὶ θαλάσσης, ὑπὲρ ἀέρων, ὑπὲρ γῆς οἰκουμένης ἁπάσης καλεύμεθα προσιέναι τῷ φιλανθρώπῳ Θεῷ.

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Μνήσθητι, κύριε, τῶν τὰ δῶρά σοι ταῦτα προσκομισάντων, καὶ ὑπὲρ ὧν, καὶ δι' ὧν, καὶ ἐφ' οἷς αὐτὰ προσεκόμισαν.

Μνήσθητι, κύριε, τῶν καρποφορούντων καὶ καλλιεργούντων ἐν ταῖς ἁγίαις σου ἐκκλησίαις, καὶ μεμνημένων τῶν πενήτων· ἄμειψαι αὐτοὺς τοῖς πλουσίοις σου καὶ ἐπουρανίοις χαρίσμασιν. Χάρισαι αὐτοῖς ἀντὶ τῶν ἐπιγείων τὰ ἐπουράνια· ἀντὶ τῶν προσκαίρων τὰ αἰώνια· ἀντὶ τῶν φθαρτῶν τὰ ἄφθαρτα.

Μνήσθητι, κύριε, τῶν ἐν ἐρημίαις καὶ ὄρεσι καὶ σπηλαίοις καὶ ταῖς ὀπαῖς τῆς γῆς.

Μνήσθητι, κύριε, τῶν ἐν παρθενίᾳ καὶ εὐλαβείᾳ καὶ ἀσκήσει καὶ σεμνῇ πολιτείᾳ διαγόντων.

Μνήσθητι, κύριε, τῶν εὐσεβεστάτων, καὶ πιστοτά-

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των ἡμῶν βασιλέων, οὓς ἐδικαίωσας βασιλεύειν ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς, ὅπλῳ ἀληθείας, ὅπλῳ εὐδοκίας στεφάνωσον αὐτοὺς, ἐπισκίασον ἐπὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν αὐτῶν ἐν ἡμέρᾳ πολέμου, ἐνίσχυσον αὐτῶν τὸν βραχίονα, ὕψωσον τὴν δεξιὰν, κράτυνον αὐτῶν τὴν βασιλείαν, ὑπόταξον αὐτοῖς πάντα τὰ βάρβαρα ἔθνη τὰ τοὺς πολέμους θέλοντα. Χάρισαι αὐτοῖς βαθεῖαν καὶ ἀναφαίρετον εἰρήνην, λάλησον εἰς τὴν καρδίαν αὐτῶν ἀγαθὰ ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐκκλησίας σου, καὶ παντὸς τοῦ λαοῦ σου· ἵνα ἐν τῇ γαλήνῃ αὐτῶν ἤρεμον καὶ ἡσύχιον βίον διάγωμεν, ἐν πάσῃ εὐσεβείᾳ καὶ σεμνότητι.

Μνήσθητι, κύριε, πάσης ἀρχῆς καὶ ἐξουσίας, καὶ τῶν ἐν παλατίῳ ἀδελφῶν ἡμῶν καὶ παντὸς τοῦ στρατοπέδου· τοὺς ἀγαθοὺς

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Anaphora S. Basilii.

ἐν τῇ ἀγαθότητί σου διατήρησον· τοὺς πονηροὺς ἀγαθοὺς ποίησον ἐν τῇ χρηστότητί σου.*

Μνήσθητι, κύριε, τοῦ προεστῶτος λαοῦ καὶ τῶν δι' εὐλόγους αἰτίας ἀπολειφθέντων, καὶ ἐλέησον αὐτοὺς καὶ ἡμᾶς κατὰ τὸ πλῆθος τοῦ ἐλέους σοῦ. Τὰ ταμεῖα αὐτῶν ἔμπλησον παντὸς ἀγαθοῦ, τὰς συζυγίας αὐτῶν ἐν εἰρήνῃ καὶ ὁμονοίᾳ διατήρησον, τὰ νήπια ἔκθρεψον, τὴν νεότητα παιδαγώγησον, τὸ γῆρας περικράτησον, τοὺς ὀλιγοψύχους παραμύθησον, τοὺς ἐσκορπισμένους ἐπισυνάγαγε, τοὺς πεπλανημένους

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* Verba laudata a Petro Diacono (Renaud. i. p. xxxviii.) ad Fulgentium (in Opp. Fulgent.) c. ann. 520.

Hinc etiam beatus Basilius episcopus Cæsariensis in oratione sacri altaris, qua pene universus utitur oriens, inter cætera:

"Dona, Domine, virtutem et tutamentum, *malos quæsumus bonos facito, bonos in bonitate conserva:* omnia enim potes nec est qui contradicat tibi: (quem) enim volueris salvas, et nullus resistit voluntati tuæ."

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ἐπανάγαγε, καὶ σύναψον τῇ ἁγίᾳ σου καθολικῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ· τοὺς ὀχλουμένους ὑπὸ πνευμάτων ἀκαθάρτων ἐλευθέρωσον, τοῖς πλέουσι σύμπλευσον, τοῖς ὁδοιποροῦσι συνόδευσον, χηρῶν πρόστηθι, ὀρφανῶν ὑπεράσπισον, αἰχμαλώτους ῥῦσαι, νοσοῦντας ἴασαι. Τῶν ἐν βήματι καὶ ἐξορίαις καὶ πάσῃ θλίψει καὶ ἀνάγκῃ καὶ περιστάσει ὄντων, μνημόνευσον ὁ Θεὸς, καὶ πάντων τῶν δεομένων τῆς μεγάλης σου εὐσπλαγχνίας, καὶ τῶν ἀγαπώντων ἡμᾶς, καὶ τῶν μισούντων, καὶ τῶν ἐντειλαμένων ἡμῖν τοῖς ἀναξίοις εὔχεσθαι ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν.

Καὶ παντὸς τοῦ λαοῦ σου μνήσθητι, κύριε, ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν· καὶ ἐπὶ πάντας ἔκχεον τὸ πλούσιόν σου ἔλεος, πᾶσι παρέχων τὰ πρὸς σωτηρίαν αἰτήματα, καὶ ὧν ἡμεῖς οὐκ ἐμνημονεύσαμεν

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δι' ἄγνοιαν ἢ λήθην ἢ πλῆθος ὀνομάτων αὐτὸς μνημόνευσον ὁ Θεὸς, ὁ εἰδὼς ἑκάστου τὴν ἡλικίαν καὶ τὴν προσηγορίαν, ὁ εἰδὼς ἕκαστον ἐκ κοιλίας μητρὸς αὐτοῦ. Σὺ γὰρ εἶ, κύριε, ἡ βοήθεια τῶν ἀβοηθήτων, ἡ ἐλπὶς τῶν ἀπελπισμένων, ὁ τῶν χειμαζωμένων σωτὴρ, ὁ τῶν πλεόντων λιμὴν, ὁ τῶν νοσούντων ἰατρός. αὐτὸς τοῖς πᾶσι τὰ πάντα γενοῦ, ὁ εἰδὼς ἕκαστον, καὶ τὰ αἰτήματα αὐτοῦ, οἶκον, καὶ τὴν χρείαν αὐτοῦ. ῥῦσαι, κύριε, τὴν πόλιν ταύτην, καὶ πᾶσαν πόλιν καὶ χώραν ἀπὸ λιμοῦ, λοιμοῦ, σεισμοῦ, καταποντισμοῦ, πυρὸς, μαχαίρας, ἐπιδρομῆς ἀλλοφύλων, καὶ ἐμφυλίου πολέμου.

Ὁ ἱερεὺς μυστικῶς·

Μνήσθητι, κύριε, πάσης ἐπισκοπῆς ὀρθοδόξων, τῶν * ὀρθοτομούντων τὸν λόγον

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Ἔτι παρακαλοῦμέν μνήσθητι, κύριε, πάσης ἐπισκοπῆς ὀρθοδόξων τῶν ὀρθοτομούντων τὸν λόγον τῆς

* Incipit novus codicis Barberini quaternio post ὀρθοτο syllabis μούντων.

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τῆς σῆς ἀληθείας.

Μνήσθητι, κύριε, κατὰ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν οἰκτιρμῶν σου καὶ τῆς ἐμῆς ἀναξιότητος, χώρησόν μοι πᾶν πλημμέλημα ἑκούσιόν τε καὶ ἀκούσιον, καὶ μὴ διὰ τὰς ἐμὰς ἁμαρτίας κωλύσῃς τὴν χάριν τοῦ ἁγίου σου πνεύματος ἀπὸ τῶν προκειμένων δώρων.

Μνήσθητι, κύριε, τοῦ πρεσβυτερίου, τῆς ἐν Χριστῷ διακονίας καὶ παντὸς ἱερατικοῦ τάγματος, καὶ μηδένα ἡμῶν καταισχύνῃς τῶν κυκλούντων τὸ ἅγιόν σου θυσιαστήριον· ἐπίσκεψαι ἡμᾶς ἐν τῇ χρηστότητί σου, κύριε, ἐπιφάνηθι ἡμῖν τοῖς πλουσίοις σου οἰκτιρμοῖς· εὐκράτους καὶ ἐπωφελεῖς τοὺς ἀέρας ἡμῖν χάρισαι, ὀμβροὺς εἰρηνικοὺς τῇ γῇ πρὸς καρποφορίαν δώρησαι· εὐλόγησον τὸν στέφανον τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ τῆς

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σῆς ἀληθείας, παντὸς τοῦ πρεσβυτερίου, τῆς ἐν Χριστῷ διακονίας καὶ παντὸς ἱερατικοῦ τάγματος. Ἔτι προσφέρομέν σοι τὴν λογικὴν ταύτην λατρείαν ὑπὲρ τῆς οἰκουμένης, ὑπὲρ τῆς ἁγίας σου καθολικῆς καὶ ἀποστολικῆς ἐκκλησίας, ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐν ἁγνείᾳ καὶ σεμνῇ πολιτείᾳ διαγόντων· ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐν ὄρεσιν καὶ σπηλαίοις καὶ ταῖς ὀπαῖς τῆς γῆς· ὑπὲρ τῶν πιστοτάτων βασιλέων, τῆς φιλοχρίστου βασιλίσσης, παντὸς τοῦ παλατίου καὶ τοῦ στρατοπεδοῦ αὐτῶν· δὸς αὐτοῖς, κύριε, εἰρηνικὸν τὸ βασίλειον, ἵνα καὶ ἡμεῖς ἐν τῇ γαλήνῃ αὐτῶν ἤρεμον καὶ ἡσύχιον βίον διάγωμεν ἐν πάσῃ εὐσεβείᾳ καὶ σεμνότητι.

Μνήσθητι, κύριε, τῆς πόλεως, ἐν ᾗ παροικοῦμεν, καὶ πάσης πόλεως καὶ χώ-

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χρηστότητός σου, κύριε· παῦσον τὰ σχίσματα τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν, σβέσον τὰ φρυάγματα τῶν ἐθνῶν· τὰς τῶν αἱρέσεων ἐπαναστάσεις κατάλυσον ἐν τῇ δυνάμει τοῦ ἁγίου σου πνεύματος· πάντας ἡμᾶς πρόσδεξαι εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν φωτὸς, καὶ υἱοὺς ἡμέρας ἀναδείξας ἡμῖν τὴν σὴν εἰρήνην καὶ τὴν σὴν ἀγαπὴν χάρισαι, κύριε ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν· πάντα γὰρ ἀπέδωκας ἡμῖν·

Ἐκφών. καὶ δὸς ἡμῖν ἐν ἑνὶ στόματι καὶ μιᾷ καρδίᾳ δοξάζειν καὶ ἀνυμνεῖν τὸ πάντιμον καὶ μεγαλοπρεπὲς ὄνομά σου τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος νῦν καὶ ἀεὶ καὶ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων.

ὁ λαός· Ἀμήν.

ὁ ἱερεύς· καὶ ἔσται τὰ ἐλέη τοῦ μεγάλου Θεοῦ καὶ σωτήρος ἡμῶν Ἰησου Χρι-

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ρας καὶ τῶν ἐν πίστει κατοικούντων ἐν αὐτοῖς. Ἐκφών. ἐν πρώτοις μνήσθητι, κύριε, τοῦ ἀρχιεπισκόπου ἡμῶν τοῦδε.

Μνήσθητι, κύριε, πλέοντων, ὁδοιπορούντων, νοσούντων, καμνόντων, αἰχμαλώτων, καὶ τῆς σωτηρίας αὐτῶν.

Μνήσθητι, κύριε, τῶν καρποφορούντων καὶ καλλιεργουντων ἐν ταῖς ἁγίαις σου ἐκκλησίαις, καὶ μεμνημένων τῶν πενήτων, καὶ ἐπὶ πάντας ἡμᾶς τὰ ἐλέη σου ἀπόστειλον. Καὶ δὸς ἡμῖν ἐν ἑνὶ στόματι καὶ μιᾷ καρδίᾳ δοξάζειν καὶ (cetera supplenda ex Basilio usque ad εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων).

Ἐκφών.

καὶ ἔσται τὰ ἐλέη τοῦ μεγάλου Θεοῦ καὶ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ.

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στοῦ μετὰ πάντων ὑμῶν.

ὁ λαός· καὶ μετὰ τοῦ πνεύματός σου·

καὶ τοῦ διακόνου ποιοῦντος τὴν μέσην* εὐχὴν ἐπεύχεται ὁ ἱερεύς·

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ὁ διάκον. Πάντων τῶν ἁγίων (μνημονεύοντες· quod supplendum est ex vulgata. Est initium litaniæ a diacono indicendæ.)

Oratio consecrationis populi cum oratione dominica et obsignatione (benedictione) populi prostrati.

Ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν, ὁ Θεὸς τοῦ σώζειν, σὺ ἡμᾶς δίδαξον εὐχαριστεῖν σοι ἀξίως τῶν εὐεργεσιῶν σου, ὧν ἐποίησας καὶ ποιεῖς μεθ' ἡμῶν· σὺ εἶ ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν ὁ προσδεξάμενος τὰ δῶρα ταῦτα· καθάρισον ἡμᾶς ἀπὸ παντὸς μολυσμοῦ σαρκὸς καὶ πνεύματος, καὶ δίδαξον ἡμᾶς ἐπιτελεῖν ἁγιωσύνην ἐν φόβῳ σου, ἵνα ἐν καθαρῷ τῷ μαρτυρίῳ τῆς συνειδή-

Σοὶ παρακατατεθήμεθα τὴν ζωὴν ἡμῶν ἅπασαν καὶ τὴν ἐλπίδα, δέσποτα φιλάνθρωπε, καὶ παρακαλοῦμέν σε καὶ δεόμεθα καὶ ἱκετεύομεν· καταξίωσον ἡμᾶς μεταλαβεῖν τῶν ἐπουρανίων σου καὶ φρικτῶν μυστηρίων ταύτης τῆς ἱερᾶς καὶ πνευματικῆς τραπέζης μετὰ καθαροῦ συνειδότος εἰς ἄφεσιν ἁμαρτιῶν, εἰς συγχώρησιν πλημμελημά-

* Cod. MECI. μέση εὐχὴ solemnis est litaniæ hoc loco insertæ appellatio apud Byzantinos, secundum Goarum.

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σεως ἡμῶν ὑποδεχόμενοι τὴν μηρίδα τῶν ἁγιασμάτων σου ἐνωθῶμεν τῷ ἁγίῳ σώματι καὶ αἵματι τοῦ Χριστοῦ σου, καὶ ὑποδεξάμενοι αὐτὰ ἀξίως σχῶμεν τὸν Χριστὸν κατοικοῦντα ἐν ταῖς καρδίαις ἡμῶν καὶ γενώμεθα ναὸς τοῦ ἁγίου σου πνεύματος. Ναὶ ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν, καὶ μηδένα ἡμῶν ἔνοχον ποιήσῃς τῶν φρικτῶν σου τούτων καὶ ἐπουρανίων μυστηρίων, μηδὲ ἀσθενῇ ψυχῃ καὶ σώματι ἐξ τοῦ ἀναξίως αὐτῶν μεταλαμβάνειν ἀλλὰ δὸς ἡμῖν μέχρι τῆς ἐσχάτης ἡμῶν ἀναπνοῆς ἀξίως ὑποδέχεσθαι τὴν ἐλπίδα τῶν ἁγιασματων σου εἰς ἐφόδιον ζωῆς αἰωνίου, εἰς ἀπολογίαν εὐπρόσδεκτον τὴν ἐπὶ τοῦ φοβεροῦ βήματος τοῦ Χριστοῦ σου, ὅπως ἂν καὶ ἡμεῖς μετὰ πάντων τῶν ἁγίων τῶν ἀπ' αἰώνων σοὶ εὐαρεστήσαντες

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των, εἰς πνεύματος ἁγίου κοινωνίαν,

εἰς βασιλειας οὐράνων κληρονομίαν, εἰς παῤῥησίαν τὴν πρός σε, μὴ εἰς κρίμα μηδὲ εἰς κατάκριμα.

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σάντων γενώμεθα, μέτοχοι τῶν αἰωνίων σου ἀγαθῶν ὧν ἡτοίμασας τοῖς ἀγαπῶσίν σε, κύριε, καὶ καταξίωσον ἡμᾶς δέσποτα μετὰ παῤῥησίας ἀκατακρίτως τολμᾶν ἐπικαλεῖσθαί σε τὸν ἐπουράνιον Θεὸν πατέρα καὶ λέγειν· *	Καὶ *καταξίωσον ἡμᾶς* (cetera supple ex Basilio).
ὁ λαός· τὸ Πάτερ ἡμῶν.	*ὁ λαός· Πάτερ ἡμῶν.*
ὁ ἱερεύς· ὅτι σοῦ ἐστιν ἡ βασιλεία καὶ ἡ δύναμις καὶ ἡ δόξα τοῦ πατρός. †	*ὁ ἱερεύς· Ὅτι σοῦ ἐστιν ἡ βασιλεία, κ.τ.λ.*
Καὶ *μετὰ τὸ Ἀμὴν λέγει ὁ ἱερεύς·*	*ὁ λαός· Ἀμήν.*
Εἰρήνη πᾶσιν.	*ὁ ἱερεύς· Εἰρήνη πᾶσιν.*

* De oratione dominica in hoc loco eucharistiæ celebrandæ adhibita innumera sunt, ut aliorum, ita Chrysostomi testimonia. En unum pro omnibus ex Homilia xxvii. in Genesin: *ἂν τοῦτο κατορθώσωμεν, δυνησόμεθα μετὰ καθαροῦ συνειδότος καὶ τῇ ἱερᾷ ταύτῃ καὶ φρικτῇ τραπέζῃ προσέλθειν καὶ τὰ ῥήματα ἐκεῖνα τὰ τῇ εὐχῇ συνεζευγμένα μετὰ παῤῥησίας φθέγξασθαι· ἴσασι οἱ μεμνημένοι τὸ λεγόμενον.*

† Omissa h. l. verba, omnibus nimirum nota: *εἰς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων*, cujus formulæ tamquam solemnis in eucharistiæ celebratione mentionem jam faciunt scriptores Valentiniani quos adfert Irenæus (i. 1.): *λέγουσι . . . ἡμᾶς ἐπὶ τῆς εὐχαριστίας λέγοντας· Εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων.* (V. Bingham. vi. 2. 1.) Illi quidem ideo hanc formulam invocabant, ut doctrinam de æonibus defenderent et inculcarent.

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Δέσποτα κύριε, ὁ πατὴρ τῶν οἰκτιρμῶν καὶ Θεὸς πασης παρακλήσεως, τοὺς ὑποκεκλικότας σοὶ τὰς ἑαυτῶν κεφαλὰς εὐλόγησον, ἁγίασον, φρούρησον, ὀχύρωσον, ἐνδυνάμωσον, ἀπὸ παντὸς ἔργου πονηροῦ ἀπόστησον, παντὶ δὲ ἔργῳ ἀγαθῷ σύναψον, καὶ καταξίωσον ἀκατακρίτως μετασχεῖν τῶν ἀχράντων τούτων καὶ ζωοποιῶν μυστηρίων, εἰς ἄφεσιν ἁμαρτιῶν, εἰς πνεύματος ἁγίου κοινωνίαν.

Πρόσχες, κύριε Ἰησοῦ Χριστὲ ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν, ἐξ ἁγίου κατοικητηρίου σου, καὶ ἐλθὲ εἰς τὸ ἁγιάσαι ἡμᾶς,

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ὁ διάκ. Τὰς κεφαλὰς ἡμῶν.

Εὐχαριστουμέν σοι, βασιλεῦ ἀόρατε, ὁ τῇ ἀμετρήτῳ σου δυνάμει δημιουργήσας τὰ πάντα καὶ τῷ πλήθει τοῦ ἐλέους σου ἐκ τῶν οὐκ ὄντων εἰς τὸ εἶναι παραγαγὼν τὰ σύμπαντα. Αὐτὸς δέσποτα οὐρανοθὲν ἔφιδε ἐπὶ τοὺς κεκλικότας σοὶ τὰς ἑαυτῶν κεφαλάς· οὐ γὰρ ἔκλιναν σαρκὶ καὶ αἵματι, ἀλλὰ σοὶ τῷ φοβερῷ Θεῷ· σὺ οὖν δέσποτα τὰ προκείμενα πᾶσιν ἡμῖν εἰς ἀγαθὸν ἐξομάλισον κατὰ τὴν ἑκάστου ἰδίαν χρείαν. Τοῖς πλέουσιν σύμπλευσον, τοῖς ὁδοιποροῦσιν συνόδευσον, τοὺς νοσοῦντας ἴασαι, ὁ ἰατρὸς τῶν ψυχῶν καὶ τῶν σωμάτων ἡμῶν.

Ὁ ἱερεύς· Πρόσχες, κύριε Ἰησοῦ Χριστὲ ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν, ἐξ ἁγίου κατοικητηρίου σου, καὶ ἐλθὲ εἰς

Anaphora S. Basilii.	Anaphora S. Chrysostomi.
ὁ ἄνω τῷ πατρὶ συγκαθεζόμενος, καὶ ὧδε ἡμῖν ἀοράτως παρὼν, καὶ καταξίωσον τῇ κραταιᾷ σου χειρὶ μεταδοῦναι ἡμῖν καὶ δι' ἡμῶν παντὶ τῷ λαῷ σου.	τὸ ἁγιάσαι ἡμᾶς ὁ ἄνω τῷ πατρὶ συγκαθεζόμενος καὶ ὧδε ἡμῖν ἀόρατος συνὼν, καταξίωσον τῇ κραταιᾷ σου χειρὶ μεταδοῦναι ἡμῖν καὶ δι' ἡμῶν παντὶ τῷ λαῷ σου.

Communio.

Καὶ μετὰ τὸ εἰπεῖν· Τὸν δίσκον πρόσχωμεν*, ὁ ἱερεὺς ὑψοῖ τὸν ἅγιον ἄρτον καὶ λέγει· Τὰ ἅγια τοῖς ἁγίοις.† Καὶ μετὰ τὸ εἰπεῖν τὸν λαὸν τὸ Εἷς ἅγιος·‡ λαμβάνει	ὁ διάκ. Πρόσχωμεν. ὁ ἱερεύς· Τὰ ἅγια τοῖς ἁγίοις. ὁ λαός· Εἷς ἅγιος. Καὶ μετὰ τὸ εἰπεῖν τὸν λαὸν τὸ Εἷς ἅγιος εἷς κύριος

* Πρόσχωμεν notissima est Diaconi formula. Chrysostomus ante communionem aliam Diaconi exhortationem laudat: Ἐπιγινώσκετε ἀλλήλους (in Homilia adv. Judæos prima).

† De usu formulæ Τὰ ἅγια ἁγίοις clarissimi sunt Chrysostomi loci apud Binghamum. In Homil. vii. tomi septimi: τὰ ἅγια τοῖς ἁγίοις δίδωσιν· οὐδὲ γὰρ ὕδωρ ἀπὸ ταύτης ἡμῖν παρέχει τῆς πηγῆς, ἀλλ' αἷμα ζῶν. In Homil. xvii. in Ep. ad Hebr.: διὰ τοῦτο καὶ ὁ ἱερεὺς ἐπιφωνεῖ τότε τοὺς ἁγίους καλῶν, καὶ διὰ τῆς φωνῆς ταύτης μωμοσκοπῶν ἅπαντας, ὥστε μὴ προσελθεῖν τινα ἀπαράσκευον. In Homil. cxxiii. a Savilio edita optime hunc actum ita describit: Ὑψηλὸς ἑστὼς ὁ ἱερεὺς μεγάλῃ τῇ φωνῇ, φρικτῇ τῇ βοῇ, καθάπερ τις κήρυξ, τὴν χεῖρα ἔχων εἰς ὕψος, πᾶσι κατάδηλος γεγονὼς, καὶ' μέγα ἐκ' ἐκείνῃ τῇ φρικτῇ ἡσυχίᾳ ἀνακράζων· Τὰ ἅγια τοῖς ἁγίοις, τοὺς μὲν καλεῖ, τοὺς δὲ ἀπείργει.

‡ Εἷς ἅγιος· formulam plenam supra, cum de hymno seraphico agebamus, exhibui et explicui. De varia hujus hymni (qui ex hymni matutini clausula originem ducit) forma v. quæ ad Liturgiam ecclesiæ Antiochenæ adnotavimus.

Anaphora S. Basilii.

ἐκ τοῦ ἁγίου σώματος μερίδας καὶ βάλλει εἰς τὰ ἅγια ποτήρια καὶ λέγει·

Εἰς πλήρωμα πνεύματος·

Καὶ μετὰ τὸ πάντας μεταλαβεῖν λέγοντος τοῦ διακόνου τὴν εὐχὴν ἐπεύχεται ὁ ἱερεύς·

Anaphora S. Chrysostomi.

Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς εἰς δόξαν Θεοῦ πατρὸς λαμβάνει ἐκ τοῦ ἁγίου σώματος μερίδας καὶ βάλλει εἰς τὰ ἅγια ποτήρια καὶ λέγει·

Εἰς πλήρωμα πνεύματος ἁγίου.*

Καὶ μετὰ τὸ πάντας μεταλαβεῖν λέγοντος τοῦ διακόνου τὴν εὐχὴν ἐπεύχεται ὁ ἱερεὺς μυστικῶς·

(*Postcommunio.*)

Εὐχαριστοῦμέν σοι κύριε ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν ἐπὶ τῇ μεταλήψει τῶν ἁγίων ἀχράντων ἀθανάτων καὶ ἐπουρανίων σου μυστηρίων, ὧν ἔδωκας ἡμῖν ἐπὶ εὐεργεσίᾳ καὶ ἁγιασμῷ καὶ ἰάσει τῶν ψυχῶν ἡμῶν καὶ τῶν σωμάτων. Αὐτὸς δέσποτα τῶν ἁπάντων δὸς γενέσθαι ἡμῖν τὴν κοινωνίαν τοῦ ἁγίου σώματος καὶ αἵματος τοῦ Χριστοῦ σου εἰς πίστιν ἀκαταίσχυντον, εἰς ἀγάπην ἀνυπόκριτον, εἰς πλησμονὴν σοφίας, εἰς ἴασιν ψυχῆς καὶ σώματος, εἰς ἀποτροπὴν παντὸς ἐναντίου, εἰς περιποίησιν τῶν ἐντολῶν σου, εἰς ἀπολογίαν εὐπρόσδεκτον τὴν ἐπὶ τοῦ φοβεροῦ βή-

Εὐχαριστοῦμέν σοι, δέσποτα φιλάνθρωπε, εὐεργέτα τῶν ψυχῶν ἡμῶν, ὁ καὶ τῇ παρούσῃ ἡμέρᾳ καταξιώσας ἡμᾶς τῶν ἐπουρανίων σου καὶ ἀθανάτων μυστηρίων. Ὀρθοτόμησον ἡμῶν τὸν ὁδὸν, σῶσον ἡμᾶς ἐν τῷ φόβῳ σου τοὺς πάντας, φρούρησον ἡμῶν τὴν ζωὴν, ἀσφαλίσαι ἡμῶν τὰ διαβήματα εὐχαῖς καὶ ἱκεσίαις τῆς ἁγίας ἐνδόξου δεσποίνης ἡμῶν Θεοτόκου καὶ ἀειπαρθένου Μαρίας καὶ πάντων τῶν ἁγίων τῶν ἀπ' αἰῶνος σοὶ εὐαρεστησάντων. Ἐκφών. Ὅτι σὺ εἶ ὁ ἁγιασμὸς ἡμῶν καὶ σοὶ τὴν δόξαν ἀναπέμπομεν τῷ πατρὶ τῷ υἱῷ καὶ τῷ ἁγίῳ πνεύματι, νῦν καὶ αεὶ, καὶ εἰς τοὺς

* Quæ sequuntur usque ad finem posterioris esse ætatis, et ipsa verba et ceterarum liturgiarum consensus demonstrat.

Anaphora S. Basilii.

ματος τοῦ Χριστοῦ σου. Ἐκφών. ὅτι σὺ εἶ ὁ ἁγιασμὸς ἡμῶν, καὶ σοὶ τὴν δόξαν ἀναπέμπομεν τῷ πατρὶ καὶ τῷ υἱῷ καὶ τῷ ἁγίῳ πνεύματι νῦν καὶ ἀεί.

ὁ διάκονος· Ἐν εἰρήνῃ προέλθωμεν.*

(Preces Sacerdotis privatæ post dimissionem populi.)

Εὐχὴ ὀπισθάμβωνος.

Κύριε ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν, σῶσον τὸν λαόν σου καὶ εὐλόγησον τὴν κληρονομίαν σου· τὸ πλήρωμα τῆς ἐκκλησίας σου ἐν εἰρήνῃ διαφύλαξον· ἁγίασον τοὺς ἀγαπῶντας τὴν εὐπρέπειαν τοῦ οἴκου σου. Σὺ αὐτοὺς ἀντιδόξασον τῇ θεϊκῇ δυνάμει, καὶ μὴ ἐγκαταλίπῃς ἡμᾶς ὁ Θεὸς τοὺς ἐλπίζοντας ἐπί σου. Εἰρήνην τῷ κόσμῳ σου δώρησαι, ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις σου, τοῖς ἱερεῦσι, τοῖς βασιλεῦσιν ἡμῶν καὶ παντὶ τῷ λαῷ σου· ὅτι ἅγιος ὁ ναός σου, θαυμαστὸς ἐν δικαιοσύνῃ· καὶ σοὶ τὴν δόξαν ἀναπέμπομεν τῷ πατρὶ καὶ τῷ υἱῷ καὶ τῷ

Anaphora S. Chrysostomi.

αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων. Ἀμήν.

ὁ λαός· ἐν ὀνόματι κυρίου.

ὁ διάκονος· ἐν εἰρήνῃ προέλθωμεν.

* De solemni formula dimissionis, Πορεύεσθε ἐν εἰρήνῃ, agit Chrysostomus ap. Bingh. in Homil. lv. vol. quinti, his verbis: τῆς συνόδου ταύτης ἐπιλύων ὑμᾶς (ὁ διάκονος) τοῦτο ὑμῖν ἐπεύχεται λέγων· Πορεύεσθε ἐν εἰρήνῃ.

Anaphora S. Basilii.

ἁγίῳ πνεύματι νῦν καὶ ἀεὶ καὶ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων.

Εὐχὴ τοῦ σκευοφυλακίου.

Ἥνυσται καὶ τετέλεσται, ὅσον εἰς τὴν ἡμετέραν δύναμιν, πάντα ἅπερ ἔθου ἡμῖν τὰ τῆς ἀφθαρσίας μυστήρια· ηὕραμεν τοῦ θανάτου σου τὴν μνήμην, εἴδαμεν* τῆς ἀναστάσεώς σου τὸν τύπον, ἐνεπλήσθημεν τῆς ἀκενώτου σου τρυφῆς, ἀπηλαύσαμεν τῆς ἀτελευτήτου σου ζωῆς, ἧς καὶ ἐν τῷ μέλλοντι πάντας ἡμᾶς τυχεῖν καταξίωσον, Χριστὲ ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν· ὅτι πρέπει σοι πᾶσα εὐχαριστία

Anaphora S. Chrysostomi.

Deest.

* Formas barbaras ηὕραμεν et εἴδαμεν quas codex præbet removendas non putavi: textus vulgatus ἔχομεν et εἴδομεν exhibet. Additamenta hæc infimæ ætati liturgicæ debentur, septimo scilicet vel octavo seculo. Huic tempori optime conveniunt et illæ formæ grammaticæ et tenor omnino harum precum. Oratio ad Christum dirigitur, quod et mori et ipsis ecclesiæ legibus in eucharistia celebranda repugnat. Propositum fuit nobis ut codicum omnium Græcorum qui exstent longe antiquissimum lectoribus proponeremus, ita tamen ut quæ in duabus liturgiis inter se comparatis evidenter quinto seculo essent posteriora ab illa quarti quintive seculi liturgia distinguerentur, quo facilius sit intelligendum, quid antiquiori ecclesiæ quid serioribus temporibus sit tribuendum. Qui vero textum ita constitutum accuratius examinaverit, facile intelliget illas liturgias nihil nisi duo ejusdem typi exemplaria, et neutram a Basilio vel Chrysostomo esse compositam.

Anaphora S. Basilii.	Anaphora S. Chrysostomi.
σὺν τῷ ἀνάρχῳ σου πατρὶ καὶ τῷ ἁγίῳ καὶ ἀγαθῷ καὶ ζωοποιῷ σου πνεύματι νῦν καὶ ἀεὶ καὶ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων. Ἀμήν.	*Deest.*

CAPUT QUARTUM.

LITURGIÆ ECCLESIÆ AFRICANÆ, MEDIOLANENSIS, GALLICANÆ, ET HISPANICÆ.

I. LITURGIA AFRICANA.

A. PATRUM DE LITURGIA TESTIMONIA.

I. TERTULLIANUS.

1. *In libro de Spectaculis* (quem scripsit tempore Septimii Severi, 193-211, antequam ad Montanistarum partes transisset, v. Neander. Tertull. p. 23.), c. 25, quæ vel ad Romanam vel ad Africanam ecclesiam spectant:

"Quale est . . . ex ore quo Amen in Sanctum protuleris, gladiatori testimonium reddere, *εἰς αἰῶνας ἀπ' αἰῶνος* alii omnino dicere nisi Deo et Christo?" (male vulg. Deo Christo).

2. *In Apologetico*, c. 30.:

"Illuc (in cœlum), suspicientes Christiani manibus expansis quia innoxiis, capite nudo quia non erubescimus, denique sine monitore quia de pectore oramus. Precantes sumus semper omnes pro omnibus

imperatoribus, vitam illis prolixam, imperium securum, domum tutam, exercitus fortes, senatum fidelem, populum probum, orbem quietum et quæcunque hominis et Cæsaris vota sunt."

Ibid. c. 39.:

"Coimus in cœtum et congregationem, ut ad Deum, quasi manu facta, precationibus ambiamus. Hæc vis Deo grata est. Oramus etiam pro imperatoribus, pro ministeriis eorum ac potestatibus, pro statu seculi, pro rerum quiete, pro mora finis."

3. *In libro de Corona Militis* (quem Montanista scripsit: v. Neand. Tert. p. 88.), c. 3.:

"Eucharistiæ Sacramentum, et in tempore victus et omnibus mandatum a Domino, etiam antelucanis cœtibus, nec de aliorum manu quam præsidentium sumimus. Oblationes pro defunctis, pro natalitiis, annua die facimus, die dominico jejunium nefas ducimus vel de geniculis adorare. Eadem immunitate a die paschæ in pentecosten usque gaudemus. Calicis aut panis etiam nostri aliquid decuti in terram anxie patimur."

II. PERPETUA, MARTYR (C. ANNUM 220).

Passio Perpetuæ:

"Introïvimus et audivimus (in visione) vocem unitam: Agios, Agios, Agios, sine cessatione."

III. CYPRIANUS.

De Orat. Domin. (v. Bingh. xiii. 5.):

"Sacerdos ante orationem, præfatione præmissa, parat fratrum mentes, dicendo: Sursum corda; ut dum respondet plebs: Habemus ad dominum, admoneatur, nihil aliud se quam dominum cogitare debere."

IV. FIRMILIANUS, EPIST. AD CYPRIANUM, C. 10.

De Muliere ecstatica temporibus post Alexandrum Imperatorem:

"Illa mulier, quæ prius per præstigias et fallacias dæmonis, multa ad deceptionem fidelium moliebatur, inter cætera quibus plurimos deceperat, etiam hoc frequenter ausa est, ut invocatione non contemtibili sanctificare se panem et eucharistiam facere simularet, et sacrificium domino non sine sacramento solitæ prædicationis offert."

V. AUGUSTINUS.

1. *Locus classicus de ordine officii est in Homil.* lxxxiii.:

"Tenetis sacramentum ordine suo. Primo post orationem (i. e. Litaniam vel preces communes pro universo statu ecclesiæ) admonemini Sursum habere cor .... Ideo cum dicitur: Sursum cor, respondetis Habemus ad Dominum ... Sequitur episcopus vel presbyter, qui offert, et dicit: Gratias agamus domino Deo nostro, et

vos attestamini: Dignum et justum est dicentes. Deinde post sanctificationem sacrificii dicimus orationem dominicam. Post istam dicitur: Dominus vobiscum, et osculantur se Christiani osculo sancto.

2. *De oratione dominica et precum orationumque natura.* Ibid.

"Post sanctificationem sacrificii dicimus orationem dominicam."

Et in *Ep.* lix. *ad Paulin.* officii ordinem secundum 1 Tim. ii. 7. explicans quadripartitum:

"Precationes facimus in celebratione sacramentorum antequam illud quod est in domini mensa incipiat benedici: orationes quum benedicitur et sanctificatur et ad distribuendum comminuitur, quam totam petitionem fere omnis ecclesia dominica oratione concludit . . . . Interpellationes autem sive, ut vestri codices (bibliorum sc.) habent, postulationes fiunt, quum populus benedicitur. Tunc enim antistites, velut advocati, susceptos suos per manus impositionem misericordissimæ offerunt potestati. Quibus peractis et participato tanto sacramento gratiarum actio cuncta concludit, quam in his etiam verbis ultimam commendavit apostolus."

VI. FULGENTIUS (C. ANN. 530).

1. Ad 1 Cor. xi. 23. *In Excerptis apud Sirmondum* (p. 36. Palmer, i. 140.), *De precibus in commemoratione pro defunctis:*

"Cum tempore sacrificii commemorationem mortis

ejus faciamus, charitatem nobis tribui per adventum S. Spiritus postulamus: hoc suppliciter exorantes ut per ipsam charitatem qua pro nobis Christus crucifigi dignatus est, nos quoque, gratia S. Spiritus accepta, mundum crucifixum habere et mundo crucifigi possimus: imitantesque Domini nostri mortem, sicut Christus quod mortuus est peccato mortuus est semel, quod autem vivit, vivit Deo, etiam nos in novitate vitæ ambulemus, et munere charitatis accepto, moriamur peccato et vivamus Deo." . . .

2. Ib. p. 39. "Hoc autem quod petimus, id est ut in patre et filio unum simus, per unitatem gratiæ spiritualiter accipimus.

3. *De orationibus pro infidelibus et pro fidelibus:*

De bono perseverantiæ, c. 7.:

"Prorsus in hac re non operosas disputationes expectet ecclesia, sed attendat quotidianas orationes suas. Orat ut increduli credant . . . . Orat ut credentes perseverent." . . . . . .

Ib. c. 23: "Utinam tardi corde et infirmi, qui non possunt, vel nondum possunt scripturas vel earum expositiones intelligere, sic audirent, vel non audirent in hac quæstione disputationes nostras, ut magis intuerentur orationes suas, quas semper habuit et habebit ecclesia ab exordiis suis, donec finiatur hoc sæculum.—Quando enim non oratum est in ecclesia pro infidelibus inimicis, ut crederent?—Aut quis sacerdotem super fideles dominum invocantem, si quando dicit: Da illis, domine, in te perse-

verare usque in finem, non solum voce ausus est, sed saltem cogitatione reprehendere, ac non potius super ejus talem benedictionem, et corde credente et ore confitente respondit, Amen: quum aliud in ipsa oratione dominica non orant fideles, dicentes maxime illud: Ne nos inferas in tentationem: nisi ut in sancta obedientia perseverent?"

4. *De "communi oratione," a Diacono indicta (Litania), et de aliis orationibus in fine missæ catechumenorum:*

Ep. cvii. ad Vitalem:

"Exerce contra orationes ecclesiæ disputationes tuas, et quando audis sacerdotem Dei ad altare exhortantem populum Dei, orare pro incredulis, ut eos Deus convertat ad fidem; et pro catechumenis, ut eis desiderium regenerationis inspiret, et pro fidelibus, ut in eo, quod esse cœperunt, ejus munere perseverent; subsanna pias voces, et dic, te non facere, quod hortatur . . . . . Numquid ubi audieris sacerdotem Dei ad ejus altare populum hortantem ad Deum orandum, vel ipsum clara voce orantem, ut incredulas gentes ad fidem suam venire compellat, non respondebis Amen?"

VII. CANONES AFRICANI DE LITURGIA.

I. *Concil. Carthagin.* iii. (*anni* 397). *Canon* xxiv.:

"Ut nemo in precibus vel patrem pro filio, vel filium pro patre nominet. Et quum altari adsistitur, semper ad patrem dirigatur oratio. Et quicumque

sibi preces aliunde describit, non eis utatur, nisi prius eas cum instructioribus fratribus contulerit."

2. *Canon* iii. *in Codice Africano:*

"Ἄρεσε καὶ τοῦτο, ὥστε τὰς κεκυρωμένας ἐν τῇ συνόδῳ ἱκεσίας, εἴτε προοίμια, εἴτε παραθέσεις, εἴτε τὰς τῆς χειρὸς ἐπιθέσεις, ἀπὸ πάντων ἐπιτελεῖσθαι, καὶ παντελῶς ἄλλας κατὰ τῆς πίστεως μηδέποτε προενεχθῆναι· ἀλλ' αἵ τινες δήποτε ἀπὸ τῶν συνετωτέρων συνήχθησαν, λεχθήσονται."

3. *Canon* xii. *Concil. Milevitani* 1_{i} (*anno* 402):

"Placuit etiam illud, ut preces vel orationes seu missæ, quæ probatæ fuerint in concilio, sive præfationes, sive commendationes, seu manus impositiones, ab omnibus celebrentur. Nec aliæ omnino dicantur in ecclesia, nisi quæ a prudentioribus tractatæ, vel comprobatæ in synodo fuerint, ne forte aliquid contra fidem, vel per ignorantiam, vel per minus studium sit compositum."

B. LITURGIÆ AFRICANÆ QUÆ SUPERSUNT.

(Mabillon. p. 14.)

S. Augustinus, Sermo cxxvii. De Sacramentis (ad Catechumenos):

"Primo post orationem (oblationis fidelium, scilicet) admonemini sursum habere cor. Ideo cum dicitur *Sursum cor*, respondetis *Habemus ad Dominum.* Sequitur Episcopus vel Presbyter qui offert, et dicit *Gratias agamus Domino Deo nostro:* et vos attestamini *Dignum et justum est.* Deinde *post sanctifica-*

tionem sacrificii (h. e. post orationem consecrationis) dicimus *Orationem dominicam.* Tum dicitur *Pax vobiscum,* et osculantur se Christiani in osculo sancto."

MARIUS VICTORINUS AFER (C. ANN. 350).

" Sicut in oblatione dicitur: Munda tibi populum circumvitalem, æmulatorem bonorum operum, circa tuam substantiam venientem."

Quæ cum sola ex liturgia Africana supersint, nec sperandum sit fore ut rescripti codices Africani aliquando inveniantur, vereor ne nobilissimæ illius ecclesiæ orationes prorsus interierint. Ordinem autem tertio, quarto, quintoque seculo hunc fere fuisse apparet, quem Alexandrinum redolere originem lectores non fugiet.

Oblatio populi.

Oratio oblationis: Munda tibi, etc., cum prece precatoria.

Præfatio: Sursum corda, etc.

Laudes (Vere dignum et justum est: cum hymno [Agios] Sanctus).

Sanctificatio sacrificii per invocationem (præmissis verbis institutionis).

Osculum pacis.

Benedictio populi (Interpellatio), sacerdote populum Deo offerente.

Communio.

Gratiarum actio post communionem.

II. LITURGIA MEDIOLANENSIS QUÆ AMBROSIANA DICITUR.

(v. Daniel. Cod. Lit. i. p. 54. sqq.)

ORDO MISSÆ ANTIQUUS, QUOAD RESTITUI POTEST.

Missa Catechumenorum.

INGRESSA, i. e. versus e Psalterio vel Prophetis delecti, qui Romanis Introitus.

(Sine Psalmo, Repetitione, et Gloria Patri.)

Dominus vobiscum. R. Et cum spiritu tuo.

Gloria in Excelsis.

(*Kyrie eleison*) quod, ut sæpe in hoc officio, serius intrusum credo.

Lectio prophetica.

Sequitur Psalmulus s. Psalmellus, qui in Gallicano Cursu dicitur Psalmus Responsorius, h. e. versus selecti e Psalmo quodam (Romanis Gradale vel Graduale).

Lectio Epistolæ.

Sequitur: Alleluia et Versus.

Lectio Evangelii. R. Gloria tibi Domine.

Sequitur: Antiphona, singulis officiis propria (Romanis Offertorium).

Missæ Fidelium Exordium.

Osculum pacis. Pacem habete. R. Ad te Domine.

Oratio super sindonem (super corporale): oratio secreta quinti seculi.

Oblatio.

Oblationem panis et vini a populo faciendam adumbrat nostri temporis usus in cathedrali Mediolanensi. Aluntur decem senes totidemque anus, ex quibus per vices, cum ad oblationem progreditur, duo senes, duæque feminæ aniles antiqua simplicitate indutæ, ad gradus altaris accedunt (secundum Beroaldum in chorum intrant), oblatas (panes) vinique urceolos (quos amulas appellant) portantes et sacerdotibus offerentes. V. Muratori, Antiq. Ital. iv. p. 854. In fine orationis secretæ ad munus oblatum dicitur:

Benedictio Oblatæ. "Benedictio Dei omnipotentis Patris et Filii et Spiritus Sancti copiosa de cœlo descendat super hanc nostram oblationem, et accepta tibi sit hæc oblatio, Domine sancte, Pater omnipotens, æterne Deus, misericordissime rerum conditor. Amen."

[*Offerenda*, serioris ætatis antiphona, præsertim ex Apoc. cap. v. conflata, et a choro canenda:] Ecce apertum est templum tabernaculi testimonii, et Hierusalem nova descendit de cœlo, in qua est sedes Dei et agni, et servi ejus offerunt ei munera dicentes: Sanctus, sanctus, Dominus Deus omnipotens, qui erat et qui est et qui venturus est. V. Et ecce sedet in medio ejus super thronum majestatis suæ agnus, et vox sonat ante eum dicens: Vicit Leo de tribu Juda, radix David; et quatuor animalia requiem non habent dicentes sedenti super thronum: Sanctus.

[*Credo.*] Symbolum Nicænum serius hic insertum.

Anaphora vel Laudes.

Præfatio cum Sanctus, Sanctus, Sanctus (diebus festis propria).

[Canonis orationes, ex Sacramentario Gregoriano, quæ incipiunt ab illis verbis: Te igitur clementissime Pater.]

Hoc loco statuenda est oratio quam *Post Sanctus* Gallicani appellant, qua introducitur ad Verba Institutionis, secundum textum Pamelii unice genuinum:

"Hoc est enim corpus meum, *quod pro vobis confringetur.*

Simili modo . . . . accipite et bibite ex eo omnes.

Hic est enim sanguis meus.

Hæc quotiescunque feceritis," etc.

Sequitur in ritu Ambrosiano consecrationis formula:

Oratio super oblata, diversa pro singulis diebus festis.
Oratio dominica.

Communio.

[Agnus Dei non dicitur nisi in missis pro defunctis.]

Sacerdos porrigens oblatam: Corpus Christi. R. Amen.

Antiphona, dicta *Transitorium.*

Postcommunio et Benedictio.

Dominus vobiscum. R. Et cum sp. tuo.
Kyrie Eleison (ter).

Benedicat et exaudiat nos Deus. R. Amen.
Procedamus in pace. R. In nomine Christi.
Benedicamus Domino. R. Deo gratias.
Benedicat vos divina majestas: Pater ✠ et Filius ✠ et Spiritus Sanctus ✠. R. Amen.

Quæ omnia apud Mabillonium et apud ipsum Danielem videbis mire esse confusa. Scilicet in ordinario missæ Mediolanensis post verba institutionis canon Gregorianus introducitur verbis: "Unde et memores." Fugit tamen eos, qui has res nuperrime tractaverunt, exstare in Sacramentario ecclesiæ Mediolanensis ipsam precem consecrationis, quam Gallicani "Post Secreta," Hispani "Post Pridie" appellant. Oratio scilicet "Super oblata" est mutabilis in ritu Ambrosiano, et cum in Missa Dominicali per canonem Gregorianum sit ejecta, pro singulis diebus festis in illo Sacramentario servatæ sunt formulæ propriæ. Quarum maxima pars cum nihil fere contineat nisi generalem quandam precem ad diem festum respicientem, in nonnullis tamen sanctificationem populi ejusque oblationis evidenter a Deo poscunt, et genuinam quamvis serioris ætatis formulam consecrationis nobis exhibent. Brevissimæ quidem sunt hujuscemodi orationes tamquam evanescentes primævæ ecclesiæ voces, quæ, si cum antiquis Græcæ ecclesiæ formulis comparantur, septimi seculi indolem produnt. Uberiores in palim-

psestis codicibus quarti vel ineuntis quinti seculi nos aliquando inventuros spero. Hic quasdam hujuscemodi Pameliani codicis formulas apposuisse sat erit.

In Festo Epiphaniæ.

Pietatis tuæ, Domine, sacramentum recolentes sacrificium tibi laudis offerimus.

In Dom. sec. post Epiphaniam.

Oblata, Domine, munera sanctifica, nosque per hæc a peccatorum nostrorum maculis emunda.

In Festo Resurrectionis.

Suscipe, quæsumus, Domine, plebis tuæ et tuorum hostias renatorum, ut et confessione tui nominis et baptismate renovati sempiternam beatitudinem consequantur.

In Festo Pentecostes.

Præsta, Domine, quæsumus, ut secundum promissionem filii tui D. N. J. C. Spiritus Sanctus hujus nobis sacrificii copiosius revelet arcanum, et omnem propitius reserat veritatem.

III. ORDO LITURGIARUM GALLICANARUM ET GOTHORUM IN HISPANIA.

A. De ordine Liturgiæ Gothorum in Hispania sic *Isidorus* episcopus Hispalensis (c. a. 633) qui eam ultimo loco constituisse traditur (Isid. Opp. ed. Arevalus. vi. p. 380.):

Prima oratio ejusdem Missæ *admonitio* erga populum est, ut omnes excitentur ad exorandum Deum.

Secunda invocatio ad Deum est, ut clementer *suscipiat* preces fidelium *oblationesque* eorum.

Tertia autem effunditur *pro offerentibus*, sive pro *defunctis fidelibus*, ut per ipsum sacrificium veniam consequantur.

Quarta post hæc infertur *pro osculo pacis* ut caritate reconciliati omnes invicem digne sacramento corporis et sanguinis Christi consocientur, quia non recipit dissensionem cujusquam Christi indivisibile verbum.

Quinta deinde infertur *Inlatio* in sanctificatione oblationis: in qua etiam ad Dei laudem terrestrium creaturarum virtutumque cœlestium universitas provocatur, et *Hosanna in excelsis* cantatur.

Porro sexta exhinc succedit *Conformatio Sacra-*

menti, ut oblatio quæ Deo offertur, sanctificata per Spiritum Sanctum, Christi corpori et sanguini conformetur.*

Ultima vero *Dominica oratio* est.

B. De Liturgia Gallicana hæc exstant veterum testimonia:

De *Hilario* episcopo Pictaviensi (inde ab anno 350) hæc profert Hieronymus de Scriptt. c. 100.: "Librum hymnorum et alium mysteriorum composuit:" quibus ultimis verbis compositiones eucharisticæ intelligendæ sunt.

Seculo vero quinto liturgias composuit in Gallia *Sidonius Apollinaris,* Avernorum (Clermont) episcopus circa annum 480, et clarus illa ætate rhetor ac poeta; cujus libro "De missis ab eo compositis" Gregorius Turonensis præfationem addidit (Hist. ii. 22.). Paullo ante eum *Musæus,* presbyter Massiliensis, qui circa medium quintum seculum e vivis excessit, librum sacramentorum composuerat, de quo hæc Gennadius in libro De Vir. ill. c. 72. (Mabillon. p. 28.):

"Ad personam S. Eustasii episcopi . . . composuit *Sacramentorum* egregium et non parvum volumen, per membra quidem pro opportunitate officiorum et tempo-

* Quod apud Mabillonium, De Lit. Gall. p. 10., legimus, *confirmatio* et *confirmetur,* ab Hittorpio et Romanensibus conficta sunt; Libri antiqui lectionem tuentur, quam ipsæ leges grammaticæ postulant.

rum, pro lectionum textu psalmorumque serie et decantatione discretum: sed supplicandi Deo et *contestandi* beneficiorum ejus soliditate sui consentaneum."

Sexti denique seculi testimonium præbet locus illustris Cæsarii Episcopi Arelatensis, qui anno 542 vita defunctus est, in Homilia XII. (Bibl. PP. Max. vol. viii.):

"Multi sunt qui lectis divinis lectionibus statim de ecclesia foris exeunt. — Si diligenter attenderitis, cognoscetis quod non tunc fiunt missæ, quando divinæ lectiones in ecclesia recitantur, sed quando munera offeruntur vel corpus et sanguis domini consecrantur; nam lectiones sive propheticas sive apostolicas sive evangelicas etiam in domibus vestris aut ipsi legere aut alios legentes audire potestis, consecrationem vero corporis et sanguinis Christi non alibi nisi in domo Dei audire vel videre poteritis. Ideo qui vult missas ad integrum celebrare, usquequo oratio dominica dicatur et benedictio populo detur, se debet in ecclesia continere. Cum enim maxima pars populi, immo quod pejus est, pæne omnes recitatis lectionibus exeunt de ecclesia, cui dicturus est sacerdos, Sursum corda; numquid respondere possunt quando discedunt? Vel qualiter cum tremore simul et gaudio clamabunt: Sanctus, sanctus, sanctus, benedictus qui venit in nomine Domini; aut quando oratio dominica dicitur, quis est, qui humiliter et veraciter clamet: Dimitte nobis debita nostra, sicut et nos dimittimus debitoribus nostris? Cum enim etiam illi, qui se in ecclesia continent, si non dimiserint debita debitoribus, ad judicium magis quam ad remedium orationem dominicam proferunt ex ore, quam implere non probantur in opere; et sine causa dicunt, Libera nos a malo, quando ipsi non desinunt reddere malum pro malo. Unde iterum rogo, ut

donec divina mysteria compleantur, nullus de ecclesia abscedat."

Ad monumenta quod attinet, nulla exstant liturgiæ Hispanicæ quæ ultra Isidori Hispalensis ætatem, h. e. ultra septimum seculum certa fide nos referant. Sed noli credere Isidorianas formulas nobis puras asservatas esse in Sacramentario, quod Ximenes Cardinalis anno 1500 Toleti imprimi jussit. Qui ordo voce barbara Mozarabicus cum nominetur, ætatem indicat, qua Arabes cum Christianis permixte vivebant, unde Mozarabes dicebantur. Viguit ordo ille usque ad finem undecimi seculi. Insunt tamen in Sacramentario isto, quod secundum Isidori regulam factum esse titulus prædicat, preces Isidoro antiquiores, nec mihi dubium est, quin ordo Gothicus quinti seculi ex eo restitui possit. Vetustiora detegent codices rescripti.

Faustius omnino Liturgiæ Gothicæ in Gallia Narbonnensi usitatæ res evasit. Vetus enim Missale Gothicum, jam a Morino memoratum, Bona Cardinalis in codice Petaviano (qui in bibliotheca reginæ Christinæ Vaticana adservatur) invenit, Thomasius Cardinalis publici juris fecit. Quem codicem ineunte seculo octavo scriptum esse putat Mabillonius (p. 176.); missam saltem continet in memoriam S. Leodegarii qui anno 678 necatus est. Habemus certe hic liturgiam vere Gallicanam, at posterioris ætatis, quod cum multis aliis ex rebus satis appareat, tum maxime probatur formulis illius *Consecrationis* quæ post verba Institutionis oratur, et quam Oratio dominica cum

solita introductione excipit. Cujus origo in Liturgia Græca secundi, tertii, quartive seculi cum sit quærenda, exstant in illo missali formulæ quædam satis accurate ad Græcum exemplar conformatæ: at facile est intellectu, paullatim, ut in Prolegomenis significavimus, evanuisse in Gallicana ecclesia sensum Invocationis, et e formulis illis tantummodo precem quandam evasisse, vel ut Deus eucharistiæ perceptionem jam secuturam omnibus faciat ratam et salutarem, vel ut panem et vinum corpus et sanguinem Domini nostri efficiat.

Formulæ illæ liturgicæ secundum anni ecclesiastici circulum dispositæ ea tantum continent quæ sunt singulis festis propria, additis omissisve paucis. Ordo plenus hic est:

Collectio post prophetiam (post primam lectionem).

Collectio post epistolam vel quod epistolæ loco legebatur: quæ rarissime occurrit (exemplum vide apud Mabillonium, p. 190.).

Præfatio Missæ, adlocutio ad populum, quam sequitur

Collectio (qui locus est precis precatoriæ, more Alexandrino).

Post nomina (e diptychis lecta) oratio.

Ad pacem (osculum pacis) oratio.

Contestatio Missæ vel Immolatio Missæ: Vere dignum et justum est.

Post Sanctus: quæ oratio semper verbis institutionis "Qui pridie" terminatur.

Post Secreta, h. e. post illa institutionis verba.
Orationes ante et post orationem dominicam.
Benedictio populi.
Post Communionem, Exhortatio et Collectio.

Non majoris certe ætatis auctoritatisve esse credo Missale Gallicanum vetus, quod idem Thomasius et post eum Mabillonius ediderunt ex codice Palatino bibliothecæ Vaticanæ (N. 493.) "characteribus uncialibus sed negligentiori sæpe manu conscripto," ut ipsi memorant. Exhibet quidem illud missale Liturgiam Gallicanam, neque Canonem Romanum agnoscit: at verba quædam inde mutuatum est, ut in oratione *post nomina* in Missa de Adventu (Mab. p. 333.). Formulas liturgicas paucas exhibet, et tantummodo in festo S. Germani et in Adventu Domini formulam consecrationis, hanc scilicet:

"Descendat, precamur, omnipotens Deus, super hæc, quæ tibi offerimus, Verbum tuum sanctum; descendat inæstimabilis gloriæ tuæ Spiritus; descendat antiquæ indulgentiæ tuæ donum: ut fiat oblatio hæc hostia spiritalis in odorem suavitatis accepta; etiam nos famulos tuos per sanguinem Christi tua manus invicta custodiat."

Sacramentarium Bobiense quod Mabillonius edidit Gallicanum est, vel proprie Burgundicum (martyr in eo memoratur Sigismundus rex, qui occisus est anno 524): sed jam ut Missale Francorum, Romano canone invasum est: unicum antiquitatis vestigium in nonnullis orationibus "Post nomina" remanet, cum Gallicana consecrationis formula ad calcem Offertorii fuerit detrusa, titulo orationis quæ ad nomina ex diptychis lecta referretur.

Ex his igitur monumentis et illis Gregorii Turonensis (cujus locos huc spectantes primus omnium collegit Ruinartius) optimus Mabillonius ordinem officii Gallicani restituit, quem secutus Daniel, vir doctissimus, libro suo harmoniam Hispanici et Gallicani ordinis constituere conatus est. Quem ordinem breviter jam perlustrabimus et delectum quendam illarum consecrationis formularum inseremus.

ORDO OFFICII SECUNDUM GREGORIUM TURONENSEM ET MISSALE GOTHICUM OCTAVI SECULI.

Ante Missam Fidelium multa habet Ordo Mozarabicus, quæ evidenter ad posteriorem ætatem pertinent. Gallicanus hæc tantum:

Pro Introitu: Antiphona (Mab. p. 36,).

Kyrie eleison.

Gloria in excelsis Deo.

Præfatio, h. e. Populi commonitio, quæ Isidoro est *prima* Missæ oratio.

Lectio prophetica.

Psalmus responsorius.

Lectio Epistolæ.

Lectio Evangelii.

Inlationis (i. e. *oblationis*) *antiquæ fidelium exordium.* Oblatio populi ad altare cum pane et vino accedentis.

Oratio oblationis (formula Consecrationis oblatorum cum Invocatione): Isidoro oratio *secunda.* Cu-

jus exemplar servavit Micrologus (c. an. 1200.) qui c. xi. hæc habet:

"Composita oblatione in altari dicit sacerdos hanc orationem juxta Gallicanum ordinem: Veni sanctificator omnipotens æterne Deus, et benedic hoc sacrificium nomini tuo præparatum: per Christum Dominum nostrum."

(Preces precatoriæ, more Alexandrino, ad hanc pertinent orationem.)

Oratio post nomina (lectis diptychis): Isidoro *tertia.* Hac inscriptione in Sacramentario Bobiensi antiquæ et oblationis et consecrationis formulæ Gallicanæ nobis servatæ sunt:

In Missa Dom. (Mab. p. 375.) Offerentes Deo, fr. car. spiritalia munera divinam clementiam deprecemur, ut has oblationes, quas in commemoratione sanctorum et pro salute omnium credentium offerimus, plena pietatis suæ dignatione suscipiat, nostrum omnium preces exaudiat.

In Missa Jejunii. (p. 307.) Præsta nobis misericors Deus, ut munera nostra pro jejunii sanctificatione oblata Sp. S. adsumat; et ad te toto corde clamantes propitiationis tuæ indulgentiam consequamur.

In Missa Quinquagesimæ. (p. 338.) Virtute Sancti Spiritus, Domine, nostra munera contínge: ut quod solemnitate quinquaginsimæ suo nomini dedicavit, et intelligibile nobis faciat et æternum.

Oratio ad pacem (*Osculum pacis*): Isidoro oratio *quarta.*

Illatio et *Contestatio* (quæ Romanis est Præfatio) ad festos dies singulos accommodata cum hymno Sanctus, Sanctus, Sanctus.

Quam excipiunt *Verba institutionis:* "*Qui pridie:*"

hæc vero sequitur solemnis illa consecrationis oratio qua Spiritus Sanctus invocatur ut dona illa faciat corpus et sanguinem Jesu Christi: quam orationem Isidorus (*sexta* ei est) *Conformationem* Sacramenti appellat.

Ad *Verba Institutionis* quod attinet, genuina Gallicanæ ecclesiæ formula hæc fuisse videtur:

"Dominus noster Jesus Christus in qua nocte tradebatur . . . Hoc est corpus meum quod pro vobis tradetur . . . Hic est calix novi testamenti in meo sanguine quod pro vobis et pro multo effundetur in remissionem peccatorum . . . . . Quotiescumque manducaveritis panem hunc et calicem istum biberitis, mortem Domini annunciabitis, donec veniet in claritate de cœlis."*

Consecrationis oratio, quæ dicitur "*Post mysterium*" (antiquioribus "Post Secreta," Mozarabibus "*Post Pridie*"), pro singulis festis diebus diversa est, at formulæ nobis servatæ serioris et labentis sunt ecclesiæ, non antiquæ, ut Gallicanis rescriptis nunc probari potest. In liturgia Mozarabica solemnem quandam habent clausulam qua terminantur, his fere verbis conceptam:

"Te præstante, sancte Domine, quia tu hæc omnia nobis indignis servis tuis valde bona creas, sanctificas, vivificas, benedicis ac præstas nobis, ut sit benedicta a te, Deo nostro, in sæcula sæculorum. Amen."

* Ultima verba in Mozarabum tantum liturgia servata sunt. (Mab. p. 47.)

In liturgia Gallicana similiter consecrationis oratio in missa quaque invenitur; nonnullæ ad Græcorum consecrationis verba cum invocatione Spiritus solemni propius accedunt: inter alias etiam hæc quæ in festo circumcisionis legitur (Mab. p. 20.):

"Hæc nos, Domine, instituta et præcepta retinentes suppliciter oramus, uti hoc sacrificium suscipere et benedicere et sanctificare digneris: ut fiat nobis eucharistia legitima in tuo filiique tui nomine et spiritus sancti, in transformationem corporis ac sanguinis domini dei nostri Jesu Christi unigeniti tui. Per quem omnia creas, creata benedicis, benedicta sanctificas, et sanctificata largiris, deus qui in trinitate perfecta vivis et regnas in sæcula sæculorum."

Quibuscum juvat conferre quæ in Adsumptione B. M. V. leguntur (p. 214.):

"Descendat, Domine, in his sacrificiis tuæ benedictionis coæternus et cooperator paracletus Spiritus: ut oblationem, quam tibi de tua terra fructificante porreximus, cœlesti permuneratione, te sanctificante sumamus: ut translata fruge in corpore, caliee in cruore, proficiat meritis quod obtulimus pro delictis. Præsta omnipotens deus, qui vivis et regnas in sæcula."

Et in Missa in Cathedra S. Petri (p. 227.):

"Hæc igitur præcepta servantes sacrosancta munera nostræ salutis offerimus, obsecrantes ut immittere digneris spiritum tuum sanctum super hæc solemnia; ut fiat nobis eucharistia in tuo filiique tui nomine et spiritus sancti, in transformatione (l. transformationem) corporis ac sanguinis domini nostri Jesu Christi, unigeniti tui, edentibus nobis vitam æternam, regnumque perpetuum conlatura bibituris. Per ipsum dominum," etc.

Et in Missa in Dominica Palmarum (symbolum dum traditur: v. p. 236.):

"Aspice in cœlo vultu tuo, pie miserator, hæc munera, qui semper es propensus ad dona; et ipsa contemplatione oblata sanctifices naturali majestate, qui perpetue sanctus es et sancta largiris. Quod ipse præsta," etc.

Pleræque autem consecrationis formulæ, quæ in Missali Gothico inveniuntur, generalem quandam invocationem Dei precemque continent. In Missa in Cœna domini, feria quarta hebdomadis sacræ, agnus Dei invocatur (p. 238.):

"Agnus Dei, qui tollis peccata mundi, respice in nos et miserere nobis, factus nobis ipse hostia qui sacerdos, ipse præmium qui redemptor; a malis omnibus quos redemisti custodi, Salvator."

In prima Missa Dominicali (p. 292.) hæc leguntur:

"Ostende omnipotens Deus gratiam, agnosce doctrinam. Tu es mysterium pro salute, tu pretium; doce perseverantiam cum docueris disciplinam; ut in hac oblatione nos liberes, qui pro occidentibus et moreris. Per d. n." etc.

In ea quæ hanc proxime sequitur (p. 293.):

"Per hunc te, Deus pater omnipotens, deprecamur, ut sicut sacri mysterii obedientiam retinemus, ita ad tutelam nostram cœlestis virtus operetur. Per d. n." etc.

At in alia Missa Dominicali (p. 298.) oratio ab ipsis solemnibus Græcæ ecclesiæ verbis incipit:

"Memores gloriosissimæ domini passionis et ab inferis resurrectionis, offerimus tibi domine hanc immaculatam

hostiam, hunc panem sanctum et calicem salutarem, obsecrantes ut infundere digneris spiritum tuum sanctum edentibus nobis, vitam æternam regnumque perpetuum conlatura potantibus. Per d. n." etc.

Similiter exstant in Missali Gothico, vel potius Mozarabo, præter generales illas preces, serioribus seculis oriundas, interdum etiam contra antiquæ ecclesiæ et morem et legem non ad Patrem sed ad Dominum nostrum Jesum Christum factas, complures formulæ antiqua consecrationis ecclesiæ orientis indole penitus imbutæ, quas eo magis hic afferam, quo Daniel aliique auctores hæc omnia silentio præterierint:

" *In Domin. sexta post Epiph.*

" Credentes Domine universa mirabilia Domini nostri J. C. filii tui, atque incarnationis ejus et divinitatis potentiam confitentes, in tuis laudibus exultamus, tibique sacrificium laudis offerimus. Rogamus clementiam tuam, summa Trinitas Deus et infinita majestas, ut hæc oblatio quam in sancto altario tuo deferimus pro nostrorum expiatione facinorum, sit oculis tuis placita, sit semper accepta, simulque efficiatur illo sancto superveniente septiformi spiritu benedicta: quo ubique Deus veraciter manifestetur in ea. Ut te hanc hostiam benedicente, si qui ex ea libaverint, te largiente, et in hoc seculo percipiant medicinam, et in futuro consequantur vitæ æternæ coronam. Amen.

" *In Domin. quinta Quadragesimæ.*

" Recitatis Domine unigeniti tui sacramentorum præceptis, simulque præclaræ passionis et resurrectionis et in cælum ascensionis memoriam facientes, majestatem

tuam supplices rogamus ac petimus, ut in his sacrificiis benedictionum tuarum plenitudo descendat, et infundas in eis imbrem Spiritus tui sancti de cœlis. Ut fiat hoc sacrificium secundum ordinem Melchisedech : fiat hoc sacrificium secundum ordinem Patriarcharum et Prophetarum tuorum. Ut quod ab illis typice facientibus, unigeniti filii tui significantibus adventum, tua majestas acceptare dignata est, sic hoc sacrificium respicere et sanctificare digneris : quod est verum corpus et sanguis domini nostri J. C. filii tui ; qui pro nobis omnibus factus est sacerdos et hostia. Hanc itaque hostiam tu, piissime pater, de tuæ claritatis respectu sanctifica : ut sumentibus eam et hic delictorum veniam et æternam in cælis conferas vitam.

" *In Die Resurrectionis.*

" Precamur nunc, Domine sancte, Pater æterne, omnipotens Deus, ut quemadmodum D. N. J. Christus filius tuus illa ineffabilium gratiarum actione semetipsum tibi pro nobis offerens, mortem nostram suscepturus auditus est, ita nunc et nos, qui ipsum et vitam ejus quærimus exequendo ministerialiter quæ instituit, audiamur. Ut hic tibi panis cum hoc calice oblatus in filii tui corpus et sanguinem te benedicente ditescat. Ac largo oris tui perfusus spiritu, indulgentiam nobis omnium peccatorum largiatur, et gratiam, et collatæ a se salutis dono, donec in semetipso perficiat, custodiam adhibeat indefessam.

" *Kald. Novbr.*

" Complentes igitur atque servantes præcepta unigeniti filii tui precamur, omnipotens pater, ut his creaturis superpositis altario tuo sanctificationis munus infundas. Ut per transfusionem cœlestis atque invisibilis sacramenti panis hic transmutatus in carnem, et calix transformatus in sanguinem sit offerentibus gratia et sumentibus medicina.

Oratio dominica, Isidoro *ultima*. Præcedunt in codicibus liturgicis verba solita introductionis, pro diebus festis varia.

"Pater noster qui es in cœlis . . . . Et ne nos inducas in tentationem."

(Responsum Populi:)

Sed libera nos a malo.

"*Libera nos*," vel "*Liberati a malo*," vel similiter incipit oratio pro diebus festis. Exemplum exhibet nobilis oratio in festo nativitatis Domini. (Daniel, p. 97.) "Libera nos omnipotens Deus ab omni malo, et custodi nos in omni opere bono, perfecta veritas et vera libertas, Deus, qui regnas in secula seculorum."

Benedictio populi, ab Isidoro non nominata. V. Mab. i. 4. 14.

Communio sacerdotis, cleri et populi.

Adlocutio post Communionem, sive *post Eucharistiam*, quam sequitur Collectio sive oratio, Isidoro incognita.

Quæ tantum cum ex liturgiis octavi vel extremi septimi seculi potuerint elici, nova lux affulsit nostris diebus e codicibus palimpsestis. In primo loco hic ponendum nobile liturgiæ quarti seculi fragmentum quod summi Niebuhrii debetur acumini, et quod cum optimus magister mihi pro codice liturgico, quem redigere constitueram, eo quo erat erga me amore misisset, per triginta fere annos in schedis adservavi, frustra sperans

fore ut unus certe ex iis quos juvenes ad liturgiæ nostræ principia investiganda exhortatus fueram, hunc laborem susciperet. Sed cum aliquos ex iis mors præripuerit, ceteros alia fata ab ecclesiæ antiquitatisque christianæ studiis avulserint, hæc de Hippolyto disquisitio causa mihi fuit, ut novo ardore in hanc arenam denuo descenderem, votumque diu susceptum quomodocunque ipse persolverem. Arduam hanc operam jam eram aggressus, quo tempore uberior fons sese aperuit studiis viri de antiquitatibus Allemanniæ optime meriti. Nam cum ille Niebuhrii codex inter alia minora fragmenta nobis illud nobile fragmentum missæ pro mortuis exhibeat, scilicet orationem solemnem quæ hymnum insequitur "Ter sanctus" et proxime præcedit institutionis verba, consecrationis vero ipsius prima tantum verba præbeat, in illo Allemannico sexti, ut videbimus, seculi codice integram missam Gallicanam reperi, qualis seculo quinto sextove, Chlodovici igitur temporibus, ante Gregorium Turonensem celebrabatur. Quæ res cum et nova sit et summi momenti, uberius mihi de hoc codice palimpsesto ejusque editore erit disserendum.

Libellus ille a Francisco Josepho Monio editus inscribitur: Lateinische und griechische Messen aus dem zweiten bis sechsten Jahrhundert (Francof. 1850, 4to). In quo vir ille primus post Mabillonium monumenta protulit liturgiæ Gallicanæ ex rescripto codice pergameno qui quondam Abbatiæ Augiensis (Reichenau) erat, in diœcesi Constantiensi sitæ, nunc

vero in bibliotheca Carlsruhensi asservatur (N. 253.). Conscriptus est exeunte seculo octavo; Joannis enim episcopi Constantiensis mentionem facit, qui inde ab anno 760 usque ad annum 768 illi diœcesi præfuit. Attamen vir iste in palæographia doctissimus priorem partem jam ineunte septimo seculo scriptam putat, solius scripturæ argumento innixus. Sed sub illa alia latet scriptura, erasa quidem, at editoris sollertia revocata. Quadraginta quinque folia rescripta in priorem ordinem reducta undecim missarum Gallicanarum fragmenta exhibent, de quarum ætate, cum adeo mira iste fabulatus sit, certiora indicia cum in codicis scriptura tum in ipsa liturgia quæremus.

Inter illas est Missa pro Sancto Germano, episcopo Antissiodorensi, qui anno 448 supremum diem obiit. Est quidem missarum ultima; posterioris autem eam esse ætatis quam quæ præcedunt, Monii est conjectura. Etenim cum reliquæ omnino ad liturgiam celebrandam referantur, hæc vero sola uni cuidam Sancto dedicetur, facile evenire potuit ut in ultimo loco collocaretur, licet eadem, qua ceteræ, ætate orta fuerit. S. Remigii circa a. 533 defuncti memoria non celebratur. Frustra autem V. D. in orationis cujusdam fragmento, codici addito, et literis Merovingicis sexti seculi scripto, Gothorum vel Burgundionum mentionem odoratur, qui seculi quarti initio illam provinciam invaserunt. Nam oratio antiquissimam illam generis

humani post lapsum Adami servitutem describit, non quam barbarorum gentes invexerunt. En ipsa mutila illa verba (p. 39.): . . . . . "peccavimus coram te cum patribus nostris*: injuste egimus, iniquitatem fecimus, omnia hereditatis tuæ dona perdidimus, confusi† nostrorum labe peccaminum. Domum nostram alienigenus hostis invasit‡; subjecti facti sumus servi dominantibus nobis, addicti vinculo devictorum. Converte nos Domine ad serviendum tibi: renova§ tui operatione mandati; per Dominum nostrum," etc.

Jam si his conjecturis omissis in ipsam codicis scripturam inquiris, habes editoris testimonium, scripturam quæ in Missa S. Germani invenitur ad amussim respondere scripturæ codicis Darmstadiensis, qui Canones exhibet Apostolicos (v. p. 143. sq.: cf. p. 151.) et anno 535 scriptus est. Quodsi illam, quæ per æneam laminam expressa libroque adjecta est, cum priorum missarum scriptura comparaveris, facile videbis eam aut ejusdem aut proximæ esse ætatis. Dubito igitur num lectoribus persuasurus sit acutissimus palæographus codicem, illa missa excepta, scriptum fuisse priore quinti seculi parte: quem certe sexti seculi priore parte posteriorem non esse credo. Liturgia qui-

* Cod.: peccamina se imparibus nostras.

† Cod.: confusio.

‡ Eodem modo in missæ contestatione quam infra repetimus dicitur: alienas in leges transit anima (sc. corporis et peccati).

§ Cod.: renovas. Pro *operatione*, M. perperam legi vult *operationem*.

dem ipsa ad extremum seculum quartum vel ad quinti initium pertinet. Non quod linguæ cujusdam doctæ at rusticæ, de qua Monius nugatur, vestigia in innumeris librariorum lapsibus agnosci volo; sed quia rhetorica illa atque ampullosa oratio a quinti seculi scriptoribus aliena est. Scholæ rhetorum quinto seculo in Gallia institutæ verbosum et antitheticum dicendi genus introduxerunt, quod "Gallica facundia" mire excoluit, veterum auctorum et ipsorum illius ætatis monumentorum testimonio. Genus vero rhetoricum in liturgias componendas per totum orbem Christianum quarto seculo ingruere cœpit; cujus rei luculentum testimonium exhibet illud Hilarii Pictaviensis liturgiæ fragmentum quod Niebuhrio debemus. Neque magnum est inter hoc et illud dicendi genus discrimen.

Dolendum est virum alioquin optime de re diplomatica meritum in ipsa horum fragmentorum interpretatione indulsisse miris somniis, quæ minime ad patriam luminum illorum Allemanniæ, Hugi, Wessenbergi, Hirscheri, neque omnino ad nomen Germanum adaptata sint, sed potius ad ultramontanorum doctrinas et superstitiones refocillandas inclinare videntur. Talia omni qua par est severitate judicare honesti viri est, ne a barbarie, simul cum superstitione jamjam irruenti, monstra nugæque nobis impune inferantur, et quæ nunc teneræ ætati in seminariis episcoporum, ubi ars critica abhorretur, tamquam vera et credenda commendantur, ea Gallis Italisque paullo post tamquam

vox doctæ Germaniæ proponantur et a viris quibusdam doctis Angliæ prædicentur. Scilicet Monius eo processit insaniæ ut liturgias in illo codice exhibitas seculi secundi, hoc est Irenæi et martyrum Lugdunensium æqualia credat, quippe quæ de illo tempore tamquam præsenti loquantur. Quid? quod unam illarum missarum ad lutum Rhodani alludere ait, in quod ipso tempore quo nostræ preces conscriberentur, sanctorum illorum martyrum cineres conjecti fuerint. Quæ si legeris, refutaveris. Prodemus igitur e codice textum Contestationis illius tam mira retecturæ mysteria, cum Monii interpretatione, addito textu restituto qui de luto Rhodani vel martyribus Lugdunensibus ne verbum quidem profert.

Quamvis hac in re vir acutissimus viderit quæ non sunt, non quæ sunt vidit; scilicet, fragmenta illa integram eucharistiæ celebrandæ liturgiam repræsentare Gallicanam, cujus exemplar septimo seculo antiquius, Mabillonius omnesque Gallicanæ liturgiæ investigatores tantopere desiderarunt.

Codex ille, sive Galliæ Francorum septentrionalis fuerit (quod probabilius cum auctor illius Abbatiæ Augiensis, Priminius, ex Austrasia sive Lotharingia provenerit), sive, ut Monius sui luti vestigia premens credit, Lugdunensis sit provinciæ, non missas pro singulis anni ecclesiastici partibus profert, sed diversas tantum eucharistiæ celebrandæ formulas, ex quibus suam quisque ex animi sententia seligere posset. In "Præfatione" sive Commonitione

sacerdos populum "Fratres karissimi" adloquitur; et "pia eorum cura pro populo" in alia liturgiæ parte laudatur: quæ mihi indicio sunt, hunc libellum abbatiæ cujusdam fuisse, cœtusve clericalis.

Verba Institutionis, hymni Ter Sancti, "Sursum corda," Oratio dominica, et quæcunque omnes noverant, omittuntur; attamen illa suo quodque loco esse dicta eædem testantur formulæ. Consecrationis vero oratio uno saltem loco nobis est servata, verbis expressis.

Quæ cum ita se habeant, diversas partes liturgiæ quæ in illis formulis nobis sunt servatæ, invicem conjungi posse ut unam efficiant integram missam, perspicuum est. Jam ita accidit, ut prima missæ formula (quæ codicis est tertia) ultimam tantum liturgiæ partem exhibeat (p. 13. sq.), hæc scilicet:

Exhortatio ante orationem dominicam.
(Oratio dominica.)
Oratio "Libera nos": post orationem dominicam.
Post communionem: exhortatio.
Collectio (Oratio).
Benedictio (Oratio).

Missa vero quinta (quæ in codice sexta numeratur) priorem partem liturgiæ, inde ab Introitu (qui Gallis est Commonitio populi) usque ad "Collectionem" post "Qui pridie," h.e. post verba institutionis continet. Quæ quidem Collectio ipsa est solemnis consecrationis formula, cum Invocatione Spiritus Sancti.

Cui proxime successisse Orationem dominicam, interposita Exhortatione, satis constat.

Dabimus igitur prima vice integram liturgiam eucharisticam quinti sextive seculi Gallicanam.

Præterea Consecrationis oratio, quæ post recitata verba institutionis dicenda erat, quinque formulis inter se diversis exstat, quarum una (Missæ V.) expresse ad Christi mandatum illud respiciens, probat (quod cum nostra ætate novis argumentis demonstrare supervacaneum esset, Monius tamen negavit) verbis "Qui pridie," quæ in codice semper ante consecrationis preces ponuntur, nil aliud indicari nisi illa Institutionis verba.

Alia illarum formularum (Missa VI.) demonstrat, precationem ad Deum ut benedicat donis et populo necessariam quidem habitam fuisse, at invocationem Spiritus Sancti solemnem quam a Græcis acceperat Galliarum ecclesia, paulatim decidisse in generalem quandam benedictionis divinæ precem, quæ degenerata forma si Romano canoni cessit, minime mirandum.

Neque libere preces effundendi facultatem sacerdoti Gallicano quarti seculi inter missarum solemnia fuisse memorabili oratione secreta probatur quæ in una missarum (X.) preces eucharisticas proxime præcedit. Verba ipsa hic appono (Mon. p. 37.):*

* Inscribitur FETIA, quod Monius supplet: "Post prophetiam." Sed de prophetica lectione hoc loco non agitur. Crediderim nos hic legere precem secretam sacerdotis, in

"Deus sancte ecclesiæ constitutor, qui stans in medio discipulorum tuorum venerationis huius sacramenta docuisti, præsta ori meo divinitatis gratiam ut quæ acceptabilia sunt in laude tua verba labia mea inveniant; inlumina faciem tuam super servum tuum, ut de meis oneribus absolutus, recte etiam tibi pro populo tuo rogaturus adsistam, per dominum n. I. Chr." *

Quæ omnia si mente comprehendis, seculum quartum extremum vel quinti initium indicatur, quo hæ liturgicæ formulæ compositæ fuerint, omnium quæ in Occidente exstant, præter nobile illud Niebuhrii fragmentum antiquissimæ.

Auctorem in tanta obscuritate quærere temerarii esse videtur. Cum Sidonii Apollinaris ingenio tamen et ætate, et cetera omnia et Missa (VIII.) versibus hexametris composita, inde a "Præfatione" usque ad Orationem post "Sanctus," optime conveniunt. Niebuhrii fragmenta Sangallensia secundum omnia indicia medii quarti seculi et Hilarium auctorem esse credo.

aliis missis non expressam, at dicendam "Post præfationem," hoc est post commonitionem illam populi quæ preces diptychorum proxime præcedebat, laudisque officium sive eucharistiam proprie sic dictam inaugurabatur. Certe quæ sequitur oratio loco illi "ante nomina" unice apta est.

* Cod.: labiorum meorum inveniat.

A.

LITURGIA CODICIS SANGALLENSIS.

I. PRECES IN MISSA PRO DEFUNCTIS, AUCTORE, UT VIDETUR, SANCTO HILARIO, EPISCOPO PICTAVIENSI (C. AN. 350).

(Ex codice Palimpsesto Bibliothecæ Sangallensis, secundum Niebuhrii apographum.)

"(RESUR)RECTIONIS futuræ conditor et indultor: Deus, immortalitatis promotor, dispensator adque (l. atque) largitor; qui posuisti præsentis vitæ terminum ut æternitatis reserares introitum, et per finem præsentium principia panderes futurorum; ac per depositionem corruptibilem incorruptionis limen aperires: Deus, qui dissolutionem recedentium a corporibus animarum non interitum voluisti esse, sed somnum, ut dissolutionem dormiendi roborares fiducia resurgendi, dum in te credentium vivendi usus non adimitur sed transfertur; et electorum tuorum mutatur vita non tollitur: Deus, cujus restitutioni nulla diversitas mortis, nullum ingenium variæ perditionis inludet; sed in tantum opera digitorum tuorum perire non pateris, ut quidquid in homine, per mortis varietate (l. varietatem) tempus labefecerit, aura dissolverit, ignis adsumserit (l. absumserit), ales rapuerit, fera carpserit, terra sorbuerit, gurges immerserit, piscis exhauserit, id totum in veterem mariam (l. materiam) redactum, et reviventi reddivivum terra restituat, induatque incorruptionem

corruptione deposita: precamur ergo ac petimus ne spiritus servi tui illius, vel ancillæ . . . . . tristibus abyssi tenebris, aut ignitis Gehennæ caminis, aut perpetuis Tartari frigoribus deputatus, pœnalis locum habitationis introeat; sed in sinu Abrahæ, et in gremio patriarchæ tui requiescens, tempus resurrectionis, diemque judicii cum gaudio secuturæ immortalitatis expectet.

"Per Dominum nostrum qui pridie quam pateretur. Fiat nunc quæsumus, indulgentissime pater, per invocationem nominis tui atque infusionem spiritus tui sancti creaturis omnibus hæc creatura. . . ."*

II. CETERA FRAGMENTA A NIEBUHRIO LECTA, EX VIRI SUMMI APOGRAPHO.

(in)tercessione gaudebimus. Per Dominum nostrum.

Collectio. Deus uiuorum, et noster, et mortuorum, cui omnia non mortuis uiuunt, et cui nihil perit nisi quod sibi deperit: indicaturus ipse de omnibus, et pœnæ meritum ignoranti moderaturus errori: dona famulo tuo illi uel illi, quem in pace adsumere dignatus es, requiem, remissione concessa; quia tibi est gloria aput æternum patrem.

* Ad hanc igitur orationem, non ad ipsa verba institutionis, referenda sunt quæ leguntur apud Cæsarium (circa 420) in Homilia septima: "quando benedicendæ verbis cœlestibus creaturæ sacris altaribus imponuntur, *antequam invocatione sancti nominis* consecrentur, substantia illic est panis et vini, post verba autem Christi corpus et sanguis Christi." Quibus Monius probari affirmat, transubstantiationemquam dicunt ipsis verbis Christi recitatis effici, cum luce sit clarius, orationem qua Deus rogatur ut elementa faciat corpus et sanguinem Christi, sequi illa institutionis verba, quibus innititur at non suppletur.

Item exhortatio. . . ili S. Recitatio. Co . . . . . mus . . . hostia . . . . . ef . . . . . cordis . . . . . f . . . . . studiis . . . . ece . . . . . rogant . . e hæc quæ inpendimus, uota pro defunctis, uota pro nobis, uota pro singulis, propitius et propitiandus exaudiat, ac pietate consueta qua in se sperantium sine intermisssione miseretur, quæ ad nostram suscipit petitionem defunctis ad beatitudinem.

nox corporum abscedat et mentium, quia benedictus est de die in diem, ipse diem præbeat in corde, qui rediret in tempore. Per Dominum nostrum.

Collectio. Reple, Domine, os nostrum laude tua ut per uocis officium cordis nostri in te dirigamus arcanum, ac misericordiam Tuam utroque inclinemus officio, et confitendo pariter et credendo.

Consummatio. Deus qui post blandis (sic!) operis indutias adque otium quiescendi, seducto ac reddito die tempus renouas operandi, adque ita pondus uitæ præsentis adtenuas ut uias temporum salutifera ordinatione distribuas: respice nos initia diei istius tuis laudibus consecrantes, ac præteritæ noctis octio hoc redeunti die laboris suple commercium ut cuius ortum sanctæ meditationis ingredimur, eius tempora semeli legum tuorum obseruatione curramus. Per Dominum nostrum. Item exhortatio matutina.

ut et mens nostra habeat et te inluminante quod cupiat atque ipsi lux in te fonte luminis facti, sicut dies . . . . matutina inlati . . . cidimus ita puro . . . r conscientiæ rutibare uideamus. Per Dominum nostrum.

Exhortatio matutina. Ad officium supplicationis officio temporis revocati, et ad enarationem luminis æterni serie redituræ lucis adfusi, Domino nostro, F. K.*, a quo uigi-

* Fratres Karissimi.

landi munus accipimus uigiliarum nostrarum ministerium deferamus, oratione humili, non flebili, confessione laudabili, spiritu contribulato, corpore prostrato, corde contrito, desiderio incaplebili, honore præcipuo, pudore uereunda: ut tanquam filii lucis, dum per suffragia honestatis exhibemus debitum seruitutis, præmium consequi mereamur perpetuæ libertatis. Per Dominum nostrum.

Collectio. Prænenit Te, Deus, mane oratio nostra, non quasi incisum . . .

rationis pro diuersitatu temporum diuersitas ætatum. Per Dominum nostrum.

Item exhortatio matutina. Deum æternum, qui splendor uerus luminum et dies perpetuus est dierum, matutini tempus circulo redeunte, F. K. depræcemur, ut nostras quoque mentes, uitiorum nocte discussa, nobis aduentus sui fulgor inradiet: fiatque in nobis iubar spiritus sancti similitudo (sic) rotulantis diei: ac sicut accipet tempus exordium luminis, ita cor nostrum accipiat sanctitatis: uti nos, qui in matutinis interficiamus omnes peccatores terræ nostræ, et dies terminum sub pari expectatione misericordiæ par quoque mereatur sanctificatio disciplinæ. Per Dominum nostrum.

Collectio. Exsurge, Domine, et dispargantur inimici Tui: neque purum fidei sacrificium, in uoce confessionis oblatum, praua uiolent suggestione uitiorum: sed Tu qui introspicis corda, et de . . . . .

ut qui mundasti Tibi populum . . . acceptabilem, sectatorem bonorum operum, suscipias fidei eius acceptabilem fructum, in Tua, et Fili, et Spiritus Sancti confessione, adque operum consummatione perfecta. Per Dominum nostrum.

Item exhortatio matutina. Deum æternum, et sine tempore, F. D.,* omni laudemus in tempore, qui ad resur-

* Fratres dilecti.

rectionis imaginem cotidiani operis discutit molem, ut dum, post sepultas somno curas, uitæ officiis reparamur, ac uelut a mortis similitudine, transacto noctis tempore, discutimus, resurgendi spem cotidianis uitæ defectibus ac recursibus teneamus, et mutatione præsentium capiamus gaudia futurorum; præcantes, ut eodem ipso inluminante mentes nostræ divino officio uigeant, quo custodiente nocturno otio siluerunt: adque ad cultum deuotionis fideliter exhibendum protegat a iaculo uoluntatem . . .

tua confirmet in munere. Per Dominum nostrum.

Item exhortatio matutina, Euoluto noctis silentio quod ..... us cuiusque lacrimas ..... mporis commodauit ..... tas ac confessione di .... uenientem diem F. D., societatis præcibus incoemus; quo eius misericordiam communis exhortatio facilius inpetret, quam singulorum gemitus iam pulsauit: proniusque ad auditum eius publica deprecatione penetret, quo secreta oratio iam accessit: petentes ut, siue in conscientia nostra gemimus, siue in eius laudibus exultamus, utrumque animi deseruientes affectu, ipse a ..... ipse moderetur: adque ita inoffensum in omnibus et cor nostrum seruet et cursum, ut ei uita nostra et operis sanctificatione, et cordis placeat puritate. Per Dominum nostrum Ihm̃. Xem̃.

Collectio. Deus e . . . e teque uigilat spiritus noster ad te . . quia lux præcepta tua super terram: inlumina nos itaque inlustratione .....

B.

LITURGIA CODICIS ABBATIÆ AUGIENSIS.

I. EUCHARISTIÆ CELEBRANDÆ FORMULA LITURGICA ECCLESIÆ GALLICANÆ EX MONII CODICE RESCRIPTO RESTITUTA.

(Fragmentum Missæ codicis sextæ.)

*Præfatio.**

UNUM deum patrem et filium ac Spiritum sanctum divisis personarum nominibus, indivisa divinitate confessi, fratres karissimi, totis mentibus deprecemur, ut in omni loco vel tempore cuncti fidem rectam, vitam habeant innocentem, auctorem conditionis suæ ac redemptionis agnoscant, resurrecturos se ac secundum sua opera judicandos intelligant; et quia ex vitiatæ naturæ contactu nostræ voluntatis habet† fragilitas ut lædatur, suæ benignitatis præstet pietas, ut placetur: per dominum nostrum I. C. etc.

Ante Nomina.

Deus, cuius tam immensa est bonitas quam potestas, præsta quod iustis polliceris accipere: quod reis minaris evadere, veraciter te credere, rationabiliter confiteri, salubriter conversari, si‡ quies adridat te colere, si temptatio ingruat non negare,

* i. e. Exhortatio præfatoria; proxime præcessit symbolum Nicænum.

† Cod.: habit.

‡ Cod.: sit.

temporariæ vitæ necessariis abundare, æternis gaudiis non carere; per dominum nostrum I. Chr. etc.

Post Nomina.

Sanctificata* omnipotens deus, ea quæ a te ordinata sunt placabiliter dignatus†, libens suscipe quod offerimus, et clemens indulgeas quod *precamur*‡. Sanctorum tuorum nos gloriosa merita ne in pœnam veniamus excusent, defunctorum fidelium animæ quæ beatitudine gaudent nobis opitulentur. Qui consolatione indigent ecclesiæ precibus absolvantur, *eorumque*§ oblatio, quorum ante altare tuum nomina recitantur, ita sit in tuis oculis placita, ut illis sit beneficiis copiosa; per dominum nostrum I. Chr. etc.

Osculum Pacis.

Dona nobis domine deus noster in custodienda pace tuum donum tuumque depositum custodire, et sic in omnibus sequi quam ipse jubes et tribuis caritatem, ut in aliis culpas noverimus odisse non animas, finem optare crimini non saluti. Sic cunctis concordia sit amori, ut discordiam nec inferre ulli liceat nec referre; per dominum nostrum I. Chr. etc.

Contestatio.

Dignum et iustum est, omnipotens pater, tibi semper gratias agere, te super omnia diligere, pro omnibus te laudare, cuius munere cunctis hominibus imaginis tuæ dignitas conceditur: in natura æterni-

* Cod.: Sanctifica tua.
† Cod.: plagabilitate dignatur.
‡ Cod.: lætamur.
§ Cod.: quorumque.

tatis facultas dignatur: in anima libertas arbitrii præstatur: in vita felicitas baptismi offertur: in gratia hereditas cæli promittitur: in innocentia utilitas remedii servatur: in pœnitentia bonitatis venia, iniquitatis pœna proponitur; ut abundantius in omnes homines dei pietas nec in malitia(m) velit degenerare* quos condidit, nec in ignorantia perire quos docuit, nec in supplicio permanere quos diligit, nec a regno discedere quos redemit. Ante cuius conspectum omnes angeli non cessant clamare dicentes: Sanctus, sanctus, sanctus.

Item Contestatio.

Dignum et iustum est nos tibi semper gratias agere, trinitas deus; cuius nos potestas verbo creavit, per meritum nostrum† offensa damnavit, per filium pietas liberavit, per baptismum et pœnitentiam ad cœlos vocavit; cui merito omnes: Sanctus, sanctus.

Post Sanctus dices:

Deus,—qui nos cælestium nunc quidem ‡ hymnum tibi vis offerre sed mentem etiam sacram § et angelorum tam loca tenere quam carmina, dona ut, qui supernarum virtutum concentum in tua prædicatione sumimus, etiam superioris vitæ affectum ex correctione sumamus: illa domini nostri Jesu Christi quæ in memoriam passionis suæ tradidit verba dicturi per dominum n. I. Chr. etc.

* Cod.: vellit degenere.
† Cod.: per mereto nostro. ‡ Cod.: numquid.
§ Cod.: offerri sed meretum et sacrum.

(*Verba institutionis.*)

Qui pridie, etc.

Collectio.

Deus Abraham, deus Isaac, deus Jacob, deus et pater domini nostri Jesu Christi, tu de cælis tuis propitius affavens hoc sacrificium nostrum indulgentissima pietate prosequere. Descendat domine plenitudo maiestatis, divinitatis, pietatis, virtutis, benedictionis et gloriæ tuæ super hunc panem et super hunc calicem, et fiat nobis legitima eucharistia in transformationem* corporis et sanguinis domini, ut quicumque ex hoc pane et ex hoc calice libaverimus sumamus nobis monumentum fidei, symbolum dilectionis†, tranquillam‡ spem resurrectionis atque immortalitatis æternæ in tuo filique tui ac§ (spiritus sancti consortio).‖

(Excipiunt hæc quæ in fragmento Missæ primæ (Codici tertiæ) leguntur:)

Ante orationem dominicam.

. . . (invo)cato sancto nomine suo iubeat liberari, et iam eos nostris precibus adiuvemus, qui ignorantes adhuc iter verum a diabolo in erroribus sæculi detinentur, ut omnes agnitione suæ maiestatis in-

* Cod.: transformatione.

† Cod. sincerem dilectiones.

‡ Cod.: tranquilla.

§ Cod. habet tantum: filique tui hac.

‖ Confer supra formulam Missalis Gothici ad festum circumcisionis.

luminet: per Iesum Christum dominum nostrum, cuius mandata retinentes oramus et dicimus:

(*Oratio dominica:*

Pater noster, qui es, in cœlis etc.)

Post orationem dominicam.

Libera domine, libera nos ab omni malo, et constitue nos in omni opere bono, qui vivis et regnas cum patre et spiritu sancto in secula seculorum. Amen.

Post communionem.

Spiritali esca haustuque recreati omnipotentem deum patrem debita gratiarum actione veneremur per dominum nostrum Iesum Christum filium suum viventem manentemque secum cum spiritu sancto in æterna secula seculorum. Amen.

Collectio.

Exaudi nos deus pater omnipotens et præsta quæ petimus per dominum Iesum Christum filium tuum, qui vivit et regnat deus in secula seculorum.

Benedictio.

Sit domine miseratione tua digna et misericordia* vox petentum; cunctos respiciens singulos non repellens† hoc votivum nobis facias, quod necessarium esse cognoscis, ne aliud nostra intemperantia studeat petere, quam tua præsciat potentia convenire: per dominum nostrum I. Chr. etc.

* Cod.: Sit domine meseratio tua digna misericordia.

† Cod.: cunctus respiciens jn singulus non repelles, h. v. n. faciens.

II. EX MISSA V.

Conte

Textus Codicis.

. . . . res gratiæ debitores, jugi continuatione, uenere-mur, seu cum publica præce sacra adolemus altaria, sive cum secretis mentium penetralibus ineffabilia dicta quæ feceris, æstimantes tacito fovemus adfectu*. justæ enim vox tuæ rex gentium . quis non timebit . et magnificabit nomen tuum, nullæ quidem nobis adhuc cythare personant† . sancti tui . qui bestiam sæculi huius, concordia virtutum perseverante uicerint‡ nullum de nobis Moysi canticum, qui inter fluctus adhuc istius sæculi uolutamur§ . nulla uox angelorum nisi forte laudare nos possunt, qui adesse nobis . possent, cum fili tui dilectissimi corpus sacramus et sanguinem, sed pia cura pro populo et sancta pro salute plebis oratio . et mens cultui intenta divino si non potest maiestatem tanti operis explecare, nititur tamen usum concessi muneris frequentare‖, quis enim | possit

* M. *continuationem* intelligit de sacrificio Christi in missa continuato: *secretis* et *tacito* nil dubitat quin referantur ad canonem missæ; *ineffabilia dicta* ad verba institutionis et transubstantiationis.

† Ad Ps. 136. et captivitatem Babylonicam spectat.

‡ *Qui* redundare, aut verbum finitum deesse, totum vero colon ad martyres spectare Monio exploratum est. *Bestiam seculi hujus* iste ad supplicium martyrum refert qui bestiis objiciebantur.

§ *Moysis canticum*, captivitatis scilicet Ægyptiacæ symbolum, similem ecclesiæ statum indicare alucinatur.

‖ Misere hæc omnia a Monio vexata, qui voce *possunt* in *possumus* mutata hanc efficit sententiam: Nos interdum quidem laudare te possumus, sed sacrificium missæ cum angelorum hymno, i. e. libere et elata voce, offerre nobis non licet, ob persecutionem scilicet. Ad liberum hunc Dei cultum, tunc quidem impeditum, verba jam sequentia trahit: mens, si non potest majestatem tanti operis explicare nititur tamen usum

(COD. VII[a].)

statio.

Textus Restitutus.

(Dignum et iustum est nos tibi . . gratias agere . . . . .) . . . . res gratiæ debitores jugi continuatione veneremur, seu cum publica prece sacra adolemus altaria, sive cum secretis mentium penetralibus ineffabilia *dictu* quæ feceris æstimantes tacito fovemus adfectu.* Justæ enim viæ tuæ, rex gentium. Quis non timebit et magnificabit nomen tuum? Nullæ quidem nobis adhuc citharæ personant†, *ut sanctis tuis* qui bestiam seculi huius concordia virtutum perseverante uicerint: nullum nobis Moysi canticum, qui inter fluctus adhuc istius seculi volutamur: nulla vox angelorum, nisi forte laudare *nobiscum* possunt qui adesse nobis possent, cum filii tui dilectissimi corpus sacramus et sanguinem. Sed pia cura pro populo et sancta pro salute plebis oratio et mens cultui intenta divino, si non potest maiestatem tanti operis explicare, nititur tamen usum concessi muneris frequentare.‡ Quis

* h.e. sive publice coram populo sive soli preces facimus.

† Hæc et quæ sequuntur ad illustrem Apocalypseos locum xiv. et xv. referuntur. Ibi (xiv. 2, 3.) de sanctis agnum comitantibus dicitur: *ἡ φωνὴ ἣν ἤκουσα ὡς κιθαρῳδῶν κιθαριζόντων ἐν ταῖς κιθάραις αὐτῶν· καὶ ᾄδουσιν ὡς ᾠδὴν καινὴν ἐνώπιον τοῦ θρόνου*, etc. Quæ vero in missa præcedunt ad verbum expressa sunt ex iis quæ paullo post (xv. 1—4.) ibi leguntur, de iis qui bestiam vicerint: *τοὺς νικῶντας ἐκ τοῦ θηρίου . . . ἔχοντας κιθάρας τοῦ θεοῦ. Καὶ ᾄδουσιν τὴν ᾠδὴν Μωϋσέως . . . λέγοντες· Μεγάλα καὶ θαυμαστὰ τὰ ἔργα σου, κύριε ὁ θεὸς ὁ παντοκράτωρ. δίκαιαι, καὶ ἀληθιναὶ αἱ ὁδοί σου, ὁ βασιλεὺς τῶν ἐθνῶν· τίς οὐ μὴ φοβηθῇ, κύριε, καὶ δοξάσει τὸ ὄνομά σου*; Angelorum canticum denique, ad quod respicitur in iis quæ in liturgia sequuntur, capite xvi. continetur.

‡ Hæc omnia rhetorico modo simplicia illa antiquissimi Chri-

Textus Codicis.

perfuncturio sensu, divina tua præterire munera, tu corruptibili . limo lutoque solubili spiritu vitæ insufflare dignatus es, hominem fecisti esse quod limos est . materiamque mortalem, ad imaginem similitudinemque tuam spiritali uiuificasti uigore naturæ, ut pigram humum hebetemque limum igneus uigor . intus animaret . agilisque motu venæ tepentis . caro nostra uiuesceret, quid sumus . et quantum eruemus* | huic limo leges . huic limo profetarum oracula angelorum ministeria militarunt, huic limo ipse dominus Ihesus labores miseratus humanos . cruce sui corporis triumphavit, quid loquar ad tuorum cineres martyrum torqueri incorporeas potestates, urit hic limos quos flamma non tangit, torquet fauilla quos ungulæ pœna non inuenit . auditur gemitus quorum tormenta non cernimus†, et hæc quum magna parui laboris præmia, infilex uoluptas quod eicit misera caro . quid sibi inuidet . de cœlo se revocat, et luto reddit . nec hoc mi-

concessi muneris frequentare: i. e., si nostrum mystagogum sequeris: quia missam non possumus recitare alta voce et cantu comitante, dicimus saltem, quantum persecutio nos sinit, missam secretam.

* Conjecit M. *erimus* vel *eruimus*: illud tamen præfert in dissertatione de codicis orthographia.

† Hoc in loco explicando in tantam abit insaniam mystagogus, ut verbis suis paululum contractis quantum fieri potest utendum mihi videatur. Scitò ergo lector hæc omnia ad persecutionem Christianorum tum sævientem spectare, quo et pulchram illam clausulam trahit orationis "ante nomina" quam supra dedimus; in qua omissis quæ proxime præcedunt, "si quies adridat (h. e rebus secundis) te colere," verba: "si temptatio ingruat (h. e. rebus adversis) non negare," de temptatione persecutionis dicta esse affirmat. Hoc autem nostro loco, si Monio credas, martyrium Sanctorum Lugduni anno 177 peractum, et ipsa celeberrima illa ac sanctissima Lugdunensium Epi-

Textus Restitutus.

enim possit perfunctorio sensu divina tua præterire munera? Tu corruptibili limo lutoque solubili spiritum vitæ insufflare dignatus es, hominem fecisti esse quod limus est, materiamque mortalem ad imaginem similitudinemque tuam spiritali vivificasti vigore naturæ, ut pigram humum hebetemque limum igneus vigor intus animaret, agilisque motu venæ tepentis caro nostra vivesceret. Quid sumus, et quantum *meruimus!** Huic limo leges, huic limo prophetarum oracula, angelorum ministeria militarunt, huic limo ipse dominus Iesus, labores miseratus humanos, cruce sui corporis triumphavit.

Quid loquar ad tuorum cineres martyrum torqueri incorporeas potestates? Urit hic limus quos flamma non tangit, torquet favilla quos ungulæ pœna non invenit, auditur gemitus quorum tormenta non cernimus.† Et hæc quam magna parvi laboris præmia! Infelix voluptas! *quo dejicit se* misera caro! quid sibi invidet! de cœlo se revocat et luto reddit. Nec hoc mirum sit, *terra*

stianorum cultus verba exprimunt: Gratias agimus tibi et te glorificamur, non ut debemus, sed ut possumus.

* *Meruimus*, h. e. quantam divina gratia consecuturi sumus felicitatem: ut paulo post: Et hæc quam magna parvi laboris præmia.

† Notum est, dæmoniacos sive energumenos ad sanctum aliquid et venerandum adductos fremere, tremere, angi: dæmonesque in iis latentes insævire. *Incorporeæ potestates* sunt dæmones eorum qui a spiritibus impuris possidentur: *hic limus* (i. e. humani corporis reliquiæ, cineres martyrum) *urit* dæmones *quos flamma rogi non tangit, torquet favilla*, ex crematis martyrum corporibus residua, *quos ungulæ pœna* (tormenti notum genus) *non invenit, auditur gemitus* dæmonum, *quorum tormenta non cernimus.*

Textus Codicis.

rum sit erra* præponderat . sed quia tu domine deus pater omnipotens . in tui unigeniti levatus corpore cælum nos separare† iussisti . ne quæso . patiar ui perire, nobis misericordiam tuam satis sit quod inclusa corpore anima in leges misera . transit alienas generisque pœna communi pro errore unius est persoluta | amiserimus certe prœrogatiuam naturæ non amittamus redemptionis tuæ gratiam, mercem igitur domine tuam tibi serua, quam fili tui dilectissimi tibi corpore conparasti, nihil huic carni debemus et sanguini jussumque dominicæ redemptionis. ut quemadmodum scriptum est, simus eius qui a mortuis resurrexit, merito tibi.

stola ab Eusebio laudata evidenter significatur. Pro *incorporeæ potestates* si legis "corporeæ potestates," habes magistratus gentiles, πολιτικὰς ἐξουσίας. *Limus* vero nil est nisi limus Rhodani in quem, epistola illa testi, cineres martyrum conjecti sunt.

* Monius: h. e. *æra*.

† Mendum hic suspicatur Monius.

Textus Restitutus.

præponderat. Sed quia tu domine, pater omnipotens, in tui unigeniti levatos corpore cœlum nos *sperare* jussisti, ne quæso *patiare* perire nobis misericordiam tuam. Satis sit quod inclusa corpore anima in leges misera transit alienas, generisque pœna *communis* pro errore unius est persoluta. Amiserimus certe prærogativam naturæ, non amittamus redemptionis tuæ gratiam. Mercem igitur domine tuam tibi serva, quam filii tui dilectissimi tibi corpore comparasti. Nihil huic carni debemus, *sed* sanguini *jussuique* dominicæ redemptionis, ut quemadmodum scriptum est simus ejus qui a mortuis resurrexit. Merito tibi (omnes angeli atque archangeli, Cherubim quoque et Seraphim sine intermissione proclamant dicentes :

Sanctus, Sanctus, Sanctus, Dominus Deus Sabaoth :
Pleni sunt cœli et terra gloria tua.)

III. RELIQUÆ CONSECRATIONIS ORATIONES* POST INSTITUTIONIS VERBA DICENDÆ QUOTQUOT IN ILLIS FRAGMENTIS ADSERVANTUR.

1. *In Missa II.* (*Codici IV.*)

Domini ac dei nostri sempiterni gloriam deprecemur orantes, uti hoc sacrificium tua benedictione benedicas et sancti spiritus tui rore perfundas; ut accipientibus universis legitima sit eucharistia per Iesum Christum filium tuum deum ac dominum conservatoremque nostrum: cui est apud te domine cum spiritu sancto regnum sempiternum, perpetua divinitas in secula seculorum. Amen.

2. *In Missa III.* (*Cod. V.*)

Recolentes igitur et servantes præcepta unigeniti, deprecamur pater omnipotens, ut his creaturis altario tuo superpositis *spiritum*† sanctificationis infundas; ut per transfusionem cælestis atque invisibilis sacramenti panis hic *mutatus*‡ in carnem et calix translatus in sanguinem sit nobis§ gratia, sit sumentibus medicina. p. d. etc.

3. *In Missa V.* (*Cod. VII.*)

Addit etiam istud edictum‖, ut quotiescunque corpus

* In codice inscribitur (semel secundum Monium, p. 26.), "*Post Secreta*" uti apud Mabillonium semper fere; in missa illa quam dedimus integram *Collectio* dicitur.

† Cod.: Spiritus.

‡ Cod.: mutatur.

§ Cod.: totius.

‖ Hinc probari potest, verba institutionis quæ in perficiendo sacramento recitabantur, extremam hanc evangelicæ relationis partem non necessario continuisse.

ipsius sumeretur et sanguis, commemoratio fieret dominicæ passionis : quod nos facientes Iesu Christi fili tui domini ac dei nostri, semper glòriam prædicamus, *rogantes** uti hoc sacrificium tua benedictione benedicas et sancti spiritus rore perfundas ; ut accipientibus universis sit eucharistia vera, pura, legitima : per I. Chr. filium tuum dominum ac deum nostrum, qui vivit et regnat tecum cum spiritu sancto in æterna secula seculorum. Amen.

4. *In Missa VI.* (*Cod. VIII.*)

Respice igitur clementissime pater fili instituta, ecclesiæ mysteria, credentium † munera, a supplicantibus oblata et eroganda supplicantibus : p. d. n.

5. *In Missa VIII.* (*Cod. X.*)

Miserere domine supplicibus tuis, et *petitiones* humiliatæ tibi plebis placatus *indulge.*‡ Moveat te ad misericordiam imminens nobis te deserente discrimen. Aspice, quæsumus, lacrimas nostras ubertate fletuum vix cadentes. Audi singultibus interpellata suspiria, et præsta in judicio liberos quos vides in confessione compunctos, et, quos aspicis humiles per reatum, erectos munerare digneris præmio, mitigans . . . . .

* Cod. : rogamus.
† Cod. : credentibus.
‡ Cod. : peticionis humiliate . . . . intellege.

CAPUT QUINTUM.

LITURGIA ECCLESIÆ ROMANÆ.

DE ANTIQUISSIMIS ECCLESIÆ ROMANÆ LITURGIIS TESTIMONIA.

Lib. Pontif. in Vita *S. Alexandri* (ab anno 100 ad 106): Hic passionem Domini miscuit in precatione Sacerdotum, quando Missæ celebrantur. (Vignolius, Lib. Pontif. i. p. 21.)

Id. in Vita *S. Xysti* (107—116): Hic constituit ut intra actionem, sacerdote incipiente, populus hymnum decantaret: Sanctus, Sanctus, Sanctus, Dominus Deus Sabaoth, et cetera. (Lib. Pontif. i. p. 23.)

Id. in Vita *Telesphori* (117—127): Hic constituit ut in ingressu sacrificii hymnus diceretur Angelicus, hoc est, Gloria in excelsis Deo, et cetera, tantum nocte Natalis Domini.

In Vita *S. Felicis* (sub Aureliano): Hic constituit supra memorias martyrum missas celebrari (h. e. communionem celebrari ad sepulchra martyrum anniversario martyrii die).

Id. in Vita *S. Melchiadis* (in principio Constantini): Ab eodem die (Dominico) fuit, ut oblationes sacratæ per ecclesias ex consecratu episcopi dirigerentur quod declaratur fermentum (fermentum pro confieiendo Pane Eucharistico intra hebdomadem) similiter cui *Siricio* tribuitur.

In Vita *S. Sylvestris* (sub Constantino): Hic constituit chrisma ab episcopo confici (h. e. ut confirmationis ritus ad episcopum solum pertineret). Hic privilegium episcopis dedit ut baptizatum consignarent, propter hæreticas suasiones. Hic constituit ut baptizatum liniret presbyter chrismate, levatum de aqua, propter occasionem transitus mortis.

In Vita *S. Anastasii* (398): Hic constituit ut quotiescunque Evangelia sancta recitantur, sacerdotes non sederent.

In Vita *S. Innocentii* (402): Hic constituit Sabbato jejunium celebrari, quia Sabbato Dominus in sepulcro jacuit, et discipuli ejus jejunaverunt.

In Vita *S. Cœlestini* (422): Hic constituit ut psalmi David cl. ante sacrificium psallerentur, quod ante non fiebat, nisi tantum Epistola B. Pauli Apostoli recitabatur, et S. Evangelium, et sic missæ fiebant. Et constituit Gradale post officium ad missas cantari, id est, responsorium in gradibus.

In Vita *S. Leonis* (440—462): Hic constituit ut intra actionem sacrificii diceretur *Sanctum sacrificium*, et cetera. (Lib. Pontif. i. p. 152.)

In Vita *Gelasii* (c. 495.) in Catalogo Rom. Pontif.

apud Blanchin: Fecit et hymnos in modum beati Ambrosii. Fecit et Sacramentorum præfationes canto sermone.

Epistola *Vigilii* Papæ ad Profuturum (a. 538): Ordinem precum in celebritate missarum nullo nos tempore, nulla festivitate significamus habere diversam, sed semper eodem tenore oblata Deo munera consecrare . . . . Quapropter nos ipsius canonicæ precis textum dirigimus subter adjectum, quem Deo propitio ex Apostolica Traditione suscepimus.

Gregorius magnus ad Johannem Episcopum Syracusanum (598), Epp. ix. 12.: Veniens quidam de Sicilia mihi dixit, quod aliqui amici ejus, vel Græci vel Latini nescio, quasi sub zelo sanctæ Romanæ Ecclesiæ de meis dispositionibus murmurarent, dicentes . . . . . quia Orationem Dominicam mox post canonem dici statuistis. Cui ego respondi, quia in nullo eorum aliam ecclesiam secuti sumus . . . . Orationem vero Dominicam idcirco mox post precem dicimus: quia mos Apostolorum fuit ut ad ipsam solummodo orationem oblationis hostiam consecrarent. Et valde mihi inconveniens visum est ut precem quam scholasticus composuerat, super oblationem diceremus, et ipsam traditionem quam Redemptor noster composuit, super ejus corpus et sanguinem non diceremus. Sed et Dominica oratio apud Græcos ab omni populo dicitur, apud nos vero a solo Sacerdote.

Confer Johannis Diaconi Vitam Greg. M. ii. 20.:

Super corpora beatorum Petri et Pauli Apostolorum Missarum solemnia celebrari decrevit, acquisitis numerosissimis olivetis, quorum summam in tabulis marmoreis præ foribus ejusdem basilicæ annotavit. Luminaria superaddidit, officia sedula deputavit. De sepultura juxta Ecclesiam commodam sperare prohibuit. Septem ex defensoribus honore regionario decorandos indixit. *Alleluja* extra Pentecostes tempora dici ad missas fecit. Subdiaconos exspoliatos procedere statuit. *Kyrie eleison* cantari præcepit: et orationem Dominicam mox post Canonem super hostiam censuit recitari.

I.

CANON GREGORIANUS

UT NUNC LEGITUR,

SECUNDUM DECRETUM CONCILII TRIDENTINI,

PRÆMISSA PRÆFATIONE.

(*Præfatio Missæ Fidelium.*)

DOMINUS vobiscum
Et cum spiritu tuo.
Sursum corda:
Habemus ad dominum.
Gratias agamus Domino Deo nostro:
Dignum et justum est.

Vere dignum et justum est, æquum et salutare, nos tibi semper et ubique gratias agere, Domine sancte, Pater omnipotens, æterne Deus, per Christum Dominum nostrum, per quem Majestatem tuam laudant Angeli, adorant Dominationes, tremunt Potestates, Cœli cœlorumque Virtutes ac beata Seraphim socia exultatione concelebrant. Cum quibus et nostras voces ut admitti jubeas deprecamur, supplici confessione dicentes:

Sanctus, sanctus, sanctus Dominus Deus Sabaoth:
Pleni sunt Cœli et Terra gloria tua.
Osanna in excelsis.
Benedictus qui venit in nomine Domini;
Osanna in excelsis.*

(*Canon Missæ.*)

Te igitur, clementissime Pater per Jesum Christum Filium tuum Dominum nostrum, supplices rogamus et petimus uti accepta habeas et benedicas hæc dona, hæc munera, hæc sancta sacrificia inlibata. In primis quæ tibi offerimus pro Ecclesia tua sancta Catholica, quam pacificare, custodire, adunare et regere digneris toto orbe terrarum† una cum famulo tuo Papa nostro (illo) et antistite nostro (illo) *et omnibus orthodoxis atque Catholicæ et Apostolicæ Fidei cultoribus.*‡

Memento Domine famulorum famularumque tuarum et omnium circumadstantium, quorum tibi fides cognita est et nota devotio *pro quibus tibi offerimus*

* Osanna et Benedictus posterioris ætatis additamenta esse creduntur. Dixerim potius, ea librariorum culpa irrepsisse qui non meminissent hæc verba hoc loco scripta esse utpote a Choro post preces peractas cantanda, cum ad Communionem invitetur. Quo cum instituto convenit mos Romæ nunc in Sacello Pontificio observatus, secundum quem inter Sanctum et Benedictum sistitur cantus dum perficitur Sacramentum.

† Hæc verba Optatus Milevit. (circa 370) respicere creditur, cum Donatistas ita adloquitur: "Offerre vos dicitis pro ecclesia toto orbe terrarum diffusa."

‡ Ultima hæc verba in multis iisque antiquissimis MSS. non inveniuntur: desunt etiam in Canone Sacramentarii Gelasiani, qui est ipse textus Canonis Gregorii. (Bona, ii. 11. § 4)

*vel** qui tibi offerunt hoc sacrificium laudis pro se suisque omnibus, pro redemptione animarum suarum, pro spe salutis et incolumitatis suæ, tibique reddunt vota sua æterno Deo vivo et vero.† Communicantes

* Desunt in omnibus fere antiquissimis MSS. Radulphus vidit additamentum ideo factum esse, quia cessaverat populi oblatio.

† Tota hæc oratio, *Memento Domine* (quod respondet Græcis Μνήσθητι Κύριε), est quæ solenni voce *Oratio Diaconi* dicitur, vel Oratio Nominum, vel "Super diptycha." Legebat eam Diaconus ex diptychis, ut commendaret precibus populi eos qui oblationes fecissent. (Bona, ii. 8. § 5.) S. Hieronymus (in Ezech.) his verbis eam consuetudinem respicit, "Ut publice Diaconus in ecclesia recitet offerentium nomina." Innocentius I., in Epistola ad Decentium, Episcopum Eugubinum, quæ scripta est anno 416, ad eundem usum respicit, et haud dubie ad eadem verba quæ hic leguntur: "De nominibus vero recitandis antequam precem sacerdos faciat atque eorum oblationes quorum nomina recitanda sunt, sua oratione commendet, quam superfluum sit, et ipse pro tua prudentia recognoscis, ut cujus hostiam necdum Deo offeras ejus ante nomen insinues, quamvis illi incognitum sit nihil." Cavendum igitur Diacono esse ait, ne nomina ante recitet, quam a Presbytero absolutæ sint preces qua oblationes commendet. Legenda igitur erant nomina postquam Sacerdos mentionem fecerat Papæ, vel Papæ et Episcopi, h. e. antequam ad verbum "Communicantes" perveniret. At post hoc verbum, cum diebus festis Christi inde a Nativitate usque ad Ascensionem omnibus festi ipsius mentio interponeretur, hoc fere modo:

> Communicantes *et diem sacratissimum celebrantes* . . . . .
> *sed* et memoriam venerantes,

vox *Communicantes* quo facilius inveniretur, majori initiali distincta est atque a librariis in initio versus posita. Quæ vox paullatim a sacerdotibus tamquam novæ periodi initium cum iis quæ sequebantur conjuncta est. At tali sententiam construendi modo adversatur grammatica vel sequioris ævi: neque

et memoriam venerantes in primis gloriosæ semper Virginis Mariæ, Genitricis Dei et Domini nostri Jesu Christi sed et beatorum Apostolorum ac Martyrum tuorum Petri, Pauli, Andreæ, Jacobi, Johannis, Thomæ, Jacobi, Philippi, Bartholomæi, Matthæi, Simonis et Thaddæi, Lini, Cleti, Clementis, Xysti, Cornelii, Cypriani, Laurentii, Chrysogoni, Johannis et Pauli, Cosmæ et Damiani, et omnium Sanctorum tuorum quorum meritis precibusque concedas, ut in omnibus protectionis tuæ muniamur auxilio. Per Christum Dominum nostrum.

Hanc igitur oblationem servitutis nostræ sed et cunctæ familiæ tuæ quæsumus Domine ut placatus accipias diesque nostros in tua pace disponas atque ab æterna damnatione nos eripi et in electorum tuorum jubeas grege numerari. Per Christum Dominum nostrum.

Quam oblationem tu Deus in omnibus quæsumus benedictam adscriptam ratam rationabilem acceptabilemque facere digneris ut nobis Corpus et Sanguis fiat dilectissimi filii tui Domini nostri Jesu Christi: Qui pridie quam pateretur accepit Panem in sanctas ac venerabiles manus suas, *et* elevatis oculis in cœlum ad te Deum patrem suum omnipotentem tibi gratias

multo minor est difficultas construendi verba, *una cum famulo*, etc., vel cum *ecclesia* vel cum *offerimus*. Textus igitur ita est restituendus:

> In primis quæ tibi offerimus pro ecclesia . . . . toto orbe terrarum, [una] cum famulo tuo Papa nostro . . et Antistite nostro . . communicantes, et (sed et) memoriam venerantes. . .

agens benedixit, fregit dedit*que** discipulis suis dicens: Accipite et manducate ex hoc omnes. Hoc est corpus meum. Simili modo posteaquam cœnatum est; accipiens et hunc præclarum Calicem in sanctas ac venerabiles manus suas, item tibi gratias agens benedixit dedit*que* discipulis suis dicens: Accipite et bibite ex eo omnes. Hic est enim Calix Sanguinis mei, novi et æterni Testamenti, mysterium fidei: qui pro vobis et pro multis effundetur in remissionem peccatorum. Hæc quotiescunque feceritis in mei memoriam facietis.

Unde et memores, Domine, nos tui servi sed et plebs tua sancta Christi filii tui Domini *Dei*† nostri tam beatæ Passionis nec non et ab inferis Resurrectionis sed et in cœlos gloriosæ Ascensionis: offerimus præclaræ majestati tuæ de tuis donis ac datis hostiam puram, hostiam sanctam, hostiam immaculatam, Panem sanctum vitæ æternæ et Calicem salutis perpetuæ. Supra quæ propitio ac sereno vultu respicere digneris et accepta habere sicuti accepta habere dignatus es munera pueri tui justi Abel et sacrificium patriarchæ nostri Abrahæ et quod tibi obtulit summus sacerdos tuus Melchisedech sanctum sacrificium immaculatam hostiam.‡

* Vetustiores libri MSS. *elevatis* omissa particula *et:* iidem *dedit* pro *deditque.*

† *Dei* add. omnes præter Gelas. Gerberti: sed facilius addi quam omitti poterat.

‡ Verba, *Sanctum sacrificium, immaculatam hostiam,* " et

Supplices te rogamus omnipotens Deus, jube hæc perferri per manus angeli tui in sublime altare tuum, in conspectum divinæ majestatis tuæ: ut quotquot ex hac altaris participatione sacrosanctum filii tui Corpus et Sanguinem sumserimus, omni benedictione cœlesti et gratia repleamur. Per Christum Dominum nostrum.

*Memento etiam Domine famulorum famularumque tuarum [illorum et illarum] qui nos præcesserunt cum signo fidei et dormiunt in somno pacis. Ipsis et omnibus in Christo quiescentibus locum refrigerii lucis et pacis ut indulgeas deprecamur. Per Christum Dominum nostrum.

Nobis quoque peccatoribus famulis tuis, de multitudine miserationum tuarum sperantibus partem aliquam et societatem donare digneris cum tuis sanctis Apostolis et Martyribus, cum Johanne, Stephano,

cetera," addita esse a Leone Magno Liber Pontificalis testatur: similia tradit Walafridus. Alii hæc ita interpretantur, quasi Leo totam hanc orationem, *Unde et memores*, addidisset: alii omnia quæ inde ab illis verbis in Canone leguntur Leonis esse opinantur. Prior sententia est absurda: altera non multum a vero abest, ut infra demonstrabimus.

* Est quidem antiquissima oratio illa, *Memento etiam Domine*, at solummodo in *Missis pro defunctis*. Veterrimus igitur codex Vaticanus et Sacramentarium Gelasianum eam omittunt in Canone generali. Daniel v. cl. qui idem sentit, optime hæc vetustissimi libri Sangallensis verba affert: "Si fuerit ut nomina defunctorum recitentur, dicit Sacerdos: Memento," etc. Idem igitur statuendum de iis quæ sequuntur: *Nobis quoque peccatoribus*, etc., quippe quæ precem illam continuent.

Matthia, Barnaba, Ignatio, Alexandro, Marcellino, Petro, Felicitate, Perpetua, Agatha, Lucia, Agnete, Cæcilia, Anastasia, et cum omnibus Sanctis tuis. Intra quorum nos consortium non æstimator meriti, sed veniæ quæsumus largitor admitte. Per Christum Dominum nostrum. Per quem hæc omnia, Domine, semper bona creas, sanctificas, vivificas, benedicis, et præstas nobis. Per ipsum et cum ipso et in ipso est tibi Deo Patri omnipotenti in unitate Spiritus Sancti omnis honor et gloria per omnia sæcula sæculorum. Amen.

Oremus:

Præceptis salutaribus moniti et divina institutione formati audemus dicere: Pater noster qui es in cœlis, Sanctificetur nomen tuum, Adveniat regnum tuum, Fiat voluntas tua sicut in cœlo et in terra. Panem nostrum quotidianum da nobis hodie. Et dimitte nobis debita nostra, sicut et nos dimittimus debitoribus nostris. Et ne nos inducas in tentationem, Sed libera nos a malo. Amen.

*Libera nos quæsumus Domine ab omnibus malis

* Quum S. Gregorius ipse dixerit, se hoc loco inseruisse Orationem Dominicam, apparet, collectam *Libera nos*, qua ad ultima hujus orationis verba respicitur, Gregorio antiquiorem non esse.

Vetusti libri ante verba, *et omnibus sanctis* (quæ in Codice Vaticano desunt), nomina sanctorum propriorum inserunt, unde Embolismus dicta est hæc oratio. Sacramentarium Gelasianum addit, *et beatis Confessoribus*. Ad doxologiam quod attinet, vetustissimi libri habent, "Deus in unitate Spiritus Sancti," pro, "in unitate Spiritus sancti Deus."

præteritis præsentibus et futuris, intercedente beata et gloriosa semper virgine, Dei genitrice Maria, cum beatis Apostolis tuis Petro et Paulo atque Andrea . . . . . *et omnibus Sanctis:* da propitius pacem in diebus nostris, ut ope misericordiæ tuæ adjuti et a peccato simus semper liberi et ab omni perturbatione securi. Per *eundem* Dominum nostrum Jesum Christum, Filium tuum, qui tecum vivit et regnat in unitate Spiritus Sancti Deus per omnia sæcula sæculorum. Amen.

* Pax domini sit semper vobiscum:
Et cum spiritu tuo.

* Indicium hoc est, jam incipere Communionem.

II.

CANON S. GREGORII

SECUNDUM VETUSTISSIMOS LIBROS RESTITUTUS.

Orationes Sacerdotis.

TE igitur clementissime pater, per Jesum Christum Filium tuum Dominum nostrum supplices rogamus et petimus, uti accepta habeas et benedicas hæc dona, hæc munera, hæc sancta sacrificia inlibata: in primis quæ tibi offerimus pro ecclesia tua sancta Catholica, quam pacificare, custodire, adunare et regere digneris toto orbe terrarum: [una] cum famulo tuo Papa nostro (illo)

Preces Diaconi.

Post nomen Papæ a Sacerdote pronunciatum Diaconus offerentium nomina recitat eorumque nomine hanc dicit orationem:

Memento Domine famulorum famularumque tuarum et omnium circumadstantium, quorum tibi fides cognita est et nota devotio, qui tibi offerunt hoc sacrificium laudis pro se suisque omnibus, pro redemptione animarum suarum, pro spe salutis et incolumitatis suæ, tibique reddunt vota sua æterno Deo vivo et vero.

communicantes, et memoriam venerantes in primis gloriosæ semper Virginis Mariæ, Genitricis Dei et Domini nostri Jesu Christi sed et beatorum Apostolorum ac Martyrum tuorum Petri, Pauli, Andreæ, Jacobi, Johannis, Thomæ, Jacobi, Philippi, Bartholomæi, Matthæi, Simonis et Thaddæi, Lini, Cleti, Clementis, Xysti, Cornelii, Cypriani, Laurentii, Chrysogoni, Johannis et Pauli, Cosmæ et Damiani, et omnium Sanctorum tuorum quorum meritis precibusque concedas, ut in omnibus protectionis tuæ muniamur auxilio. Per Christum Dominum nostrum.

Hanc igitur oblationem servitutis nostræ sed et cunctæ familiæ tuæ quæsumus Domine ut placatus accipias diesque nostros in tua pace disponas atque ab æterna damnatione nos eripi et in electorum tuorum jubeas grege numerari. Per Christum Dominum nostrum.

Quam oblationem tu Deus in omnibus quæsumus benedictam adscriptam ratam rationabilem acceptabilemque facere digneris ut nobis Corpus et Sanguis

Preces Diaconi.

In Sacramentario Gelasiano in memoriam eorum qui pium Ecclesiæ reliquerant legatum, post verba "incolumitates suæ" hæc inserebantur, secundum Codicem Gerberti:

Memento etiam Domine et animarum famulorum famularumque tuarum fidelium Catholicorum in Christo quiescentium, qui nos præcesserunt, illorum et illarum, qui per eleemosynam et confessionem tibi reddunt vota sua æterno Deo vivo et vero.

fiat dilectissimi filii tui Domini* nostri Jesu Christi: Qui pridie quam pateretur accepit Panem in sanctas ac venerabiles manus suas, elevatis oculis in cœlum ad te Deum Patrem suum omnipotentem tibi gratias agens benedixit, fregit, dedit discipulis suis dicens: Accipite et manducate ex hoc omnes. Hoc est corpus meum. Simili modo posteaquam cœnatum est, accipiens et hunc præclarum Calicem in sanctas ac venerabiles manus suas item tibi gratias agens benedixit, dedit discipulis suis dicens: Accipite et bibite ex eo omnes. Hic est enim Calix Sanguinis mei, novi et æterni Testamenti, mysterium fidei: qui pro vobis et pro multis effundetur in remissionem peccatorum. Hæc quotiescunque feceritis in mei memoriam facietis.

Unde et memores†, Domine, nos tui servi sed et plebs tua sancta Christi filii tui Domini‡ nostri tam beatæ Passionis nec non et ab inferis Resurrectionis sed et in cœlos gloriosæ Ascensionis: offerimus præclaræ majestati tuæ de tuis donis ac datis hostiam puram, hostiam sanctam, hostiam immaculatam, Panem sanctum vitæ æternæ et Calicem salutis perpetuæ. Supra quæ propitio ac sereno vultu respicere digneris et accepta habere sicuti accepta habere dignatus es munera pueri tui justi Abel et sacrificium patriarchæ nostri Abrahæ et quod tibi obtulit summus sacerdos

* Ita Othobon. c. vulg. Alter Vatic. et Gelas. addunt *Dei*.

† Vulgatam tuetur Gelas. Gerberti.

‡ Addunt cum vulg. *Dei*, omnes præter Gelas. Gerberti.

Preces Diaconi.

tuus Melchisedech sanctum sacrificium immaculatam hostiam.

Supplices te rogamus omnipotens Deus, jube hæc perferri per manus angeli tui in sublime altare tuum, in conspectum divinæ majestatis tuæ: ut quotquot ex hac altaris participatione sacrosanctum filii tui Corpus et Sanguinem sumserimus, omni benedictione cœlesti et gratia repleamur. Per Christum Dominum nostrum.

Preces Diaconis.

(*In Officiis pro Defunctis.*)

Memento etiam Domine famulorum famularumque tuarum [illorum et illarum] qui nos præcesserunt cum signo fidei et dormiunt in somno pacis. Ipsis et omnibus in Christo quiescentibus locum refrigerii lucis et pacis ut indulgeas deprecamur. Per Christum Dominum nostrum.

Nobis quoque peccatoribus famulis tuis, de multitudine miserationum tuarum sperantibus, partem aliquam et societatem donare digneris cum tuis sanctis Apostolis et Martyribus, cum Johanne, Stephano, Matthia, Barnaba, Ignatio, Alexandro, Marcellino, Petro, Felicitate, Perpetua, Agatha, Lucia, Agnete, Cæcilia, Anastasia et cum omnibus Sanctis tuis. Intra quorum nos consortium non æstimator meriti, sed veniæ quæsumus largitor admitte. Per Christum Dominum nostrum. Per quem hæc omnia, Domine, semper bona creas, sanctificas, vivificas, benedicis, et præstas nobis. Per ipsum et cum ipso et in ipso est tibi Deo Patri omnipotenti in unitate Spiritus Sancti omnis honor et gloria per omnia sæcula sæculorum. Amen.

Orationes Sacerdotis.

Oremus:

Præceptis salutaribus moniti et divina institutione formati audemus dicere: Pater noster qui es in cœlis, Sanctificetur nomen tuum, Adveniat regnum tuum, Fiat voluntas tua sicut in cœlo et in terra. Panem nostrum quotidianum da nobis hodie. Et dimitte nobis debita nostra, sicut et nos dimittimus debitoribus nostris. Et ne nos inducas in tentationem, Sed libera nos a malo. Amen.

Libera nos quæsumus Domine ab omnibus malis præteritis præsentibus et futuris, intercedente beata et gloriosa semper virgine, Dei genitrice Maria, et beatis Apostolis tuis Petro et Paulo atque Andrea . . . . . da propitius pacem in diebus nostris, ut ope misericordiæ tuæ adjuti et a peccato simus semper liberi et ab omni perturbatione securi. Per Dominum nostrum Jesum Christum, Filium tuum, qui tecum vivit et regnat in unitate Spiritus Sancti, Deus per omnia sæcula sæculorum. Amen.

Pax Domini sit semper vobiscum:
Respondetur:
Et cum spiritu tuo.

(*Communio incipit cleri et populi; dum cantatur:*)

Agnus Dei qui tollis peccata mundi:
Miserere nobis.

III.

PRECES EUCHARISTICÆ ECCLESIÆ ROMANÆ

QUARTI SECULI.

Præfatio:

SURSUM corda . . . . . .

Dignum est justum est.

Vere dignum est justum est . . . . .

(*Quæ sequuntur variant secundum arbitrium episcopi vel secundum Librum Sacramentorum; terminatur vero semper oratio verbis Hymni:*)

Sanctus sanctus sanctus Dominus Deus Sabaoth:
Pleni sunt cœli et terra gloria tua.

Te igitur, clementissime Pater, per Jesum Christum Filium tuum Dominum nostrum supplices rogamus et petimus, uti accepta habeas et benedicas hæc dona, hæc munera, hæc sancta sacrificii inlibata. In primis quæ tibi offerimus pro Ecclesia tua sancta Catholica, quam pacificare, custodire, adunare et regere digneris: cum famulo tuo Episcopo [Papa] nostro (illo) communicantes, ... et memoriam venerantes in

primis gloriosæ semper Virginis Mariæ [Genitricis Dei et Domini nostri Jesu Christi], sed et beatorum Apostolorum ac Martyrum tuorum Petri, Pauli, Andreæ, Jacobi, Johannis, Thomæ, Jacobi, Philippi, Bartholomæi, Matthæi, Simonis et Thaddæi, Lini, Cleti, Clementis, Xysti, Cornelii, Cypriani, Laurentii, Chrysogoni, Johannis et Pauli, Cosmæ et Damiani, et omnium Sanctorum tuorum quorum meritis precibusque concedas, ut in omnibus protectionis tuæ muniamur auxilio. Per Christum Dominum nostrum.

Hanc igitur oblationem servitutis nostræ sed et cunctæ familiæ tuæ quæsumus Domine ut placatus accipias, atque in omnibus benedictam, adscriptam, ratam, rationabilem acceptabilemque facere digneris ut nobis Corpus et Sanguis fiat dilectissimi filii tui Domini nostri Jesu Christi:

Qui pridie quam pateretur accepit Panem in sanctas ac venerabiles manus suas, elevatis oculis in cœlum ad te Deum patrem suum omnipotentem tibi gratias agens benedixit, fregit, dedit discipulis suis dicens: Accipite et manducate ex hoc omnes. Hoc est corpus meum. Simili modo posteaquam cœnatum est, accipiens et hunc præclarum Calicem in sanctas ac venerabiles manus suas, item tibi gratias agens benedixit, dedit discipulis suis dicens: Accipite et bibite ex eo omnes. Hic est enim Calix Sanguinis mei, novi et æterni Testamenti, mysterium fidei: qui pro vobis et pro multis effundetur in remissionem

peccatorum. Hæc quotiescunque feceritis in mei memoriam facietis.

Unde et memores, Domine, nos tui servi, sed et plebs tua sancta, Christi filii tui Domini nostri tam beatæ Passionis nec non et ab inferis Resurrectionis, sed et in cœlos gloriosæ Ascensionis: offerimus præclaræ majestati tuæ de tuis donis ac datis hostiam puram, hostiam sanctam, hostiam immaculatam, Panem sanctum vitæ æternæ et Calicem salutis perpetuæ. Supra quæ propitio ac sereno vultu respicere digneris et accepta habere, sicuti accepta habere dignatus es munera pueri justi tui Abel et sacrificium patriarchæ nostri Abrahæ et quod tibi obtulit summus sacerdos tuus Melchisedech:

[Supplices te rogamus omnipotens Deus, jube hæc perferri per manus angeli tui in sublime altare tuum in conspectum divinæ majestatis tuæ: ut quotquot ex hac altaris participatione sacrosanctum filii tui Corpus et Sanguinem sumserimus omni benedictione cœlesti et gratia repleamur.]

Per Christum Dominum nostrum Filium tuum, qui tecum vivit et regnat Deus in unitate Spiritus Sancti per omnia sæcula sæculorum. Amen.

Oratio Dominica:

Pater noster . . . . in temptationem:
Sed libera nos a malo.

Osculum pacis.

Incipit communio cleri et populi, choro canente:

Osanna in excelsis:
Benedictus qui venit in nomine Domini.

Inter communionem cantatur a choro et populo:

Agnus Dei qui tollis peccata mundi:
Miserere nobis.

Benedictio.

Pax Domini sit semper vobiscum:
Et cum spiritu tuo.

APPENDIX.

FRAGMENTA CODICIS PALIMPSESTI CASINENSIS N. 345, AD SACRAMENTARIUM GREGORII MAGNI SPECTANTIA,

QUANTUM LEGI POTUERUNT.

Foll. XXIX. XXX. continent Præfationem duabus Columnis scriptam.

I.

Legi non potuit.

II.

Vere dignum et justum est æque
et salutare
nos tibi semper et
ubique gratias agere dn̄e
sancte pater omps
eterne ds per Xp̄m
dn̄m nostrum.
Per quem majestatem
tuam laudunt an-
geli adorant domi-
nationes tremunt
potestates
Celi celorumque virtu-
tes ac beata sera-
phim socia exultatio-
ne concelebrant.
Cum quibus et nostras
voces ut admitti
jubeas deprecamur
supplici confessione
dicentes Scūs Scūs
Scūs Dn̄s

Fol. XXXII continet Hymnum Ter Sanctus.

I.	II.
Legi non potuit.	Deus Sabbaoth : Pleni sunt celi et terra gloria tua Osanna in excelsis Benedictus qui venit in nomine Dñi Osanna in excelsis

Foliæ XXXIII. XXXIV. XXXV. XXXVI. XXXVII. XXXVIII. penitus evanuerunt, si quid revera continuerint.

I.	II.
. . . . expectantibus dnm	(invi)tatur ad nuptias Et cum venerit et pulsaverit confestim (a)periant ei. Beati servi . . . quos eu . . . .

Fol. XL.

I.	II.
. . . . me nobis salutaris oblatio et	Legi non potuit.†

* Scriptum duabus columnis ut missæ fragmenta quæ præcedunt et sequuntur : at missalis partem vix erediderim quæ hic leguntur : est fortasse lectionis pars ex homilia quadam desumta.

† Habemus in fol. XL. Præfationis finem et orationem *ad complendum*, quæ in Sacramentario Gregoriano tertiam et quartam (eamque ultimam) orationem constituunt. Verba :

nobis salutaris oblatio et . . . . (ab omnibus)
indesinentes expi(et nos peccatis)
et ab omnibus tueatur adversis —

et illa :

Dne sancte da nobis
ter . . . . (si)militer
. . . . . ; ut qui . . . .

facile locum indicabunt quærenti in Menardo vel Muratorio.

I.

bus
indesinenter expi
et ab omnibus
tueatur adversis p
simus.

(Rubrica.)
Dñe sancte da nobis
ter . . . . milites
det . . . . es ut
qui . . . . commo
. . . . . nos fa-
. . . . . cet.
(ef)ficiant
. . . . . tican.

(Rubrica.*)

Collecta.

Deus qui conspicis
quia ex nulla
nostra virtute sub-
sistimus: conce-
de propitius ut
intercessione bea-
ti Martini Confes-
soris tui‡, contra
omnia adversa muniamur
Per Dnm nrm.

II.

(Rubrica.†)

Hec hostia dñe pla-
cationis et laudis
quæsumus ut interveniente
beata Cæcilia martyre,
etc. etc. etc.

Quos præterea in Vaticano codices invenies ad rem liturgicam attinentes, qui perscrutentur non indignos, hi fere sunt. Cod. Reg. 12. Alex. 12. Vatic. 82. 83. — Archiv. secret. 144. 145.

* Debebat inscribi III. Id. Nov. Natale S. Martini. Cf. Menard. p. 142.

† Debebat inscribi X. Kal. Dec. Natale S. Cæciliæ. Deesse videtur *Collecta.* Quæ sequitur oratio apud Menardum inscribitur *Super Oblata.*

‡ Ed. Men. addit: *atque pontificis,* quæ codex palimps. non habere videtur.

SUPPLEMENTARY NOTE

TO

THE APOLOGY OF HIPPOLYTUS.

ON THE FOREBODINGS AMONG THE CHRISTIANS OF THE SECOND AND THIRD CENTURIES RESPECTING THE APPROACHING END OF THE WORLD AND A RENEWAL OF MANKIND AND HUMAN SOCIETY.

THE highly interesting work of Commodianus, which has recently come to light in the "Spicilegium Solesmense," from the hidden treasures of Sir Thomas Phillips at Middle-Hill*, furnishes a most striking example of what I have said in the above-mentioned passage about the connection of the apocalyptic views respecting the end of the world with great and appalling events of the age, reflected in the light of Christian faith and hope.

It is easy to prove that this poem must have been written between 250, the Decian persecution, and 253, the victory of Æmilianus over the Goths; and that Commodianus, the author of the "Instructiones," an African writer of the latter half of the third century, certainly composed it. According to Father Pitra the manuscript does not give the name. But this is a mistake. Sir Thomas

* This manuscript is quite distinct from the Codex Meermanianus in the same library, which contains the "Instructiones" of Commodianus, and the existence of which was known to Oehler, the last editor of Commodianus.

Phillips says that it is still legible.* Its style corresponds exactly with what Gennadius (about the year 500) says of this original and deep African writer of provincial Latin: "Scripsit mediocri sermone, quasi versu, librum adversus paganos," and it is probably a remodeling of

* The title of the poem is lost in the manuscript; at the end however we find the words "Explicit tractatus Sancti Episcopi" given by the Editor. Then follow two lines, the first illegible (the name of the diocese), the second showing the letters COM. OD.... The "Instructiones" contain nothing which leads us to believe that Commodianus was a bishop when he wrote them: nor can I find any allusion to it in the remarkable exordium of the new text, which evidently is the remodeling of the first nine verses of the "Instructiones," and a great improvement on that rude *Præfatio:*

"Quis poterit unum proprie Deum nosse cœlorum,
Nisi ipse[1] quem is tulerit ab errore nefando?
Errabam ignarus, spatians, spe captus inani,
Dum furor ætatis primæ me portabat in auras,
Plus eram quam palea levior; quasi centum adessent
In humeris capita, sic præceps quocumque ferebar.
Non satis; his rebus criminose denique mersus
Veneficus fui factus[2], herbas incantando malignas.
Sed gratias Deo (nec sufficit vox mea tantum
Reddere), qui misere vacillanti tandem adluxit!
Aggressusque fui tradita quæ[3] in codice legis,
Quid ibi rescirem. Statim mihi lampada fulsit;
Tunc vere cognovi Deum summum in altis,
Et ideo tales hortor ab errore recedant.
Quis melior medicus, nisi passus vulneris auctor?"

I would not say that these lines absolutely exclude the epis-

[1] Addidi *ipse*, metri causa. P. tulerit procul.
[2] Cod.: Pene fui factus.
[3] Cod.: traditor, quod P. vult significare doctorem, eum qui tradit doctrinam.

the first book of the "Instructiones." In this work, then, Commodianus gives a general outline of his views as to the destruction of pagan Rome. Nero is to conquer it, coming from the great river Euphrates, according to the popular belief of the time, known to us by the sibylline verses of the latter part of the first century. The beginning of woe he proclaims to be the seventh persecution (the sixth was that of Maximinus, in 239;

copal dignity, but the following verses (beginning of ch. iv.) certainly seem to do it:

"Quid Deus in primis vel qualiter singula fecit
Jam Moses edocuit: nos autem de Christo docemus.
Non sum ego vates, *nec doctor jussus ut essem*,
Sed pando prædicta vatum oberrantibus austris."

All this, of course, does not exclude that the writer became a bishop afterwards, as the subscription of the MS. asserts.

At all events, I have no hesitation to assert that our work is the improvement of the first, which is that alluded to by Gennadius. The whole is entirely remodeled, and with undoubted success as to poetical value. Nor is it fettered by the unreasonable rule of continued acrostics. There are verses in it which prove that the author had studied Lucretius: others are Dantesque as to thought and style, in spite of all rhythmical barbarism. I have already observed that the beginning of both is the same: our manuscript concluded, as even D. Pitra's text shows (I have before me a much more complete deciphering of the last thirty-three verses by Sir Thomas), with the picture of the resurrection and the last judgment, which corresponds with what is called the first book of the "Instructiones," and with the first three chapters of the so called second book. What follows (iv.—xxxviii.) is a moral exhortation to all classes of Christians. If there was a division in two books, these last twenty-five chapters constitute the second. One verse is literally the same in the two recensions, that about the Jews (Instr. xxxviii. v. 582. compared with the new text v. 228.), as the learned editor has well observed.

the eighth that of Valerian, in 259; the tenth that of Aurelian, in 279); and he then prophesies that gentile Rome is to be attacked and conquered first *by the Goths,* who are to burst forth from beyond the "river." The infernal king Apolion (the Apollyon, Hebrew Abaddon, of the Apocalypse, ix. 11.) will be with them, and they will conquer Rome. This evidently is a peculiar turn he gives to the popular belief, and it may or may not be his own version. But the most interesting feature in his poem, which decidedly bears the stamp of originality, is his idea that the Germanic tribes are to be the friends and protectors of the Christians, whom they will treat as brothers, while they show no mercy to idolatrous Rome and her pagan senate. Here at all events we have the man, not the theologian; the philosophical observer of his age, not the systematical interpreter of the apocalypse, or of popular tradition among the Christians of old. The Goths were on the horizon of the Roman empire since their appearance in Thracia in 237. When Commodianus wrote Decius had probably only just fallen fighting against them in Mœsia, A.D. 251. It was politically a right feeling of the times, that Commodianus believed them to be in the ascendant; it was his Christian faith which made him discover in them the nation of the future. For his faith told him that moral decrepitude is an incurable evil in a nation, that as a demoralized people cannot do God's work on earth, he finds fresh tribes to do it. The pagan writers of the time see in the Goths only the scourge of the world; enemies, which, like all others, are finally to be subjugated by the power of Rome, for the Roman empire is eternal, according to their national pride and state religion. Commodianus believed in a blessed future state of the world for regenerated mankind; he believed also that this period was to be pre-

ceded by dreadful struggles and pangs. He saw bloody persecutions (one of which was approaching or only just past), and in the midst of these wars and attempts to exterminate Christianity, Commodianus beheld one of the Germanic tribes, of a nation possessing, as Tacitus had remarked almost 150 years before him, a germ of original life, based upon inner truth and mutual trust. Now in the Goths the African philosopher saw the life of the future, not simply the scourge of humanity. This was neither a political conjecture nor one based upon their being converts to Christianity, of which we find no trace among them in the time of Commodianus, nor up to the beginning of the fourth century. Unless we suppose this to have been an accidental good hit, we must allow that Commodianus had an intuitive perception of what can or cannot produce new life to the development of the kingdom of God. This is not attributing to him a miraculous prophetical gift; there is no reason why any true Christian philosopher should not discover in the conflicting elements of disturbed and convulsed times what is to last and what is to perish. Commodianus believed that the Roman and Greek nations were doomed to perish, because they were deeply demoralized; and that the age predicted by Christ, and beheld in vision by one of his disciples, was to come after all those struggles, and be brought on by a barbarous but honest race.

Apollyon is the king of perdition of the Apocalypse; he is not called the king of the Goths, but he accompanies them as the avenger, when they pass the Danube in arms. Now it is certainly a historical fact that 150 years later a Gothic king conquered Rome, and that the Goths became with other tribes the chosen instrument of world-renewing Christianity. And, moreover, the old world has perished indeed; the new one is come in reality, on this

very globe, in this very age of the world in which we live.

We now give the text of this interesting chapter with a few corrections, which seem necessary and warranted. The versification is barbarous, though not without rhythmical laws. The preceding chapter predicts the kingdom of God in the year of the world 6000, therefore, like Hippolytus, about 500 A. D. Mankind then will be blessed in God:

"Tunc homo resurget solis in agone reductus,
Et gaudet in Deo, reminiscens quid fuit ante.
Nec erit anxietas ulla, nisi gaudia semper;
Quisque tribus credit et sentit unum adesse,
Hic erit perpetuus in æterna sæcla renatus."

These are the concluding words of chapter xxxvi.: what follows constitutes chapter xxxvii.:

"Sed quidam, hæc, aiunt, quando hæc ventura putamus?
Accipite paucis, quibus actis illa sequentur.
Multa quidem signa fient teterrimæ pestis,*
Sed erit initium septima persecutio nostra.
Ecce januam† pulsat et jam cognoscitur ense,‡
Qui cito trajiciet§, Gothis inrumpentibus, amnem.
Rex Apolion erit cum ipsis nomine dirus,
Qui persecutionem dissipet sanctorum in armis.
Pergit ad Romam cum multa millia gentis‖

* Cod.: fieri tantæ termini pesti. Pitra corrigit: tantum *fient.*

† Janua pulsat. P. pulsatur.

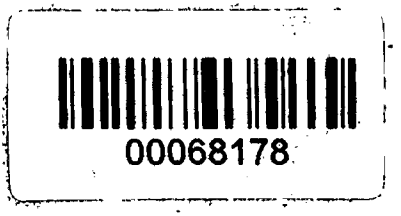
‡ Et cogitur esse. P. (cum Dübnero ut apparet): cogitatur adesse.

§ Quæ cito trajeci. Et.—Pitra hæc ita in addendis corrigenda proponit (p. 542.): "Nescio an cuiquam placuerit: En januam pulsat et cogitatur adesse. Nemini vero non probabitur necessaria correctio: Quæ cito trajiciet," etc.

‖ Gentes. Præpositio *cum* a Commodiano etiam alio loco cum accusativo casu construitur.

Decretoque Dei captivat ex parte subactos.
Multi senatorum tunc enim captivi deflebunt,
Et Deum cœlorum blasphemant a barbaro victi.
Hi tamen gentiles pascunt Christianos ubique,
Quos magis ut fratres requirunt gaudio pleni.
Nam luxuriosos et idola vana* colentes
Persequuntur enim et senatum sub jugo mittunt.
Hæc mala percipiunt qui sunt persecuti dilectos,
Mensibus in quinque trucidantur isti† sub hoste.
Exsurgit interea sub ipso tempore Cyrus,
Qui terreat hostes et liberat inde senatum.
Ex infero redit, qui fuerat regno præreptus‡
Et diu servatus cum pristino corpore notus.
Discimus§ hunc autem Neronem esse vetustum,
Qui Petrum et Paulum prius punivit in urbe;
Ipse redit iterum sub ipso sæculi fine
Ex locis apocryphis, qui fuit reservatus in ista.
Hunc ipsis notum ‖ invisum esse mirantur,
Qui cum apparuerit, quasi deum esse putabunt.

* Varia. † Ista. ‡ Præceptus.
§ Dicimus. ‖ Ipse natus.



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on 07 April, 2016